

# **CORPUS OF BYZANTINE SEALS FROM BULGARIA**

Volume 2

## **Byzantine Seals with Family Names**

Edited by Ivan Jordanov



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## INTRODUCTION

Following the publication of the *Corpus of Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria, vol. I Byzantine Seals with Geographical Names*, Sofia, 2003, we offer to the attention of the reader Vol. II, *Seals with Family Names*. This new volume includes nearly 800 lead seals struck by more than 400 individuals, who are representatives of ca. 300 different Byzantine families. Of course, this number is neither final nor exhaustive. This abstract collection of seals with family names discovered in Bulgaria is dynamic, as is evident from the table of contents of the volume. The numbering is frequently interrupted to include last moment finds, the commentary on which is reduced to a minimum. In recent years active archaeological excavations have yielded new seals. To those we might have added the specimens found by illegal excavators. A collection of a hundred or so Byzantine seals discovered generally in the vicinity of Perperikon, Kurdzhali region, in recent years was reported in the media. The only "scholarly" publication of seals with family names from this collection, which contains neither texts of the seals nor illustrations, is practically unusable.

This is the right place to express once again my thanks to the colleagues from museums and other private persons, who presented at my disposal the material included in the volume: Dr. Vladimir Penchev from the National Historical Museum, Sofia; Dr. Bistra Bozhkova from the National Archaeological Museum, Sofia; Dr. Zhenya Zhekova from the Regional Historical Museum, Shumen; Dr. Dimitur Draganov from the Historical Museum in Ruse; Dr. Ivan Karayotov from the Burgas Archaeological Museum; Krasimir Velkov from the Nova Zagora Museum; Dimitur Yankov and Mariana Minkova from the Stara Zagora Historical Museum; and many others, whose names are impossible to mention.

I am grateful to a number of Bulgarian collectors, who supplied me with materials: V. Panteleev from Varna; V. Stankov from Batak; St. Bilik from Sofia; N. Nikolov from Razgrad and many others, whose names I cannot disclose because of their expressed wishes.

### *Corpus of Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria, vol. II, Seals with Family Names.*

Our first question must be, when did family names appear on seals and what is their origin? A second name or a sobriquet of the owner appeared, though rarely, on some seals as early as the IXth century. Family names appeared on seals in the second half of the Xth century, mainly towards its last decades. In the XIth century, this tendency increased and became common practice. The appearance of seals bearing no titles and offices, but solely patronyms and homonyms may perhaps be associated with this practice. Dating a seal is a tricky problem, which in this case has become more complicated by the absence of titles and offices. Nevertheless, within the limits of an approximate date, I have ascertained that seals bearing only a patronym and a homonym appeared as a phenomenon after the mid-XIth century. Initially, their texts were as standard as those of the other seals, but they gradually became more complex, and towards the end of the XIth century, and particularly in the XIIth century, they were obliged to be metrical.

In the XIIth century, another tendency is also observed, presumably connected with the trend towards emphasizing the illustriousness of certain families. It is best demonstrated among the members of the ruling dynasty, the Komnenoi. Many of its representatives, we learn from other written sources, occupied high posts in the imperial government. However, only the name Komnenos or the kinship relation to this dynasty is most often inscribed on their seals, where these have survived, which perhaps sufficed. The name Komnenos made



superfluous the addition of supporting titles and offices, previously needed to demonstrate a prestigious place in social hierarchy. This in its turn renders it difficult to identify the owners of seals with individuals known from narrative sources.

No doubt, the data from the seals included in the present study will enrich Byzantine Prosopography with new and unknown families, or with new and hitherto unknown representatives of known families. However, they have special significance for Bulgarian history because the seals were discovered in modern Bulgaria. The fact that their seals were discovered there permits us to surmise that their owners were somehow, for various periods of time, connected with the fate of the Bulgarian lands. One is struck by the fact that representatives of one family maintained correspondence with an unknown addressee in Bulgaria for quite a long period of time (throughout a whole century). Perhaps they had permanent interests in the Bulgarian lands rather than merely sending a casual letter to a relative or friend who sojourned there? Much correspondence likely concerned estates and other permanent interests in Bulgaria.

The seals are arranged according to the alphabetical list of family names. Each entry begins with information on the place of preservation, find-spot, metrological data and, briefly, the state of preservation of the seal. There is also reference to publications, if any, and parallel specimens. Then follows the description of the seal, which is standard and short.

Since seals with family names are concerned, a prosopographical survey or a presentation of available published research is included. In most cases, the main emphasis has been laid on the data from seals. Attempts have also been made at identifications with individuals from other written sources. Here we should be very cautious, despite the temptation to venture suggestions, because there is always a high risk of mistakes. We cannot discount the frequent existence of individuals bearing the same names and positions in society who lived in the same or approximately the same period, particularly given the fact that families seem to have held certain positions in certain areas through generations. This problem is exacerbated by established Byzantine naming practices, since a first grandson was most frequently given the name of his grandfather. But in spite of the qualifications, we should not deny ourselves the opportunity to speculate. After all, as hypotheses and reasonings are accumulated, they could lead to definite conclusions in the future.

The aims of such a survey are various, but the following are foremost:

A. To establish the connection between the owner of the seal and the remaining representatives of the family.

B. To illustrate the place and role of the members of this family in the history of the Bulgarian lands.

The process of working out the prosopographical survey of the representatives of each family and searching out their seals is an endless one. We must always be on the look out for "fresh" information in narrative sources or its new interpretation, as well as the appearance of new, previously unknown, seals. In spite of my effort to be exhaustive, I have naturally made omissions and errors.

Both the preparation of the prosopographical surveys and the searching out of parallels of the seals from Bulgaria has been made possible thanks to the cooperation with the fellow Byzantinists and sigillographers. In particular, I should like to acknowledge my debt to Dr. V. Shandrovskaja, curator of the Hermitage Collection, Professor Werner Seibt from the Commission of Byzantine Studies in Vienna, Professor Jean-Claude Cheyynet, Director of the Institute of Byzantine Studies in Paris, Dr. John Nesbitt, curator of the Collection of

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I am most grateful to the governing body of Dumbarton Oaks for the opportunity offered twice to work in the library and with the collections in 2002 (16th July-8th August) and 2004-2005 (13th September- 13th May).

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# CRITICAL SIGNS

ΑΒ	letters of uncertain reading
AB	part of letters
....	ilegible letters (exact number)
(αβ)	abbreviation
[αβ]	reconstruction of lost or ilegible letters

# GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS

c.	century
ca.	circa
D.	diameter
DO	Dumbarton Oaks
ed(s)	edited by, edition(s)
g.	gram(s)
IFEB	Institut Francais d'etudes Byzantins
l.	left
m	meters
MK	Münzkabinetts des Kunsthistorische Musem Wien
mm	milimeters
no(s)	number(s)
Obv.	obverse
pl(s)	plate(s)
REA	
squ.	squer
r.	right
rev.	reverse
Suppl.	Suplement
W.	weight

CATALOGUE OF BYZANTINE SEALS  
WITH FAMILY NAMES

### 1. Ἰωάννης Ἀαρών βέστης (1060s-1070s)

Historical Museum, Shumen, no.13506. Found in Pomorie. D. 25-25 (19) 4.1 mm. W. 13.50 g. A good imprint but not distinct enough. A well-preserved bulla.

*Ed.* Jordanov, I. Le molybdo-bulle du vestes Jean Aaron.- *Paleobulgarica*, 1, 1990, 106-110; Йорданов, Анхияло, № 4; Йорданов, Корпус, с. 192.  
*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of St. George facing, represented as a warrior, holding (r. hand) a spear on shoulder, and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription: Θ-Γ-Ε-Ω-Ρ || Γ-Ι-Ο-Σ : Ὁ ἄγιος Γεώργιος

*Rev.* Vertical inscription of four lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΙΩΑΝΝΗ | ΡΕCΤ'ΤΩ | ΑΑΡΩ | -✕-  
+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Ἰωάννη βέστ(η) τῷ Ἀαρών(υ)

The vestes John Aaron, a representative of the Aaron family and grandson of the Bulgarian tzar Ivan Vladislav, is unknown from the other sources. For Ivan Vladislav's successors in Byzantium, see Йорданов, Корпус, 176-199.

### 2. Βασίλειος Ἀγαπίτος πατρίκιος (1050s-1060s)

In a private collection (Slavei Petrov from Haskovo). Find-spot: Discovered in the Chala fortress near the village of Goliam Izvor, Haskovo region. D. 17-17 (15) 2.5 mm. A good imprint and a well-preserved bulla.

*Ed.* Йорданов-Аладжов, Хасковско, № 1.

*Parallels:* Another unpublished specimen of the same dignitary, struck in the same boulloterion, is stored in Zacos collection (Zacos, III, no. 1724).

*Obv.* Bust of the **Virgin** orans with medallion of Christ on her breast. Sigla:  $\overline{MP}$  ||  $\overline{\Theta V}$ :  
Μ(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ.

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8' | RACIA'ΠΡΙ || ΤΩΑΓΑ || ΠΙΤ'  
+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Βασιλ(είῳ) π(ατ)ρι(κίῳ) τῷ Ἀγαπίτ(ω)

A person bearing these names is unknown from written sources. There is scarcely any available information on this family. In the year 1111, one of them, John Agapetos, was elected Patriarch under the name of John IX (see Grumel, *Chronologie*, 251-252; Idem, *Regestes*, III, nos. 999-1006).

It is difficult to determine the particular connection between the patrikios Basil Agapetos and the future patriarch John Agapetos.

The names of other members of the Agapetos family are known in the XIIIth-XIVth centuries (see *PLP*, nos. 111-130), but whether there are any kinship ties with those presented here is a question which I cannot answer with certainty.

### 3. Ἰωάννης Ἀγγελος σεβαστὸς καὶ μέγας πριμικήριος (XII c.).

In a private collection. It was given to me to document by V. Panteleev from Varna. According to its owner, the seal comes from the Stara Zagora region. D. 39-41 (34) mm, W. 31.5 g. Imprint in a superb state of preservation.

Obv. St. Theodore standing frontally, holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand set on a shield, resting on the ground. Vertical inscription: ⦿ | ΘΕ|ΟΔ|Ω|ΡΟC - Ο|ΤΗ|ΡΩ|Ν:  
Ὁ ἄ(γιος) Θεόδωρος ὁ Τήρων

Rev. Inscription of seven lines:

+ ΤΟΝΑ: | ΓΓΕΛΟΝΜΕCΕ | ΡΑCΤΟΝΙΩΑΝΗΝ | ΜΕΓΑΝΠΙΡΙ | ΜΙΚΙΡΙΟΝΑ  
| ΘΛΗΤΑCΚΕ | - ΠΟΙC -  
+ Τὸν Ἀγγελὸν με σεβαστὸν Ἰωάννην μέγαν πριμικίριον, ἀθλητά, σκέποις

The owner of the seal is the sebastos John Angelos, who held the position of grand primikerios. The dating of his seal is generally in the XIIth c., the second half being more plausible.

Who was John Angelos, sebastos and grand primikerios?

Our point of departure is the fact of his belonging to the family of Angelos as well as his position. Among the representatives of the Angelos family, there are many with the name John, rendering it difficult to identify a particular person. This calls for a survey of the appearance of this family on the historical stage and particularly of those representatives named John. Of course, due to insufficient evidence, there is much disagreement among investigators on a certain person. I am not aware of a prosopographical study on the family Angeloi. The information below has been abbreviated from G. Ostrogorskji's article (Острогорский, Ангелов, 111-129), collated with the later research in prosopography of **Barzos**, *Komnenoi*, nos 38, 90, 93, **Savvides**, *Prosopographiko*, vol.1, 81-89.

The Angelos family is unknown until the beginning of XIIth c., when in 1122 the handsome Constantine Angelos from Philadelphia married the daughter of Alexios Komnenos, Theodora, and, as an emperor's son-in-law was honoured with the title of pansebastohypertatos. During the reign of his father-in-law Alexios I (1018-1118) and his brother-in-law John II, he did not play any important role in the governing of the Empire, but under his nephew Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180) he was assigned important tasks.

In 1154 he was in command of the fleet dispatched against the Sicilians, an undertaking resulting in a dismal failure, for which, according to John Kinnamos, Constantine Angelos was partially to blame. The Byzantine fleet was defeated and Constantine Angelos himself was taken prisoner. Ten years later, in 1165, he took part in the great campaign of Emperor Manuel I against the Hungarian king Stephen V. After this successful campaign, the Emperor returned triumphantly and left it to Constantine Angelos to reconstruct the strongholds of Zemun, to fortify Boegrad and Branichevo. Then he transferred his activity over to Nish (see **Острогорский**, Ангелов, 113-114; **Barzos**, *Komnenoi*, no. 38).

Constantine Angelos' brothers also had notable careers:

Nicholas Angelos took part in the campaign of Manuel I Komnenos against the Seljuk Turks in the 1140s; Michael Angelos, also a military commander, took part in the Turkish campaigns in the 1160s. The latter participated in a session of the synod of 1166 and had the title of protonobelissimos. The name of a certain John Angelos, dispatched in 1156 with the second expedition against the Sicilians, is also mentioned. It is difficult to say with certainty whether he was Constantine Angelos' brother or son.

Constantine Angelos' sons are:

Constantine Angelos (?) – Sebastohypertatos, who took part in the campaign of Manuel I against the rebellious Serbs in 1149. He is reported to have been a cousin of the Emperor, and

probably died shortly after that (Острогорский, Ангелов, с. 115; in **Barzos**, *Komnenoi*, no. 38, such a son has not been mentioned. It is perhaps assumed that this information applies to the father Constantine Angelos).

The remaining living sons, John, Alexios, Andronikos and Isaac, were reported at the church council of 1166 as cousins of the Emperor and sons of his uncle, pansebastohypertatos Constantine Angelos (*PG*, vol. CXL, 253B).

John and Andronikos Angelos have left the most lasting marks in history.

In 1148 John Angelos married the daughter of Manuel Anemas and Theodora Komnene (daughter of John II), i.e. he once again intermarried with the ruling dynasty.

If we assume that it was he who substituted his father after the ill-fated expedition in Sicily, then his first major activities as a military commander were in 1156. But as was noted above, it is still undetermined whether the reference is to him or to his uncle.

At the church council in Blachernae Palace in 1157, he was in the Emperor's retinue and was called: τοῦ πανσεβαστοῦ σεβαστοῦ καὶ γαμβροῦ τῆς μακαριωτάτης πορφυρογεννήτου καὶ περιποθήτου αὐταδέλφης τοῦ κραταιοῦ καὶ αγίου ἡμῶν βασιλέως κυρᾶς Θεοδώρας, κυροῦ Ἰωάννου Ἀγγέλου (*PG*, vol. CXL, 178A; **Sakkellion**, *Patmiaki*, 316.6-8).

In 1165 John probably took part in the war against the Hungarians, when, pending the arrival of the main forces, the emperor Manuel dispatched a subsidiary detachment under the command of Michael Gabras and Joseph Bryenios to the besieged Zemun, along with "other noble Romans such as John, experienced in the military science, with the sobriquet of Angelos" (**Cinnamus**, 238.11-13).

In the historical battle with the Turks at Myriokephalon in 1176, the brothers John and Andronikos Angelos were in command of the advanced guard and successfully passed through the passes of Myriokephalon, but, as is known, the Byzantines were routed. Nothing more is known about John Angelos. (**Barzos**, *Komnenoi*, no. 90).

His brother Andronikos continued his military service: in 1177 he was placed in charge of an embassy to the king of Jerusalem Baldwin IV. Later on he was once again a military commander against the Turks, but when faced early on with danger, he disgracefully fled from the field. As a result, the furious emperor (Manuel I) threatened to disgrace him by taking him round the streets of the capital dressed in women's clothes. He likewise ingloriously fought at the head of the government troops (under Alexios II's reign) against the claimant to the throne Andronikos Komnenos, and escaped to the camp of the latter along with his six sons.

Andronikos Angelos was married to Euphrosyne Kastamonissa and had six sons by her: Alexios, Isaac, Constantine, Theodore and Andronikos. Three of them, Theodore, Constantine and Andronikos, were blinded by the new emperor Andronikos I Komnenos. No particular details of John Angelos' life are known before 1185. After the enthronement of his brother Isaac II (1185-1195), he was introduced to the rank of Sebastokrator and played a considerable role in court and state life. He was many times suspected of designs on the throne. He was one of the first military commanders dispatched against the insurgent Bulgars in 1185. It was his son Michael who founded the Despotate of Epiros and the Komnenos Doukas branch in Thessalonike (Острогорский, Ангелов, 120-122; **Barzos**, *Komnenoi*, no. 93.)

Who of the personages presented here could be identified as the owner of our seal?

John Angelos is a sebastos and grand primikerios. What kind of office is this?

It was established under the emperor Alexios I Komnenos and the information on it is rather limited. We find more information on it in Pseudo-Kodinos but that is much later. The

first office holder is Tatikios, who is in command of subsidiary troops, namely the Turks Vardariotai. No other office holder is familiar to me from later in the XIIth c. (Guilland, Primicier, 312-320).

Of the above persons, John, the son of Constantine Angelos, was undoubtedly a sebastos. He was a military commander to whom subsidiary missions at Zemun, Myriokephalon, etc., were assigned. It is quite possible that the seal found in our country belonged specifically to him. If the find-spot of the seal is reliable, then we could connect it with Beroe. During their winter military campaigns against the Serbs and Hungarians, the emperor Manuel I Komnenos and his army withdrew to a winter camp near Beroe (Stara Zagora, see Cinnamus, 227-228)

Are there other known seals bearing these names?

The following seals, bearing the name of John Angelos, are stored in the collection of the Fogg Museum of Art, which is now housed in Dumbarton Oaks:

1. Fogg A.M. 4045 (D. 18-18 mm):

Obv. Bust of the Virgin holding a medallion of Christ before her. Sigla:  $\overline{MP} \parallel \overline{\Theta V}$ .

Rev. Inscription of four lines: + | TON  $\overline{I\Omega}$  | ΑΓΓΕΛΩΝ | ΚΕΠΟΙΟΙC | ΚΟΡΗ

2. Fogg A.M. 616:

Obv. St Theodore standing facing, represented as a warrior. Vertical inscription: ΘΕ|Ο - . |ΩΡ

Rev. Inscription of three lines: ΑΓΓΕΛΩΝ | ΑΘΛΗΤΑ | ΚΕΠΕ

3. Fogg A.M. 1827 (D. 31 mm):

Obv. St Theodore standing facing, represented as a warrior. Inscription: .... - Δ|Ω|Ρ

Rev. Inscription of four lines: +  $\overline{I\Omega}$  | ΑΓΓΕΛ.. | ΑΘΛΗ.. | ΚΕΠ.

Nos. 2 and 3 are very close to ours and could belong to the same dignitary.

### 3A. Μιχαήλ Ἀγγελος (XII c.).

Historical Museum, Shumen, no.14717. Find-spot: Harmanli (?). D. 28-29 (26) 3 mm, W. 14.00 g. A good imprint but not distinct enough. A well-preserved bulla.

Unpublished.

Parallels: Unpublished from DO. (58. 106. 2879)

Obv. Inscription of three lines:

+ | TONAG | ΓΕΛΩΝ | ΚΕ | -o-

Rev. Inscription of three lines:

ΠΗCME | ΜΙΧΑΗΛ | ΛΟΓΕ | -o-

+ Τὸν Ἀγγελὸν σκέπης με Μιχαήλ, Λόγε

A bulla of the same person and text but from a different boulloterion is preserved in the Zacos collection III, no. 1412.

Obv. + | TON | ΑΓΓΕΛΩΝ | ΚΕΠΟΙΟΙC | ΜΕ

Rev. -o- | ΜΙΧΑΙΑ | ΛΟΓΕ | -o-

### 3B. [Μαρία] Ἀγγελίνα Κ[ομνηνὴ] wife or sister of the sebastokrator (XII c.)

Historical Museum, Shumen, no.14667. Find-spot: Belozem, Plovdiv region. D. 30-44 mm. Fragment smaller than a half containing some damaged letters which renders the reading difficult and uncertain.

Ed. Йорданов, Комнини-Ангели, 48-49, № 23.

No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of four lines:

+ | CΦPA... | ΜΑΓΡΑ... | THCK... | .HC....

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

...ΔΟV | ... | CΕΡΑ... | ...ΤΟΡΟC | ....ΛΟV | ....ΦΗ

+ Σφρά[γισ]μα γρα[φῶν] τῆς Κ[ομνην]ῆς [Μαρία]

[κλά]δου [τοῦ] σ[ε]βαστο[κρά]τορος [Ἀγγέ]λου [νύμ]φη or [ἀδελ]φη

### 4. Νικόλαος Ἀγούρης β' πρωτοσπαθάριος ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοτρικλίνου καὶ β' σακελλάριος (X c.)

Archaeological Institute and Museum, Shumen, no.13. Find-spot: Discovered in the course of archaeological excavations at the site "Grazhdanski Complex" in the "Selishte" locality in Preslav. D. 29-32 (28) 3 mm. Incomplete imprint. The lower half of the depiction and the last line of the text of the reverse are clipped. Almost all letters of the reverse are unprinted.

Unpublished.

Parallels: Another specimen struck with the same pair of dies is stored in the Dumbarton Oaks collection (DO. 55. 1. 2923, see Laurent, *Corpus*, II, no. 778).

Obv. Circular inscription containing the invocation: : .... ΕΓΕΟΡΓΗΕΡΟ .....

St. George nimbate, beardless, with short curly hair, represented standing frontally. He wears armor mail and a cloak. With his right hand he props himself against a spear ending with a globe at the top and in his left hand he holds a shield. On either side the vertical inscription: ο-Α-Γ-Η-Ο' || Γ-Ε-Ω-Ρ-Γ' : Ὁ ἅγιος Γεώργιος.

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

ΝΙΚΟΛΑ'. Α'CΠΑΑΘ'Ε | .IT'XPVCOT' | ..CAKEΛΛ. | ..OTOAN | ..VPH

[+ Ἀγι]ε Γεωργίε βο[ή]θει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ]

Νικολά(ω) [β'] (πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίω) ἐπὶ τ(οῦ) χρυσοτ(ρικλίνου) [(καὶ) β'] σακελλ[αρί]ο το Ἀν[γο]ύρη

A bulla, published in the 30s (see Laurent, *Inedits*, EO, 32, 1933, 50-51), probably belonged to the same dignitary:

Obv. St. George, represented as above.

Rev. ΗΚΟ. | ..R'Α'CΠ | ...CΕΠΙΤ | ..ΝΓΛ'ΤΟ | .ΝΓΟVΡ

=+ Ἀγιε Γεωργίε βοήθει [Ν]ηκο[λάω] β' (πρωτο)σπ[αθ(α)ρ(ίω)] (καὶ) ἐπὶ

τ(οῦ) [μ]α[ν]γλ(αβίου) το [Α]νγούρη

It should reflect an earlier stage in his career.

Representatives of this family in Byzantium are known as early as the IXth c.:

1. Μιχαήλ Ἀγούρης, who in 26 May 866 in his capacity as πραιπόσιτος took part in the proclamation of Basil I (867-886), co-ruler of Michael III (842-867) (see Guilland, *Recherches*, I, 180, n.235; 340.n.95; *PMBZ*, no.5120).

2. Βαάνης (Ἀγγούρης) πατρίκιος καὶ πραιπόσιτος, presided at a session of the Council of 869/870 (Vogt, *Basile*, I, 78, 159-160, 218-222; *PMBZ*, no. 719). Two letters of Patriarch Photios addressed to the same have come down to us. (Photius, *Epistule*, nos. 92.1; 115.1).

3. Ἰωάννης Ἀγγούρης πατρίκιος καὶ σακελλάριος, a correspondent of Patriarch Photios in the period of 867-873. Four letters to the same addressee (Τῷ Ἰωάννῃ πατρίκιος καὶ σακελλάριῳ κατα τοὺς Ἀγγουρίους) have reached us. (Photius, *Epistule*, nos. 50.1; 74.1; 87.1; 130.1; *PMBZ*, no. 3322).

In the miracles of St. Euphrosyne, died in 921/923, the names of three representatives of the family Ἀγγούρης are mentioned (see *AASS* Nov. III, p. 888 B):

4. Νικόλαος πρωτοσπαθάριος ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ σακέλλης ταμείνου, (according to Laurent he is identified as the owner of our seal, see Laurent, *Corpus*, II, no. 778);

5. Μεθόδιος father of no. 4 who according to Laurent, *Corpus*, II, no. 812, he was νοτάριος τῆς σακέλλης. His son Nicholas started his career by taking over his father's office.

6. Εὐθύμιος son of no. 4, who was cured by the miracle of St. Euphrosyne (see *AASS*, Nov. III, p. 888, B.40).

The following are also known from seals:

7. Βάρδας Ἀγγούρης β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ χαρτουλάριος τοῦ δρόμου, according to his seals dated to the XIth c. (Fogg A. M., no. 46, see Laurent, *Corpus*, II, no. 984; Seyrig, p. 68; unpublished by Zacos, III, no. 1468);

8. Κοσμάς (?) Ἀγγούρης πρωτοσπαθάριος, (X-XI c.) according to his unpublished seal in the Fogg A. M. collection no. 293

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin holding a medallion on her breast.

*Rev.* .... | AC R' A' C | ΠΑΘΑΡ' | ΑΓΓΟΥΡ' | - - -

9. Λέων (?) Ἀγγούρης (X-XI c.) a private person, according to his unpublished seal in the Fogg A. M. collection no. 2399.

*Obv.* .... | .ΘΕΙΤ. | .ΩΔ8. | Λ.

*Rev.* ..ΕΩ. | .ΙΤΩ. | .Γ8ΡΗ | - : -

10. Ν., Ἀγγούρης βεστιάριος (XII c.), see below.

The owner of our seal could be identified with no. 4 after 921/923. In his capacity as an imperial sakellarios he sent his correspondence to a representative of the Bulgarian authorities resident in the excavated complex (see Jordanov, Fiscal institutions, *SBS*, 9, in print).

Obviously a great number of representatives of this family from X c. are related by offices in the σακέλλης. The kinship ties between certain representatives of this family are difficult to ascertain. Are they all of the same family?

## 5. Ν., Ἀγγούρης βεστιάριος (XII c.),

In a private collection. Find-spot: uncertain from Southern Bulgaria. D. 22-23 mm. Weak imprint covered with white patina, which renders the reading difficult.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Inscription of five lines.

..CΦ.. | ΓΙCΓΡ .. | ΩΝΑΓΓ.. | ΡΗΒΕCΤ | ΑΡΙΟ

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

.. ΝΩ. | .. Μ.... | ... CΚΕΠ | ΟΙC

[+ ]Σφ[ρα]γὶς γρ[αφ]ῶν Ἀγγ[ου]ρη βεστιαρίο ..... σκέποις

It is impossible to decipher the whole text due to the weak off-struck imprint. There is some certain reading of the obverse containing the owner's family name and office. The closed B points to a dating in the late XIIth century.

## 6. Ἰωάννης Ἀγιοαντονίτης πατρίκιος καὶ βεστιαρίτης (second half of XI c.)

Historical Museum, Kurdjali. Find-spot : in the vicinity of the monastery in "Veseltchane" district. D. 19-19.5 (18) 4 mm. Judging by the size of the blank, it was well-centered, but the last two lines are not printed.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* St. Nicholas standing frontally, blessing (r. hand) and holding book (l. hand). Vertical inscription: Θ-NI-K' || Λ-A-. : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Νικ(ό)λα[ο(ς)]

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ἸΩΠΡ | S | ΡΕCΤΗΑΡΙ | ΤΙΤΩΑΓΙ | ΑΝΤΟΝ | Τ'

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Ἰω(άννη) π(ατ)ρι(κίω) (καὶ) βεστηαρίτι τῷ

Ἀγι(ο)αντον(ί)τ(η)

No person bearing these names is known in the narrative sources. Nor do I know other representatives of this family at that time either. The etymology of the patronym is connected with the name of a monastery dedicated to St. Anthonios (for a monastery of that name, see Jordanov, *G. Names*, no. 9.1).

The dating of the seal is after 1050, thus at the time when the inscribed position vestiaritis was effective, i.e. belonged to a "confidant" of the Emperor.

As for the recipient and the character of the correspondence received in this monastery, no certain answer could be given. Nevertheless, a connection of interest is that between a representative of a family, related by origin to a monastery, and the receipt of his correspondence in another monastery.

## 7-8. Θεόφυλος Ἀγιοζαχαρίτης πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς Σάμου (1030s-1040s)

a. Museum of Archeology, Preslav, no. 17550. Find-spot: strategeia of Preslav. D. 22-27 (24) 4.5 mm, 22 25 g. Incomplete but well-preserved imprint.

*Ed.* Йорданов, Преслав, № 313; Jordanov, *G. Names*, no. 67.1a.

b. Museum of Archeology, Preslav, no. 17552. Find-spot: strategia of Preslav. D. 26-26 (24) 4 mm, 19.50 g. Weak imprint and badly preserved specimen.

*Ed.* Йорданов, Преслав, № 314; Jordanov, *G. Names*, no. 67.1b.

*The two specimens were struck with the same die.*

*Parallels:* In the Dumbarton Oaks collection, another specimen is preserved (DO. 55. 1. 3050) struck with the same die (see Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *DOS*, 2, no. 44.13).

*Obv.* Bust of St. Zacharias bearded, wearing a luxurious chlamys and a curious oriental headpiece and holding (l. hand) a round decorated box, with a crosslet on top of its cover. Vertical inscription: O-A-ΓΙ-O || Z-AX-AP'-A : 'Ο ἄγιο(ς) Ζαχαρ(ί)α(ς).

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines, preceded and followed by an ornament:

- ∙ ∙ - | ΘΕΟΦΥΛ' | ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙ' S | CΤΡΑΤΙΓ' CA | .8ΟΑΓΙΟ | ΖΑΧΑΡ' | - ∙ ∙ -

+ Θεόφυλ(ος) πατρίκι(ος) (καὶ) στρατηγ(ός) Σά[μ]ου ὁ Ἀγιοζαχαρ(ίτης)

A group of seals, illustrated on one side only, is contained in Auction Münz Zentrum, Köln,



100, 8-10 Sept. 1999. Under no.102 is a seal of Theophylaktos Hagiozacharites, patrikios. Obviously it refers to the same person, but because of the incomplete documentation, we are uncertain whether he held the same position or was only patrikios.

### 9-11. Στυλιανὸς Ἀγιοζαχαρίτης (XI c.)

a. Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia, no.125. Discovered in the course of excavations conducted by the Russian archaeological mission in Pliska in 1899/1900. D. 27-28 (?) 3mm. Poor imprint. The reverse has slipped at the striking and part of the die is out of the blank. The bulla was reimpresed on another, and as a result the text and image are difficult to identify.

Ed. **Panchenko**, Абоѡа-Pliska, 296-297, table LVIII.4a-b, where it is only documented but not deciphered; **Йорданов**, Плиска, № 31;

b. Historical Museum, Silistra, no. 53. Find-spot: the town. D. 23.5-24 (21?) 3 mm. Poor-quality imprint. Here the obverse matrix is out of the blank. The bulla is covered with a thick layer of lead oxide.

Unpublished.

c. Plaster cast in the collection of Prof. T. Gerasimov. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 25.5-27 mm. A successful imprint but the bulla itself is in a poor state of preservation and punctured in the middle.

Unpublished.

The three specimens were struck in the same boulloterion.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Theodore holding a spear (r. hand) and shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription:  
: Θ - Θ-Ε || Ω-ΔΟ-Ρ' : 'Ο ἄ(γιο)ς Θεόδωρ(ος).

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

- a. . CTV | . . . . OC | . . . . ZA | . . . .  
b. + CTV | . HANOC | . ΓΙΟΖΑ | ΧΑΡ . .  
c. + CTV | . HANOC | ΑΓΙΟΖΑ | ΧΑΡΗΤ' | - ∴ -  
+ Στυ[λ]ηανὸς (ὁ) Ἀγιοζαχαρίτ(ης)

The owner of the seal affixed to the correspondence to Pliska, Dristra and a third unspecified place, presumably in northeastern Bulgaria, is a certain Stylianos Hagiozacharites. He is unknown from written sources. When and to whom did he send his correspondence? To answer that we need to date the seal, and present information on other representatives of this family, if there are any.

The dating of the seal is generally to the Xth-XIth c.

The etymology of the family Ἀγιοζαχαρίτης is probably connected with the monastery St. Zacharias (see **Janin**, *Eglises, C-ple*, p. 132).

In the Xth-XIth c., the following representatives of the family Ἀγιοζαχαρίτης are known from various sources:

1. Θεόδωρος καὶ Νικήτας, who deserted to the conspirator Leo protovestiarios.

In 977, they were taken prisoner by Bardas Skleros and blinded before the line on account of their desertion (**Skylitzes**, 322.81-82);

2. N., Ἀγιοζαχαρίτης, correspondent of the bishop of Synada Leo synkellos during his diplomatic mission to south Italy. The proper name of this Ἀγιοζαχαρίτης is not inscribed on the letter, but judging by the context, it is assumed that he must have been a high-ranking cleric (**Leo of Synada**, no. 3.6-7, 94-95).

Known from seals are:

1. Θεόδωρος Ἀγιοζαχαρίτης, attested in three groups of seals in his capacity as:

a. πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Βουκελλαρίων (**Speck**, *Berlin*, I, no. 110; **Seibt-**

**Zarnitz**, no. 3.2.5);

b. πατρίκιος, ἀνθύπατος καὶ βέστης, according to two unpublished seals from collection: Zacos, III, no. 1532 and IFEB, no. 395;

Obv. Bust of St. Theodore facing, represented as a martyr.

Rev. + ΘΕΟΔΩ|Ρ'ΑΝΘΥΠ|ΠΑΤΡΙΚ'ΡΕ|CTITΩΑ|Γ'ΖΑΧ'

c. μάγιστρος, according to two bullae from the Athens Numismatic Museum (see **Konstantopoulos**, no. 410ε) and Berlin (see **Sode**, *Berlin*, 2, no. 395).

If they belong to the same person they could generally be dated to the mid-XIth c.

2. Θεόφυλος Ἀγιοζαχαρίτης πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς Σάμου, 30s-40s of the XIth c. (see here no. 7-8).

3. Μανουήλ Ἀγιοζαχαρίτης σπαθαροκανδιᾶτος ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσोटρικλίνου from the XIth c. (see **Schlumberger**, *Inedite*, V, no. 229).

4. Νικήτας Ἀγιοζαχαρίτης, attested by two groups of seals:

a. πρωτοσπαθάριος, dated to the XIth c. (see **Barnea**, *Dobrudja*, I, no. 4);

b. ἀνθύπατος, πατρίκιος βέστης, dated to the XIth c., according to a specimen in the Hermitage (M-6831, see **Šandrovskaja-Seibt**, no. 98):

Obv. Bust of St. Theodore holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

Rev. + ΝΙΚΗΤ|ΑΝΘΥΠΙΑΤ|ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΩ|ΡΕCΤΗΤΟ|ΑΓΙΩΖΑ|ΧΑΡΙΤ'

5. Ἄννα Ἀγιοζαχαρίσσα, private person from the XIth c., according to a specimen in the Hermitage (M-5495, see **Šandrovskaja-Seibt**, no.99):

Obv. Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand).

Rev. + ΚΕΡ.|ΗΘΙΑΝ.|ΓΙΩΖ.|ΧΑΡΙ..| C..

6. N., [Κωνσταντῖνος] Ἀγιοζαχαρίτης, πρωτοσπαθάριος-ὑπατος καὶ χαρτουλάριος τοῦ δρόμου (e Xth-XIth c.). According to a bulla from DO. 55. 1. 3049, published by **Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, no. 451. Regarding its dating (late Xth c. - early XIth c.) and the position of its owner, it is not unlikely that he was the recipient of the correspondence of Leo the bishop of Synada, sent with a diplomatic mission to Rome. The striking element in the letter is that in spite of the prevailing friendly tone, there is also an account of the mission as completed to a definite stage.

Despite the coincidence of proper names with those from the chronicles, we cannot assume that they are identical with those on the seals. There is a difference in chronology.

Besides the common family name, some of them also have the same patron, for example, St. Theodore with Stylianos, Theodore and the unknown chartoularios of the dromos.

The discovery of bullae belonging to three representatives of this family in different settlements in northeastern Bulgaria (Pliska, Preslav, Dristra and Noviodunum) is probably not a matter of chance. It is quite likely that another representative or a relation of the family served in this part of the Empire.

### 12. Μιχαήλ Ἀγιοθεοδωρίτης (XII c.)

Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia, no. 195. Formerly it was in the possession of a collector from Burgas, from whom I obtained the plaster cast through a colleague, Mr. Karajotov. Reported to have been found in Pomorie. D. 23.5-24 (18) 2.8 mm. Good imprint and well-preserved bulla.

Ed. **Jordanov**, *Anhialo*, II.8.

Parallels: The collections of Dumbarton Oaks (DO. 55.1.4215) and Fogg A. M., no. 989 contain two more bullae of the same type but struck in a different boulloterion, since the lettering on the Rev. has a different alignment = TOV-ΑΓΙΟΘΕ- ΟΔΩΠΙ-TOV.



Obv. Inscription of three lines:

+ | CΦPA | ΓICMI | XAH.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

T8A | ΓΙΟΘΕΟ | ΔΩΡΙ | ΤΟΥ

+ Σφραγὶς Μιχαήλ τοῦ Ἀγιοθεοδώριτου

The owner of the seal affixed on the correspondence to Anchialos is Michael Hagiotheodorites. The bulla is generally dated to the XIIth c., a period from which many representatives of this family are known (on them see **Каждан**, *Айофеодорити*, 85-93; **Gautier**, *Italikos*, no. 11, p. 49).

Michael was the eldest brother in a family of three brothers and three sisters. According to Constantine Manasses, as a young man Michael received training in the Palace in grammar and later in versification and the art of public speaking. Then he entered service in the Palace as an imperial secretary. From the information given by some of his contemporaries, we gain the impression that Michael was in the Palace almost from his early childhood and his education passed under the guidance of the emperor Manuel I Komnenos (see **Horna**, Manasses, 177.130-141; 193-194; **Каждан**, *Айофеодорити*, 85-90).

In his official career he is attested as ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλίου and λογοθέτης τοῦ δρόμου. The exact chronology is under discussion. Regretfully, his position was not written in the earliest document signed by him (September 1158) which is preserved (see *Patmos*, I, no. 20.53). When he was appointed logothetes of the dromos is also uncertain, but after 1166 his signature was affixed under a series of documents precisely in this capacity (see **Dolger**, *Regestes*, nos. 1465-1468).

In 1167, the logothetes Michael Hagiotheodorites was dispatched in a military expedition against the Hungarians along with the famous military commander John Doukas (see **Cinnamus**, p. 269.16).

In the proceedings of the Synod sessions of 1166, he is presented in another capacity, namely as πρωτονωβελισσιμουπερτάτου, λογοθέτης τοῦ δρόμου καὶ ὀρφανοτρόφου (see *PG*, 140, coll. 253C), while on 30 January 1170 he was described as πρωτονοταρίου ὑπερτάτου, λογοθέτης τοῦ δρόμου καὶ ὀρφανοτρόφου (**Petit**, *Documents*, p. 479.18-19) and respectively on 18 February 1170 as πρωτονωβελισσίμου, λογοθέτης τοῦ δρόμου καὶ ὀρφανοτρόφου (**Petit**, *Documents*, p. 490. 23-24). It is perhaps a case of a clerical error.

This position is likewise mentioned by Eustathios of Thessalonike, who presented him as a man caring for orphans, widows and those suffering from life's adversities (see **Eustathios of Thessalonike**, *Opera minora*, 141-151).

Both Eustathios of Thessalonike and Constantine Manasses represent Michael Hagiotheodorites as one of the influential nobles of Constantinople. From early morning, a crowd of many different people gathered in front of his home: happy and miserable, poor and rich, speaking Arabic and Scythian and hardly understanding Greek (**Horna**, Manasses, 182. 311-312).

Michael Hagiotheodorites also had a passion for literature. He patronized Eustathios of Thessalonike, Constantine Manasses, Gregory of Antioch and others, who often addressed him with speeches and monodies. He supervised contests for young rhetoricians which were held before the emperor. He himself wrote poetry (**Horna**, Manasses, 181. 264-268).

The following verses are preserved in the Venetian manuscript (*Markianos* 524, p.144): Εἰς ἐγκόλπιον τοῦ Ἀλουσιάνου Μιχαήλ τοῦ γραμματικοῦ τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλίου

τοῦ Ἀγιοθεοδώριτου (**Horna**, Manasses, S. 198).

This fact confronts investigators with the problem of the relationship between the Hagiotheodoritai and the Alousianoι. A. Kazhdan is of the opinion that although their descent from the Bulgarian prince Alousianos is uncertain, at least it is quite likely that they come from a Hellenized Bulgarian family (**Каждан**, *Айофеодорити*, с. 87). O. Kresten doubted the previous reading of this passage and assumed that it refers to a certain Μιχαήλ Ἀλουσιάνος Μιχαήλ γραμματικός of ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλίου Ν., Ἀγιοθεοδώριτου. (see **Kresten**, *Theodoros Styppeiotēs*, 98-99).

According to the information of Eustathios of Thessalonike, Michael Hagiotheodorites died before the capture of Thessalonike by the Normans in 1185 (**Eustathios of Thessalonike**, *The Capture*, 46.5-6, # 39).

Two other groups of seals with the name Michael Hagiotheodorites are known, where he is represented as ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλίου and λογοθέτης τοῦ δρόμου (see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, nos. 225,440). They closely correspond to the above described career.

His title and position are lacking on the bulla from Anchialos. This makes its exact dating difficult, and almost makes it difficult to determine when and to whom in Anchialos Michael Hagiotheodorites wrote his letters. In theory, this seal as well as the bullae from Dumbarton Oaks could precede the above two groups, i.e. could be dated before 1158, but they could also be dated after them, i.e. after 1173. It may well be that this type of seal was used by him along with the others in his capacity as a private person. In this connection, we should also consider the personality of Michael Hagiotheodorites. He was not an ordinary Byzantine bureaucrat but a literary man and patron. In letters to his fellow men of letters, he probably did not need to write his titles and positions. It is quite possible that his literary colleague or some other close friend or relation was located precisely in Anchialos.

In fact, if we assume that Michael Hagiotheodorites wrote to Anchialos as a private person, then the choice of his addressee is limited. It could have been the local prelate (the archbishop of Anchialos) or some other short- or long-term resident of Anchialos.

A certain Stephan also took part in sessions of the Synod of 1166-1170, attended by Michael Hagiotheodorites, the bishop of Anchialos (see *PG*, 140, coll. 248A, 256B; **Grumel**, *Regestes*, nos. 1059, 1109). Whether he or his predecessor or successor is the possible correspondent of Michael Hagiotheodorites remains an open question. We should keep in mind, however, that almost all of the aforementioned literary men and Michael's protégés, whose letters to him have been preserved, were high-ranking clerics. Before that they had made a career in the capital and had been appointed to different chairs in the province (Antioch, Thessalonike, Serdika, etc.), presumably under Michael Hagiotheodorites' protection.

What other representatives of the Hagiotheodoritai of that time are known?

1. Gregory, attested on his seal of the XIIth c. as a private person. According to an unpublished bullae in the Dumbarton Oaks collection (DO. 55.1.3854).

Obv. Inscription of five lines

+ | ΔΕCΜ8 | ΓΡΑΦACME | . ΛΑΝΟCH | ΜΟΛΙΡΔΙ | Ν

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

ΑΓΙΟΘΕ | ΟΔΩΡΙ | Τ8ΓΡΗ | ΓΟΡΙ8

2. John, a favorite of Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180) in the early years of his reign. But soon he fell a victim to the intrigues of Theodore Styppeiotēs and was dispatched as a praitor of Hellas and Peloponnesus. Married to Joseph Balsamon's sister (see **Каждан**, *Айофеодорити*, 85-86; **Choniates**, 54.78-84; 58.83-84; 59.1).

3. John, the second brother in the family. He was brought up in the Palace together with

Michael. About 1160 he became eparchos of Constantinople (see **Miller**, *Catalogue*, f.358; **Каждан**, Айофеодорити, с.90; **Gautier**, *Italikos*, no. 11).

4. John, a private person from the XIIth c., according to unpublished seals in the Dumbarton Oaks collection (55. 1. 3993; 55.1. 3394 and 55.1.3395).

*Obv.* + | CΦPA | ΓICICΩAN | NOV

*Rev.* TOV | AΓIOΘEO | ΔΩPI | TOV

5. Constantine, a contemporary of John II Komnenos (1118-1143), a philosopher and rhetorician whose death (between 1130 and 1136) was lamented both by Theodore Prodromos and Michael Italikos (see **Каждан**, Айофеодорити, с.85; **Gautier**, *Italikos*, no. 11).

6. Nicholas is probably the youngest of the three brothers. He belonged to the intellectual circles set up around the Patriarchal school. He was probably a teacher in the Gospel. But soon after he occupied the chair of philosophy or, as in the words of Eustathios of Thessalonike, “the sophistic heights” (**Miller**, *Catalogue*, f.360), in other words, he became Master of rhetoricians, a post previously occupied by Eustathios himself. In this capacity, Nicholas Hagiotheodorites appeared before the Senate and in the words of G. Tornikes “was the glory of the synkletos” (see **Darrouzes**, *Tornikes*, 113,204). Nicholas Hagiotheodorites was elected metropolitan bishop of Athens after the death of George Bourtzes in ca. 1160. He took part in a session of the synod of 1166 (also attended by Stephen of Anchialos) and on 11<sup>th</sup> April he even took the floor in the discussion about marriage between relations (*PG*, 119, coll. 769D). Since 1173 he had already been hypertimos and died in 1175 or 1178 (for his life and career, see **Каждан**, Айофеодорити, 90-93 and the related to him seals, **Laurent**, *Corpus*, V.1, no. 604; V.2, no. 1431).

It is impossible to find a direct answer to the question to whom in Anchialos Michael Hagiotheodorites wrote as a private person during the years 1150-1170, but we should consider the following facts:

a. The following took part in a session of the Synod of 1166 took part: Michael Hagiotheodorites, logothete of the dromos and orphanotrophos; Nicholas Hagiotheodorites, metropolitan bishop of Athens and Stephan, the archbishop of Anchialos, of whom we know nothing specific;

b. From 1170-1178 Patriarch of Constantinople was Μιχαήλ ὁ τοῦ Ἀγγιχιάλου. The latter means that he was nephew of the archbishop of Anchialos. We don't know who this anonymous archbishop of Anchialos was but the very fact that the future patriarch sought publicity through him and that he was an object of attention for the intellectuals of the time gives us good grounds to assume that he could be Michael Hagiotheodorites' correspondent. Whether he was the above mentioned Stephan or his predecessor must remain an open question.

### 13-14. Θεόδωρος Ἀγιοστεφανίτης (XII c.)

a. Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia, no. 65. Find-spot: uncertain. D.24-25 (21) 3 mm. Good imprint and a well-preserved bulla, but the letters of the last line are clipped and crumpled.

*Ed.* **Мушмов**, Печати, № 40.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of St. Theodore facing, holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription: Θ-ΘΕ-Ο || Δ-ΩΡ : Ὁ ἅγιος Θεόδωρος.

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

+ | CΦPAΓIC | ΘEOΔOP8 | TOY AΓI8 | ΦEΦANI | TOY  
+ Σφραγίς Θεωδ[ό]ρου τοῦ Ἀγιοστεφανίτου

b. In a private collection (V. Stankov from Batak). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 26-27 (23) 3 mm. Complete imprint in a poor state of preservation. Similar to the above specimen but from a different boulloterion or a pair of dies.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of St. Theodore as above. Vertical inscription: Θ-... || Δ-Ω-P-OC : Ὁ ἅγιος [Θεό]δωρος

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

+ | CΦPAΓIC | ΘEOΔ.. 8 | TΩ AΓIO. | ΦANIT8 | ---  
+ Σφραγίς Θεωδ[ό]ρου τῷ Ἀγιο[στ(ε)]φανίτου

The etymology of this family is probably connected with the name of a monastery of St. Stephen.

The following representatives are known from the written sources:

1. Χριστοδούλος Ἀγιοστεφανίτης diakonos and kouboukleisios of Antioch, reported in the Acts of the Patriarchate of 1052-1056 (**Grumel**, *Regestes*, no. 860).

2. A spurious document, relevant to the establishment of the famous twelve noble families in Crete, bearing the date of 1182/1183 and preserved in a later and probably distorted text (see **Gerland**, *Noblesse cretoise*, 7-144), reports the name of Νικηφόρος ὁ Ἀργυρόπουλος ὁ Ἀγιοστεφανίτης (**Gerland**, *Noblesse cretoise*, p. 16). A second document of the same text dated 1192, according to which sebastos Constantine Doukas is a representative of the emperor in Crete and which also confirms the rights of these twelve archontopouloi, reports the name of ὁ ἀξιότιμος καὶ σεβαστὸς Ἰωάννης Ἀργυρόπουλος Ἀγιοστεφανίτης τοῦ ποτε Νικηφόρου οἱ ἀδελφοί του (**Gerland**, *Noblesse cretoise*, 32-33). A third document lists all representatives of the family Ἀργυρόπουλος Ἀγιοστεφανίτης – Νικηφόρος, Ἰωάννης, Στέφανος, Γεώργιος, Νικόλαος, Μηνᾶς καὶ Νηκήτας (**Gerland**, *Noblesse cretoise*, p. 47). We cannot know for certainty whether the information in this text is reliable, but the ensuing more reliable documents also concern the the members of this family in the region of Crete.

3. In 1206, a Στέφανος Ἀγιοστεφανίτης who styled himself σεβαστος and his wife Anna donated a number of vineyards in the vicinity of the village of Varvaroi to the monastery of Patmos (see **MM**, VI, 150-151; **Tsougarakis**, *Byzantine Crete*, p. 297).

4. Presumably the same person but mentioned only by his family name Ἀγιοστεφανίται, who in 1211 stood at the head of the uprising on the island of Crete against the Latins (see **Borsari**, *Il domino*, p. 33).

The following are known from seals:

1. Κατακαλὼν Ἀγιοστεφανίτης, a private person from the XIth-XIIth c. (see here, no. 15-18).

2. Κωνσταντῖνος Ἀγιοστεφανίτης, a private person from the XIIth c. (**Laurent**, *Orghidan*, no. 430).

3. Μιχαήλ Ἀγιοστεφανίτης, a private person from the XIIth c., according to two unpublished bullae in DO. 55. 1. 4010 and IFEB, no. 412:

*Obv.* Bust of a military saint.

Rev. + CΦΡΑ | ΓΙCΜΙΧΑ | ΗΛΤΟΝΑΓΙ | ΟΨΕΦΑΝ | Τ8

It is an interesting conclusion that the seals of Theodore, Katakalon, Constantine and Michael date from the same time and have the same text. Probably they were contemporaries. Unfortunately, their text gives no further evidence except for their proper names.

### 15-18. Κατακαλὼν Ἀγιοστεφανίτης (XI-XII c.)

a. Archaeological Museum, Plovdiv, no. 5367. Find-spot : from the town. D. 19-20 mm., W. 5. 48g. Half of a once whole bulla, reprinted on another. Under the image of St. George one may discern remains of the nimbus and the sigla MP of the Virgin. Some letters of the reverse can be discerned.

Ed. **Jordanov**, Plovdiv, no. 23.

b. Archaeological Museum, Plovdiv, no. 5484. Find-spot: from the town. D. 13-20 mm. Half of a once whole specimen.

Ed. **Jordanov**, Plovdiv, no. 24.

c. Archaeological Museum, Plovdiv, no. 5412. Find-spot: from the town. D. 16-20 mm., W. 7.05g. Almost a complete specimen but the first line of the text is out of the blank.

Ed. **Jordanov**, Plovdiv, no. 25.

*The first two specimens come from the same boulloterion, while the third is from a different one or a different pair of dies. The letters are blotted and indistinct, which makes their exact reading uncertain.*

*No parallels known.*

Obv. Bust of St. George facing, holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription: Θ-Γ-Ε || Ω-Ρ-Γ' : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Γεώργ(ιος).

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

a. .ΕΡ'Θ' | ....Δ8 | ..ΤΑΚΑ | ... ΙΟ | ..

b. .. Ρ'Θ' | ....Δ8 | ..ΤΑΚΑ | ..ΑΓΙΟ | ..Φ

[+]**Κ**(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) [τῷ σῷ] δούλ(ω) [**Κ**α]τακά[λω] (τῷ) Ἀγιο[στε]φ(ανίτη)

c. . . . . | ΚΑΤΑΚΑ | Ο'Τ8ΑΓΙΟ | ΨΕΦΑΝΙ | Τ8

[+ Σφραγίς] Κατακα(λ)ὸ(ν) τοῦ Ἀγιοστεφανίτου

The owner of the seals affixed on a correspondence received at least three times in Philippopolis is Κατακαλὼν Ἀγιοστεφανίτης. The same person is not known from other sources.

The dating of the seal is generally to the late XIth - the early XIIth c. The fact that Katakalon Hagiostephanites has written at least three times to Plovdiv is evidence that he had certain interests there or a relative residing in the town.

### 19. Εὐστάθιος Ἀλακασεύς σπαθαροκανδιᾶτος καὶ στρατηγὸς (XIc.)

National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 23096. Find-spot: Silistra. D. 33-35 (over 31) 3 mm. Once a good imprint. The superb engraving of St. Michael is striking. In a poor state of preservation now, covered with a lead crust which makes reading difficult.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

Obv. Bust of St. Michael facing, with a massive beardless face and hair of heavy curls. He wears divitision, decorated with maniakion; holds (r. hand) a scepter on shoulder and a globus surmounted with a cross (l. hand).

Rev. Inscription of seven lines:

..... | ..... | .ΤΑΘΕΙΩ | ΣΠΑΘΚΑΝΔΔ | ΣΤΡΑΤ.. | ΤΑΛΑΚ. | VCEA

[+**Κ**(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) [τῷ σῷ] δ(ούλω) [Εὐσ]ταθείω σπαθ(αρο)κανδ(ι)δ(άτω)  
(καὶ) στρατ[ηγ(ῶ)] τ(ῷ) Ἀλακ[α]σέα

The owner of the seal affixed on a correspondence to an unknown addressee in Dristra is Εὐστάθιος Ἀλακασεύς σπαθαροκανδιᾶτος καὶ στρατηγὸς. He is unknown from the written sources.

However, representatives of the family Ἀλακασεύς are attested in the chronicles. The etymology of this name is disputed. Some believe it is a translation from the Greek = spinner (see **Moritz**, *Zunamen*, 2, S. 30), while according to others it has a Turkic-Mongolian origin (even specified as Pecheneg) from the name Ἀλλακη (**Moravcsik**, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2, S. 60).

The following individuals with a similar name are known from various written sources:

1. Θεόδωρος Ἀλακασεύς (second half of the XI c.)

a. πρόεδρος, according to a bulla stored in the collection Orghidan (**Laurent**, *Orghidan*, no. 120) and unpublished from DO. 55.1. 2893.

b. a private person according to the unpublished bullae from Dumbartom Oaks (Fogg, A. M. no. 3142 and DO. 55. 1. 2891; 55.1. 2892.

Obv. Bust of St. Theodore Stratelates holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription: Θ-ΘΕ-ΟΔΩ | Ρ' || Ο-С-ΤΡΑΤ | Η.

Rev. + ΘΕΟ | ΔΩΡΟС | ΟΑΛΚΑ | СΕ8С

2. Ἰωάννης Ἀλακασεύς πατρίκιος, a military commander during the reign of John I Tzimiskes (**Skylitzes**, 289. 39, 50).

3. Κωνσταντῖνος Ἀλακασεύς a XIIth-century private person, according to an unpublished seal of his in the Dumbarton Oaks collection. (DO. 58.106.3529).

Obv. Bust of an unidentified military saint.

Rev. ΑΛΑΚΑ | СΕΑΚΩΝΤ | ...ΜΟΙ | СΚΕ...

4. Λέων Ἀλακασεύς a late XIth-century private person, according to an unpublished seal of his in the Dumbarton Oaks collection (DO. 55. 1. 5050).

Obv. St. Theodore Tiron standing.

Rev. ΤΗΡΕΙ | ΛΕΟΝΤΑ | ΤΗΡΩΝΑΛ | ΑΚΑСΕΑ

5. Νικήτας son of Ἀλακασεύς τουρμάρχης, according to a seal of his from the collection Thyery. According to its documentation in the photoarchives of the Kommission für Byzantinistik in Vienna.

6. N. Ἀλακασεύς, also a military commander who in 1040 was routed by Peter Delian's rebels (**Skylitzes**, 411.55). He is also assumed to have been strategos of Hellas (see **Златарски**, *История* II, 55-56). Probably his sobriquet or patronym is mentioned in Skylitzes.

7. N. Ἀλακασεύς is reported by Anna Komnene. In 1095, he contributed through guile to the victory over pseudo-Diogenes (*Alexiade*, II, 198-201; **Skoulatos**, *Personnages*, no. 4). In the same place it is noted that his father was once Romanos IV Diogenes' close friend (1067-1071) and probably bore the same patronym or homonym.

It is hard to say what the particular connection is between the owner of our seal and the above. A certain connection could be found with no. 2 and 4. Judging by its external appearance and text, the seal points to a nomad who had switched over to service in Byzantium.

## 20. Δημήτριος Ἀηλγαζῆς (XIII c.)

In a private collection (V. Pantelev from Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 21-31 (30) 3 mm. W. 12.00 g. Once a good imprint, one third of which is broken due to corrosion.

Unpublished.

Parallels: Cheynet, Zacos, III, no. 88 and unpublished from Fogg A. M., no. 2601.

Obv. St. Demetrios in military dress, holding a spear, on horseback riding to the right.

Inscription in two columns: Θ-ΔΗ || ΜΗ-ΤΡΙΟΨ : Ὁ ἄ(γιος) Δημήτριος(ς).

Rev. Metrical inscription of four lines:

+ | ΔΗΜΗ | ΤΡΙ8CΦΡΑ | .....V | .....

Δημητρίου σφρά[γισμα το]ῦ [Ἀηλγάζη]

The owner of the seal is a Muslim who entered Byzantine service. The rare iconography and the paleography of the letters, pointing to a XIIIth-century dating, are striking.

Two lexical elements can be distinguished in the name Ἀηλγαζῆς:

1) ἄηλ interpreted to mean “a ruler over a tribe of people”, “a prince or king over a great dynasty or people” (Redhouse, J.W. *A Turkish and English Dictionary, Constantinople* 1890, p. 303;) as a variant of the more common form ἄηλ (see Dörfer G. *Türkische und mongolische Elemente in Neupersischen*, Wiesbaden, 1965, Bd. 2, S. 194ff; Севортян, Э.В. *Этимологический словарь тюркских языков*, Москва, 1974, т. 1, с. 339-343);

2) γαζή < Tk. *đazi* denoting “a Muslim who fights any enemy of Islam”. While ἄηλ on coins, to my knowledge, is the only appearance of the word in the Greek sources from the Byzantine period, the form γαζή / γαζῆς is well known (Du Cange, col. 234; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, 108-109; cf.: Caracausi, *Lessico greco*, p. 125). Judging by the phonetic shape of the name Ἀηλγαζῆς, one may suggest that it came from Turkmen Anatolia and not from the Cuman areas of the Northern Black Sea region (this commentary is made by Dr. Rustam Shukurov to whom I wish to express my warmest thanks).

## 21-22. Γρηγόριος Ἀλανός πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς (second half of XI c.)

a. Historical Museum, Silistra. It was discovered in 1996 in the course of excavations of the fortress. D.25-27 mm. Incomplete but well-preserved imprint.

Unpublished.

b. Private collection. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 23-25 mm. Once a good imprint, a fragment chipped.

Unpublished.

Both specimens were struck in the same boulloterion.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Theodore facing, holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

a. .... | .ΩCΩΔ8Ψ | ΓΡΙΓΩΡΙΩ | ΠΡΙ SCTPA | . ΗΓΩΤΩΑ | . ΑΝΩ

b. .... | . . . . . | . . . . . | ΠΡΙ SCTPA | ΤΗΓΩΤΩΑ | ΑΝΩ

[+Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δού(λῳ) Γριγωρίῳ π(ατ)ρι(κίῳ) (καὶ) στρατηγῷ τῷ Ἀλάνῳ]

Gregory Alanos: his patronym is probably connected with his origin. He is unknown from the narrative sources. For the rest of the representatives of the Alanoi family, see Seibt,

Metropolitan der Alanen, 55-56.

An unpublished bulla with the following description is stored in the Zacos collection, III, no. 1508/8:

Obv. Bust of St. Theodore facing, holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

Rev. + ΚΕΡΨΘΨ ΤΩCΩΔ8 | ...ΓΟΡΙΩ|ΑΝΘΝΠΙΑΤΨ|SKATEΠΑ | ΝΨΤΟΑΛΑ|ΝΩ-

Two unpublished seals with the following description are housed in the Zacos collection, III, no. 1484/5 and Fogg A. M. no. 332.

Obv. Bust of St. Theodore as above.

Rev. + ΚΕΡΨΘΨ | ΤΩCΩΔ8 | ΛΩΓΡΗΓΟ | ΡΙΩΤΩΑ | ΑΝΩ

An unpublished bulla with the following description is preserved in the same Zacos collection, III, no. 1464/1:

Obv. Standing figure of St. Demetrios (?) as a warrior.

Rev. ....|.....|ΡΗΓΟΡΙΟ|ΡΩΤΟΠΡΨ ΔΡΩC Δ8ΚΨ | ΤΟΑΛΑΝ

Obviously, these four groups of seals belong to the same person. They determine the following cursus honorum:

a) πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς (1050s-1060s)

b) ἀνθύπατος καὶ κατεπάνω (1060s)

c) πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ δούξ (1070s-1080s)

## 23. Ἰωάννης ὁ τοῦ Ἀλεξιῶτου πρεσβύτερος (XI c.)

Historical Museum, Shumen, no. 14526. Find-spot: village of Melnitza, district of Elhovo. D. 17-20 (15) 5 mm.

Despite the fact that the strike was not well-centered, the imprint is relatively strong and full, though the last two lines of the text reverse are poorly preserved, which makes its reading difficult. It is possible to suggest that following the office Π = πρ(εσβυτέρῳ) is a patronym, whose nephew is the owner of the seal. But it also cannot be ruled out that this is the name of the church where John served (on her, see Janin, *Eglises C-ple*, 22-23, and on her seals, see Laurent, *Corpus*, V. 3, no. 1897).

Ed. Jordanov, Melnitza, no. 30.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. John the Baptist blessing (r. hand) and holding a scroll (l. hand). Inscription in two columns: Θ-ΙΩ-Ο || Π-. : Ὁ ἄ(γιος) Ἰω(άννης) ὁ Πρ(ό)[δ(ρομος)]

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

ΚΕΡΨΘΨ|ΤΩCΩΔ8Ψ|ΙΩΠΡΩΤ|8ΑΛΕΞΙ|ΩΤ8

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δού(λῳ) Ἰω(άννη) πρ(εσβυτέρῳ) τῷ τοῦ Ἀλεξιῶτου

The Dumbarton Oaks Collection contains three bullae of Constantine o tou Alexiou (DO. 55. 1. 3742, 55. 1. 3743, 55. 1. 3744) dated in the end of the XIth c.

Obv. The Virgin standing facing, holding Christ in l. arm.

Rev. +CΦΡΑ | ΠICKΩΝ | ΟΤΟΝΑΛΕ | ΧΙΟΝ

## 24-25. Σαμουήλ Ἀλουσιάνος πρόεδρος καὶ δούξ (early 1070s).

He is attested in two different groups of seals:

A.

National Historical Museum, Sofia. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 28-26 mm. Complete imprint in a good state of preservation.

Ed. Йорданов, Корпус, с. 180, № 14.

Parallels: Further four specimens struck in the same boulloterion are preserved in the following collections: the Hermitage (M-5945, see Шандровская, Болгарии, 457-458, рис. 1); Zarnitz (see Seibt, Zarnitz, no. 3.1.9); Zacos, III (see Spink Auction 135, no. 280, and unpublished from Fog A. M. no. 280).

Obv. The Virgin seated frontally on a backless throne holding Christ on her lap.

Rev. Inscription of seven lines:

+ ΘΚΕ | ΡΟΗΘΕΙ | САΜΟΝΗΛ | ΠΡΟΕΔΡΩ | ΣΔ8ΚΙΤΩ | ΑΛΟΥCΙ | ΑΝΩ  
+ Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθει Σαμουήλ προέδρω (καὶ) δουκὶ τῷ Ἀλουσιάνω

B.

Archaeological Museum, Sofia, no. 53. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 30-30 mm. Complete imprint in a good state of preservation.

Ed. Златарски, В. Н. Моливдовул на Самуил Алусиан. - ИБАД, 1, 1922, 86-102. - В: Избрани произведения, 2. С., 1984, 172-185; Йорданов, Корпус, с.180, N 15.

Parallels: Further three specimens struck in the same boulloterion are preserved in the Athens Numismatic Museum (no. 188a, see Konstantopoulos, no. 188a; Stavrakos, no. 9; The Berlin Free University (see Sode, Berlin II, no. 393) and unpublished from Zacos, III, no. 1464.

Obv. The Virgin seated frontally on a high-backed throne holding Christ on her lap. Circular inscription along a border of dots: + ΘΚΕΡΟΗΘ'ΤΩCΩΔΟΝΑΩ

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ | САМ8НΛ | ΠΡΟΕΔΡΩ | ΚΑΙΔΟΝΚΙ | ΤΩΑΛΟΝ | CΙΑΝΩ  
+ Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθ(ει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Σαμουήλ προέδρω καὶ δουκὶ τῷ Ἀλουσιάνω

The owner of the two groups of seals has been identified as the son of Alusianos, who was Ivan Vladislav's son (on him, see Йорданов, Корпус, 178-181). His name was first attested in 1069. He and the troops under his command – five tagmata from the West encamped in the Armeniakion theme (this is a precise description of the Alusianoι positions strategos and doux but without bearing a toponym) received orders to attack the rebellious Latin mercenary Krispin and were defeated in the battle. Besides his title, the chronicler also gives information on the family he belonged to and his nationality as well as his close relations with the imperial court (ὁ βεστάρχης Σαμουήλ ὁ Ἀλουσιάνος ὁ Βούλγαρος ἀδελφὸς ὦν τῆς βασιλέως γυναικὸς –the vestarches Samuil Alusianos, a Bulgarian, brother of the emperor's wife, see Skylitzes, Continuatus, 134.8-9). His further fate is unknown.

Further two groups of seals bear the name of the same dignitary as vestarches and strategos and as vestarches and doux of Edessa. Their dating is in the late 60s and the early 70s of the XIth c. Along with the above information they outline the following cursus honorum:

- a.vestarches and strategos;
- b.vestarches and doux of Edessa;
- c.proedros and doux.

With the exception of the second uncertain group, Samuel bears the position strategos and doux without a toponym with the rest, suggesting that he was a commander of a contingent of the tagmata dispatched when necessary to a given region of the Empire, a capacity in which he was reported by the chroniclers. His position of doux means not so much a promotion as a development of the position of strategos (see Cheynet, Du stratege, 181-194).

## 26. Ἰωάννης Ἀλτούμης (XIII c.)

In a private collection. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 31-33 mm.

Unpublished.

Parallels : DO. 58. 106.5396. Struck in the same boulloterion, see Wassiliou, A-K. Ὁ ἅγιος Γεώργιος ὁ Διασορίτης auf Siegeln. Ein Beitrag zur Frhugeschichte der Laskariden.-BZ, 90, 1997, S. 418, Abb. 5.

Obv. St. George of Diassorites standing, holding a spear (r. hand) and resting his l. hand on a shield set on the ground. Vertical inscription on eider side: .-. Ε-Ω-.-.-. || Ο-ΔΙΑ-COPI-TH-C : [Ὁ ἅ(γιος) Γ]εώρ[γιο(ς)] ὁ Διασορίτης

Rev. Inscription of three lines:

+ | ΙΩΑΝΝΗC | ΟΑΛΤΟV | ΜΗC :  
+Ιωάννης ὁ Ἀλτούμης

John Altoumes is unknown from the sources. The dating of the seal is end of the XII-beginning of the XIIIth c.

## 27. Θεόδωρος or Λέων Ἀλυάτης..... καὶ ἐταιρεάρχης τῆς τρίτης (mid-XI c.)

National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 30423. Found in the vicinity of the village of Klokotnitsa. Formerly in the collection of D. Dimitrov from Pernik. D. 24-25 mm. Incomplete imprint.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Superb bust of St. Theodore facing, holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

Vertical inscription: .... || Δ-Ω- Ρ' : [Ὁ ἅ(γιος) Θεό]δωρ(ος)

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

..ΕΩ. | ...SΕΤΕ | ΡΙΑΡΧΗC | ΤΗCΤΡΙΤ | ΟΑΛΗΑ | - Τ'-  
[+ Θ]εώ[δ(ωρος) / [+Λ]έω[ν π(ατ)ρί(κιος)] ..... καὶ ἐτεριάρχης τῆς τρίτ(ης)  
ὁ Ἀληάτ(ης)

Despite the incomplete text, it could be assumed that the owner of the seal is Θεόδωρος or Λέων Ἀλυάτης. (Ἀνθης is also possible) The former assumption is more probable because of the depiction on the obverse.

Both names are attested in the narrative sources and on their seals:

1. Θεόδωρος Ἀλυάτης :

a. the collection of the Münz Cabinet in Vienna contains a seal of Θεόδωρος Ἀλυάτης πατρίκιος, dated according to its author to the last quarter of the XIth c. (see Seibt, Bleisiegel, no. 148).

b. In 1071, Θεόδωρος Ἀλυάτης πρόεδρος was a confidant of Emperor Romanos IV Diogenes (see Skylitzes, Continuatus, 153.7-10).

2. Λέων Ἀλυάτης:

a. Λέων Ἀλυάτης πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς Χερσῶνος καὶ Σουγδεΐας is attested in an inscription dated to 1059 (see Латишев, В. Етюди по византийской эпиграфике 3. Надпис времени Исаака Комнина, найдена в Херсонесе.- ВВр., 2 1895, 184 и сл.).

b. A seal of Λέων Ἀλυάτης πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς, which could be dated to the mid-XIth c., is stored in the unpublished collection of G. Zacos, III (no. 1464).

Obv. Bust of St. Theodore facing, holding spear (r. hand) and shield (l. hand).



Rev. +KER'Θ' | ΛΕΩΝΤΙ | ΠΡΤΙ ΚΙΩΣ | CTPAT..|ΤΩΑΛ..|-TH-

It is quite likely that the owner of the seal and his namesake from the inscription are one and the same.

c. A seal of Λέων Ἀλυάτης as a private person is also housed in the same collection (Zacos, III, no. 1444).

Obv. Bust of the Virgin. Sigla: M||Θ.

Rev. ... | ATHNAE | ONTAPIAP | ΘΕΝΕCK | ΕΠΟΙC

Since the homonym is uncertain, below we offer seals generally dated to the XIth c. whose owners are representatives of the family Alyatai:

1. A bulla of Εὐστάθιος Ἀλυάτης as a private person is stored in the collection of G. Zacos, III (no. 1448). It is dated to the last quarter of XIth c.

Obv. Standing figure of the Virgin of the Hagiosoritissa type.

Rev. ΕΥCΓΑ | ΘΙΟΝΑ | ΓΝΗCΚΕ | ΠΟΙCΑ | ΛΥΑΤΙ

2. A bulla of Ἰωάννης Ἀλυάτης σεβαστὸς is stored in the Shaw collection 393 (no. 983), dated in the XIIth c.

Obv. St. Demetrios standing, holding a spear (r. hand), his l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground. Vertical inscription: O-A-ΓΙ-O || .-MH-TPI-O

Rev. + CΦ | ΡΑΓΙCΜΑΙΩ | AN8CERAC | T8T8AΛ | VAT8

3. Two bullae of Πόθος Ἀλυάτης πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ κατεπάνω are stored in the same collection (Zacos, III, no. 1464).

Obv. St. George standing, holding a spear (r. hand), his l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground.

Rev. .... | . ΩCΩΔ8' | ΠΟΘΩΑ'ΠΡΟ | ΕΔΡΩSKA | ΤΕΠΙΑΝ'ΤΩ | ΑΛΥΑΤΙ

Another specimen of the same person but struck with a different boulloterion is stored in the Shaw collection 852 (no. 984).

Obv. Standing figure of St. George, as above but from a different pair of dies.

Rev. + ΚΕ | Ρ'Θ' | ΠΟΘΩ | Α'ΠΡΟΕΔΡ' | ΚΑΙΚΑΤΕ | ΠΑΝ8ΤΩΑ | ΛΥΑΤΗ | --

They are dated to the last quarter of XIth c.

4. Three unpublished bullae of Συμεὼν Ἀλυάτης as a private person, dated to the second half of XIth c. are contained in the same collection of Zacos, III, no. 1484; IFEB, no. 91 and Shaw 1262 (no. 985).

Obv. +ΚΕ | ΡΗΘΕΙ | ΤΩCΩΔ8 | - ΛΩ -

Rev. CVME | ΩΝΤΩ | ΑΛΙΑ | -TH-

## 28. Μιχαήλ Ἀλυάτης πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ ταξιάρχης (X-XI c.)

Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 22936. Find-spot: the strategia of Preslav. D. 17-19 (17) 3 mm, W. 4.80 g. Unsuccessful imprint, which renders the reading of the text difficult.

Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 190.

No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of four lines:

.KERO | .Θ'.ΩC' | .8Λ.. | .AH.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

.CΠΑΘ' | .ΤΑΞ. | ΡΧ'Τ. | .ΛΙΑ.

[+][K(ύρι)ε βο[ή]θ(ει) [τ]ῷ σ(ῶ) [δ]ούλ(ω) [Μιχ]αή[λ (πρωτο)]σπαθ(αρίω)

[(καὶ)] ταξ[ιάρ]χ(η) τ[ῷ] Α[λ]ιά[τ]η)

## 29-30. Κωνσταντῖνος Ἀλοπὸς (last quarter of XI c.)

a. National Historical Museum Sofia, no. 30073. Found in the Plovdiv region (Dobri Dol) by Yanko Todorov from Shumen. D. 20-21 (over 22) 2.1 mm. Fragment larger than a half. Incomplete impression because the dies were larger than the blank.

Ed. Jordanov, Dobri dol, no. 12.

b. Historical Museum Shumen, no. 14374. Found in the fortress near to the village of Dobri Dol, Plovdiv region. D. 15-18 (?) 2.5 mm, W. 4.38 g. Incomplete impression made on a rather small or truncated blank, head of the Virgin remains.

Ed. Jordanov, Dobri dol, no. 13.

Both specimens were struck in the same boulloterion.

No parallels known.

Obv. Part of a bust of the Virgin orans with the medallion of Christ on her chest. Remaining from the sigla: .. || ΘV : [M(ήτη)ρ] Θ(εο)ῦ..

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

1. . | ΘΚ . . . . | ΘΕΙΚ . . | ΤΩΑΛ. | ..

2. + | ΘΚΕΡΟ. | . . ΙΚΩ. | . . . . | ..

+ Θ(εοτό)κε βο[ή]θει Κω[ν(σταντῖν)ω] τῷ Ἀλ[ωπῷ]

If the reading of the text is correct, the owner of the seal is a representative of the Ἀλοπὸς family. More than fifteen members of this family, occupying various offices in the imperial hierarchy, are attested in the XIth c. (see information on them collected by Seibt, *Bleisiegel*, no. 162).

Constantine Alopas is unknown from the narrative sources. He is known to us from two groups of seals:

a) μάγιστρος, βέστης, κριτής τοῦ βήλου Θράκης καὶ Μακεδονίας (see Schlumberger, *Sig.*, p. 163, no. 4; Seibt, *Bleisiegel*, S. 303, n. 9-10; Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *DOS*, 1, 43.6a-b; unpublished by IFEB, no. 9 and unpublished by Zacos, III, no. 1712).

b) βέστης, κριτής τοῦ βήλου, according to an unpublished specimen from Zacos collection, III, no. 1706.

Obv. Circular inscription: + ΚΕΡΟΗΘ'ΚΩΝΡΕCΤΗ. Bust of St. Michael is represented in the middle.

Rev. Circular inscription: + ΚΑΙΚΡΗΤΗΤ'ΡΗΛ8ΤΩΑΛΟΠΩ. In the middle a bust of the Virgin orans. Sigla: MP || ΘV.

c) πρωτοπρόεδρος, κριτής τοῦ βήλου Θράκης καὶ Μακεδονίας, according to an unpublished specimen from Zacos, III, no. 1414.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion. Circular inscription:

+ ΘΚΕΡΟΗΘ'ΤΩCΩΔ8Λ'ΚΩΝΤΩΑΛΩΠΩ.

Rev. Α'Α'ΕΔΡ8 | ΚΩΝΚΡΗΤ' | ΘΡΑΚΩΝΜΑ | ΚΕΔΟΝΩΝΤΕ | CΦΡΑΓΙCΤΥΓ | -ΧΑΝΩ-

Their dating is the third quarter of XIth c. If the owner of our seal and this Constantine Alopas are one and the same person, then ours should reflect a later stage in his life when he retired from office.

## 31. Λέων Ἀμαρτωλὸς (XI c.)

Historical Museum, Pernik, no. 217. Find-spot: the medieval fortress, 1961, sq. V/136, depth 0.60 m. D. 22-23 (18) 3 mm. Indistinct imprint, a deep crack along the channel.

Ed. Юркова, Перник, 129-130, табл. VI.1.

No parallels known.

*Obv.* Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription in two columns: .... || P-Γ-I' : [Ο ἄ(γιος) Γεώ]ργι(ος).

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

+ | KER'Θ' | ΛΕΟΝΤ. | AM.P. | ΩΛ

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Λέοντ[ι] ἄμ[α]ρ[τ]ώλο

The reading of the last two lines is uncertain due to their poor state of preservation.

Its publisher has seen the following letters: AMOP..| W...O and assumed that they record the family name Amorionaios, which she related by origin with the toponym Amorion. The absence of a definite article to the assumed family name as well as the available letters AM.P. |Ω.O provide better grounds to assume that ἄμ[α]ρ[τ]ώλο was inscribed, but whether it applies to a patronym, a sobriquet or a monk is not certain.

### 32. Μιχαήλ Ἀμάστριδος πρωτονωβελίσσιμος (XI/XII c.)

In a private collection (V. Pantelev from Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 16-19 (16) 3 mm. W. 5.60 g. Well-centered, but incomplete imprint in a good state of preservation.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans without a medallion. Sigla: M || . : M(ήτηρ) [Θ(εοῦ)].

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

. KER'Θ' | .IXAHA | ...ΕΛΙ | ..ΜΩΤΟΝΑ | .ACTPH | ..

[+]Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) [Μ]ιχαήλ [(πρωτο)νοβ]ελί[σι]μω τὸν Ἀ[μ]αστρή[δι]

There are at least two problems in the restoration of the text. One is the title, namely whether it is nobelissimos or protonobelissimos, and the other is the patronym. Since in the previous cases of XIth-XIIth-century seals the protonobelissimos was identified, in this case too there is no reason for any difference, the more so as the space of the missing letters in line 4 suggests that they were four.

The restoration of the patronym was to a certain extent prompted by the existence of a personage in the Alexiad bearing similar names.

Anna Komnene reports that ca. 1111 a certain Michael from Amastridos (Paphlagonia), who was the governor of Acrunus, was considering defection and took the town and began to ravage the surrounding countryside. On being informed of this, the emperor sent George, the son of Decanus (for him see here nos. 161-162) with an adequate force. After a siege of three months George took the city and sent the rebel to the emperor. Initially the emperor sentenced him to death, but subsequently he pardoned him and even rewarded him. Nothing more is known about this Michael (*Alexiade*, III, 156.19-26; *Skoulatos*, *Personnages*, no. 127).

If we accept the identification of the owner of the seal with this Michael from Amastridos, a question arises concerning the particular stage of his career, which it reflects: before the year 1111 or after this date?

### 33. Θεόδωρος Ἀμασειάνος πρόεδρος (last quarter of XIc.)

Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia, no. 47. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 25-25 (22) 3 mm. Good imprint and well-preserved bulla.

*Ed.* **Мушмов**, Печати, № 37.

*Parallels:* An unpublished specimen, struck in the same boulloterion, is stored in the Fogg A. M. collection, no. 255.

*Obv.* The Virgin seated on a high-backed throne, holding a medallion of Christ before her chest.

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

ΘKER'Θ' | ΘΕΟΔΩΡΩ | ΠΡΟΕΔΡΩ | ΤΩΑΜΑC | ΙΑΝ.

+ Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) Θεοδώρω προέδρῳ τῷ Ἀμασιάν[ω]

Θεόδωρος Ἀμασειάνος is unknown from the narrative sources.

An unpublished bulla with the following description is stored in the Fogg A. M. collection, no 235:

*Obv.* The Virgin, as above.

*Rev.* ΘKER'Θ' | ΘΕΩΔΩΡΩ | ΠΑΙΚΤΟΡΙ | ΤΩΑΜΑC | -ΑΝ-

+ Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) Θεωδώρῳ ραίκτορι τῷ Ἀμασ(ι)άν(ω)

Obviously, this seal belongs to the same person and reflects a later stage in his career when he was appointed rector (for this office and the ensuing titles, see **Guilland**, *Recherches*, II, 212-219; **Oikonomides**, *Listes*, p. 308).

For the etymology and the remaining representatives of the Amasianoi family, see here no.

### 34. Ἰωάννης Ἀμασειάνος (last quarter of XI c.)

A plaster cast in the collection of Prof. T. Gerasimov. On its back an inscription that the original was formerly in the possession of a collector from Varna. D. 21.5-22 (16) ? mm. Incomplete imprint, a fragment chipped. This makes the completion of the patronym somewhat problematic.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of St. Nicholas, blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand). Vertical inscription:

Θ-NI-K' || Λ-A-O' : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Νικόλαο(ς).

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

+ ΑΓΙΕ | ΝΙΚΟΛΑΕ | ΡΟΗΘΕΠΩ | ΤΟΝΑΜ. | CΙΑΝΟ.

Ἄγιε Νικόλαε βοήθει Ἰω(άννη) τὸν Ἀμα[α]σιανὸ[ν]

The etymology of the family name Ἀμασειάνος is related to the town of Ἀμάσεια in Asia Minor (**Каждан**, *Соч. состав*, 98, № 217).

The dating of the presented seal should not go beyond the late XIth c.

Known from the narrative sources:

1. Γρηγόριος Ἀμασειάνος διάκονος καὶ χαρτουλάριος, Patriarch Photius' correspondent (869-872) (see **Photius**, *Epistule*, nos. 100-102, 114).

2. Κωνσταντῖνος Ἀμασειάνος βεστιάριτης, envoy of Emperor Isaac II Angelos (1185-1195) to the katholikos of Armenia Gregory IV (see **Dölger**, *Regesten*, no. 1621 = **Wirth**, *Regesten*, no. 1567g).

Known from seals:

1. Θεόδωρος Ἀμασειάνος from the second half of XIth c. (see here no. 33)

2. Κωνσταντῖνος Ἀμασειάνος attested in two groups of seals as a private person:

- a. from the second half of XIth c. (see **Laurent**, *Inedits*, I, 46-47);  
 b. from XIIth c., according to unpublished specimens in DO.58.106.3263 and Zacos,III, no. 1680.

*Obv.* Standing figure of St. George facing.

*Rev.* .ΚΕΠΟΙC | ..ΜΑΡΤVС | .ΜΑСН | ..ΝΤΑΝ | .ΙΝΟΝ

The latter could be identified with the **aforementioned** Constantine Amaseianos.

It is hard to say whether there is any kinship tie between the IXth-century Gregory and the late XIIth-century Constantine; it may be a matter of individuals originating from the same town.

Now we could look for some kinship ties between John, Theodore and Constantine, represented by their seals.

### 35. Κωνσταντῖνος Ἀνεμᾶς σπαθᾶριος καὶ ἐπισκεπτίης Ἀρμενιακοῦ (X<sup>th</sup>-XI<sup>th</sup> centuries)

In a private collection (V. Panteleev, Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 19-20 (18) 3.5 mm. W. 8.2 g. Incomplete imprint which has been perfectly preserved.

*Ed.* **Jordanov**, *G. Names*, no. 11.1.

*Parallels:* DO. 55. 1. 2904 (See **Nesbitt, McGeer and Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 4, no. 22.14). Imprinted with the same boulloterion. Two other copies are known in which the title of spatharios is missing. One is kept at the Athens Museum of Numismatics (see **Konstantinopoulos**, *Stamoules*, no. 66), while the other was found in the fortress near the village of Nufărul, district of Tulcea, Roumania (see **Barnea**, *Pontica*, 16, 1983, 267-268, no. 4).

*Obv.* Inscription of five lines, preceded and followed by decorations:

| .. ΕΡ'Θ' | . CΩΔ8 | .ΩΝCΤΑ | .ΤΙΝCΠ | .ΘΑΠΙ. |

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines, a decoration above:

| ΣΕΠΙC | ΚΕΠ'ΑΡΜ | ΕΝΙΑΚ. | ΤΟΑΝ. | -.-

[Θ(εοτό)κ]ε β(οή)θ(ει) [τῶ] σῶ δού(λω) [Κ]ωνστα[ν]τίν(ω) σπ[α]θαρί[ω] (καὶ) ἐπισκεπ(τίτη) Ἀρμενιακ[οῦ] το Ἀν[εμᾶ]

One may ask what motivated this clerk in the administration of the Armeniakoi theme to write at least twice to what is now northeastern Bulgaria.

### 36-37. Κωνσταντῖνος Ἀντίοχος κουροπαλάτης (1080s-1090s)

- a. Archaeological Institute and Museum, Shumen, no. 24598. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 18-22 (over 22) 5 mm. Low-quality blank; there are traces of the channels for pouring lead into the mould. Two halves. Nevertheless the surface is well-preserved.

*Ed.* **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 76.

- b. Private collection (V. Panteleev from Varna, no. 294). Find-spot: Preslav. D. 20-23 (20) 4 mm, W. 8.60 g. Complete and well-preserved imprint.

*Unpublished.*

*Both specimens were struck in the same boulloterion.*

*Parallels:* Two unpublished bullae, struck in the same boulloterion and the same pair of dies, are stored in the Dumbarton Oaks collection (DO. 58.106.3980 and 58.106.4758)

*Obv.* The Virgin seated on a high-backed throne, holding a medallion of Christ before her

chest. On either side the sigla:  $\overline{MP} \parallel \overline{OV} : M(\eta\tau\eta)\rho \Theta(\epsilon\omicron)\tilde{\upsilon}$ .

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

ΘΚΕΡΟ | ΗΘΕΙΚΩΝ | Κ8ΡΟΠΑΛΑ | ΤΗΤΩΑΝ | ΤΙΟΧΩ

Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθει Κων(σταντίνω) κουροπαλάτη τῶ Ἀντιόχω

In my above-cited publication, I have made use of the narrative sources and seals familiar to me containing the name of Constantine of Antioch. Now that I have the information available from some new seals, I have determined that with those containing the title proedros (according to an unpublished seal from the Zacos collection, III, no. 1260)

*Obv.* Standing figure of St. Demetrios facing represented as a warrior.

*Rev.* .... | ΤΩCΩΔ' |  $\overline{ΚΩΝΠΡ}$ . | ΕΔΡΩΤ. | ANTIOX'

and with a group in his capacity as a private person (according to unpublished bullae from DO collection 58.106.1063 Fogg A. M. no 1805),

*Obv.* Bust of St. Demetrios facing represented as a warrior.

*Rev.* + ΚΕΡ'Θ' |  $\overline{ΚΩΝΤΩΑΝΤΙΟ}$  | ΧΟ

there is a representation of St. Demetrios on the obverse. This somehow distinguishes them from the one presented here and raises questions about whether it can be classified with the same group with the others. Do these seals belong to two different individuals who shared the same name and lived approximately at the same time?

### 39. Ρωμανὸς Ἀπλουχεῖρας (last quarter of the XI c.)

In a private collection. Found by a treasure-hunter with a metal detector in the stronghold near the village of Dobri Dol. D. 16-22 mm. Incomplete imprint with a chipped portion, in addition.

*Ed.* **Jordanov**, *Dobri dol*, no. 21.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Part of a bust of the Virgin orans with medallion of Christ on her chest.

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

..ΩΜ. | .ΟΝΑ... | ..ΙΡΑ... | .....Κ. | . . .

[Ρ]ωμ[αν]ὸν Ἀ[πλουχε]ῖρα [Παρθένε σ]κ[έποις]

Romanos Haploucheir is unknown from the narrative sources. For a survey of the representatives of the family, see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, no. 904.

Represented by his seals is Michael Haploucheir:

- a. δικαιοφύλακος, according to a lead seal from Fogg A. M., no. 955, see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, no. 904.

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans, with a medallion.

*Rev.* +| ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΜΗΔΙΚΑΙΟ | ΦΝΛΑΚΙ | ΤΩΑΠΛ8 | ΧΡ

- b. κριτής, according to an unpublished lead seal from Shaw 873 (no. 1010).

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans, with a medallion.

*Rev.* +| ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΜΙΚΡΙΘ | ΤΩΑΠΛ8 | ΧΡ

- c. ἔπαρχος, according to lead seals from IFEB, no. 851 and collection Thierry, see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, no. 1040.

*Obv.* ΚΕΡΟ | ΗΘΕΙΤΩ | CΩΔΟΝ | | ΛΩ

*Rev.* ΜΙΧ | ΕΠΑΡΧΩ | ΤΩΑΠΛ8 | ΧΕΙΡΙ

Obviously the three groups of seals belonged to same person. In the above publications,



they have been related to the person of Michael Haploucheir attested in various XIIth-century narrative sources (see **Choniates**, 270.30-31; 33520-21; **Eustathios of Thessalonike**, *The Capture*, 44.19-20, # 39).

However, the paleography of the letters from the seals, their iconography and overall appearance, according to my observations, do not extend beyond the XIth c., thus suggesting two different persons with the same names.

It is not certain what the connection between Romanos and Michael is, but they are close in time.

#### 40-42. Βασίλειος Ἀποκάπης βεστάρχης καὶ κατεπάνω Βασπρακανίας (?-1064)

a. Archaeological Institute Shumen, no. 394. Found during archeological excavations at the “Krumov dvoretz”, sq. 178, depth 0. 20 m, above the brick flooring on April 28th, 1979. D. 33.5-34 mm; field 28 mm; thickness 5 mm. Incomplete imprint because the blank slipped off the boulloterion.

Ed. **Jordanov**, *G. Names*, nos.14.1a.

b. Historical Museum, Silistra, no. 77. Find-spot: near the village of Malka Popina, district of Silistra, in 1988. D. 17-36.5 mm; field 28mm; thickness 2.5 mm. A half from originally what was probably a good specimen.

Ed. **Jordanov**, *G. Names*, nos.14.1b.

c. Private collection. Find-spot: uncertain, probably northeastern Bulgaria. D. 29-31 mm; field 28 mm; thickness 3 mm. Incomplete imprint. About a third is out of the blank.

Ed. **Jordanov**, *G. Names*, nos.14.1c.

*The three specimens are struck with the same die.*

*Parallels:* Two others specimens from same die are preserved in the collections of: the Hermitage (M-2897, see **Шандровская**, Васпуракан, 157-158, зам. 36; Zacos, III, see: **Grünbart**, Apokapes, 35-36; **Cheynet**, *Zacos*, III, no. 116. Another specimen struck in a different boulloterion or die is preserved in the same Zacos' collection. See **Grünbart**, Apokapes, S.36.

*Obv.* St. Basil standing, blessing (r. hand) and holding a book of the Gospels (l. hand).

Vertical inscription in two columns: O-A-ΓΙ-O-C || R ..... : Ὁ ἅγιος Β[ασίλειος]

*Rev.* Inscription of seven lines:

a) ..ΕΡ'Θ' | ...ΙΛΕΙΩ | ..CΤΑΡΧΗΣ | ..ΤΕΠΑΝΩΡΑ | ..CΠΡΑΚΑΝ' | ΑCΤΩΑΠΟ | ΚΑΠΟΙ – \* –  
b) ..ΕΡ'Θ' | RACIΛΕ.. | ..ΕCΤΑΡ... | ..ΤΕΠΑΝ... | ..ΠΡΑΚ.. | ..CΤΩΑ.. | ΚΑΠ..  
c) . . . . . | RACI. . . | ..ΕCΤΑ.... | ...ΕΠΑΝ... | ...ΡΑΚ.. | ..CΤΩΑ.. | ..... – \* –  
[+Κ(ύρι)]ε β(οή)θ(ει) Βασιλείω [β]εστάρχη (καὶ) [κα]τεπάνω  
Βα[α]σπρακαν(ί)ας τῷ Ἀποκάποι

Basil Apokapes was katepano of Vaspurakan before taking part in the expedition against the Guzes, at which time he came to the Balkans. His assessor was perhaps Μιχαήλ Ἀποκάπης βεστάρχης καὶ δούξ Βασπρακανίας (**Lemerle**, *Cinq*, 49-50; **Cheynet**, *L'apport*, 56-57).

He arrived on the Balkans in the capacity of vestarches and katepano of Vaspurakan. In the region of the Lower Danube he was promoted to the rank of magistros and was appointed doux of the emperor's army, sent there with the task to stop the Guzes in their crossing the Danube.

#### 43-45. Βασίλειος Ἀποκάπης μάγιστρος καὶ δούξ (1064-1065)

a. Private collection (Jordan Kassabov from the village of Bradvari, Silistra region). Found in the land of

the village. D. 30-33 (24) 3.6 mm. Incomplete imprint. The text on either side of the reverse is not imprinted.

b. Historical Museum, Silistra, no. 54 [1980]. Found in the land of the town. D. 20-34(24) 3 mm. Half of a bulla with what was once a good imprint.

c. Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia, no. 191. Originates from northeastern Bulgaria. D. 24-26(24) 3 mm. A truncated bulla, incomplete imprint.

Ed. nos. 1-2: **Jordanov**, Apokapes, nos. 1-2; **Йорданов**, Силистра, III, no. 2; **Йорданов**, **Василий Апокап**, 106-114; no. 3 Unpublished..

*Parallels:* **Barnea**, Paristrion (Paradunavon), 270-272, found in Nufărul; unpublished from the Zacos collection, III. no 1458/6. Struck in the same boulloterion as our specimens.

*Obv.* St. Basil standing, blessing (r. hand) and holding a book of the Gospels (l. hand). Vertical inscription in two columns: Θ-R-A || .... : Ὁ ἅ(γιος) Βα[σίλειος]

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

a. + ΚΕΡ'Θ' | . ACIΛΕ.. | . ΑΓΙCΤ . . | . RΕCΤCΔ8 | ΚΤΩΑΠ . | ΚΑΠ'  
b. . ΚΕΡ'Θ' | . . CΙΛΕ.. | . . . . ΙCΤΡΩ | . . . . TSΔ8 | ΚΤΩΑΠΟ | ΚΑΠ'  
c. . . . . | . . . . . | . . ΓΙCΤ . . | . . ΕCΤCΔ8 | . . . . ΑΠ . | ΚΑΠ'

When juxtaposing the three specimens struck in the same boulloterion, we can read:

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) [Β]ασιλε[ίω μ]αγίστρω, βέστ(η) (καὶ) δουκὶ τῷ Ἀποκάπ(η)

In the narrative sources, the name Basil Apokapes is reported in relation to the following events:

1054/1055: he was at the head of the defense of Mantzikert against the besieging Seljuks led by the sultan Tughrul Beg.

Aristakes Lastivertci (ch.XVI, p.101) calls Basil Apokapes “Ishkhan of the town”;

Matthew of Edessa (p. 87, sect. 3) The commander of the town was the Roman general Basil, the son of Abukab, a kind and pious man.

Michael Attaleiates (*Historia*, p. 46.12-13) - “ἡγεμὼν τῶν Ῥωμαίων”;

John Skylitzes (p. 462.61-62)- “πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς [Μανζικιέρτε], thanks to whose energy and enterprise the town was saved”.

1059:

Among the personages mentioned in Eustathios Boilas' testament of 1059, magistros Basil, identified by many investigators as Basil Apokapes, is also reported (**Lemerle**, *Cinq*, 41-42).

1065/1066:

M. Attaleiates: (*Histoire*, p. 83.10-15) “When the third indiction came and Basil magistros Apokapes was governor of the towns near Istros (ἐπαρχοντος τῶν κατὰ τὸν Ἰστρον πόλεων) the Guzes crossed the Danube. They defeated the Bulgars and the other soldiers blocking their passage and captured prisoner those who were their military commanders”.

John Skylitzes (*Continuatus*, 113-114) “Toward the fifth indiction, when to the west the lands near Istros were governed by magistros Basil Apokapes and magistros Nikephoros Botaneiates (ἐπαρχοντος τῶν κατὰ τὸν Ἰστρον πόλεων) they (the Guzes) caught off guard and defeated the soldiers who obstructed their passage, namely Bulgars, Romans and others who were with them, and took their leaders captive.”

Mathew of Edessa: (p. 105, sec. 24) “...In the year [1065-1066], a great war broke out in the West caused by the nation of the Guzes. The emperor Ducas collected troops from all the Greeks and from the forces of Armenia. He appointed the illustrious Roman magnate Basil son of Abukab, as commander of these forces. Basil advancing with many troops, came and

descended upon the great river called the Danube”.

When he was released from captivity, initially he returned to Constantinople, later came to his father Abukap in Edessa, and his father and all his people were filled with joy (**Mathieu d’Edesse**, 126-127; **Matthew of Edessa**, 105-106).

After the events in Bulgaria, his activity is related to Edessa. In this period (1077- 1078) Basil, the son of Abukab and formerly the tent keeper of David curopalates, at the behest of Philaretus collected a cavalry force and went against the city of Edessa. For six months he harassed the city with many assaults. (**Matthew of Edessa**, p.142, sec.71).

According to the same Matthew of Edessa in the year 532 [1083/1-84] Basil, the son of Abukab and lord of Edessa, died and was buried in the Church of St. George Gotewor (**Mathieu d’Edesse**, 180-181; **Matthew of Edessa**, p.146, sec.77).

The discussion regarding the person of Basil Apokapes has taken several directions:

One of the problems is whether the evidence quoted refers to the same person. Some scholars tend to accept that he is (**Guilland**, *VR*, XIII, 1-2; **Шандровская**, Васпуракан, с. 158), while others admit the possibility that two men having identical names existed (**Каждан**, Армяне, 18.2; 18.8). These questions were discussed in my summary article quoted above, as well as in the article which appeared after it by **Grünbart**, Apokapes, 29-41.

Thus, the known groups of seals with the name Basil Apokapes are as follows:

1. πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγός, according to a specimen in the Zacos collection, III, no. 1468 (see **Йорданов**, Василий Апокап, 106-107, обр.1 ; **Grünbart**, Apokapes, S. 33). Generally dates to the mid-XI c.

2. βεστάρχης καὶ κατεπάνω Βαασπρακανίας, according to four specimens from Silistra, Pliska and Istanbul (see no. here)

3. μάγιστρος βέστης καὶ δοῦξ – according to the five specimens presented here.

4. πρόεδρος καὶ δοῦξ, according to two lead seals from the collection Khory and museum Gaziantep (see **Cheyne**, Khory. 425-426).

5. πρόεδρος καὶ δοῦξ Ἐδέσης, according to three lead seals (see **Йорданов**, Василий Апокап, 108-109, обр. 4; **Grünbart**, Apokapes, 38-39).

6. πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ δοῦξ Ἐδέσης, according to three specimens in the Dumbarton Oaks collection (DO. 58. 106. 4763) and Zacos, III, nos. 1666/67-12; 1508/4 (see **Grünbart**, Apokapes, S. 39; *DOS*, 4, no. 73.1).

7. πρωτονωβελλίσμιος καὶ δοῦξ Ἐδέσης, according to a specimen in the Zacos collection, III, no. 1458/4 (see **Grünbart**, Apokapes, S. 40).

8. σεβαστός καὶ δοῦξ Ἐδέσης, according to a specimen in the collection of the museum in Antioch no. 2349 (see **Cheyne**, Antioche et Tarse, no. 53).

Do these eight groups of seals refer to the same person and how could they be related to the mentioned narrative sources?

The first group in his capacity as πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγός is the earliest. We cannot say with certainty whether it belonged to the same individual as the remaining. The iconographic subject is different. It is possible that it refers to a person different from the owner of the remaining groups of seals.

There is a better basis for identification of the owner of the next four groups of seals. Both the names and the iconographic subject are the same, and the chronological continuity of the titles and positions inscribed on the seals is readily discernible.

The earliest is the one where he is vestarches and katepano of Vaspurakan.

When was he katepano of Vaspurakan?

Generally from 1055 to 1065, but if we consider the rest of the office holders in Vaspurakan,

most probably he occupied this position from 1060 until his arrival in the Balkans. According to V. Shandrovskaja, he came to the Balkans in this capacity (**Шандровская**, Васпуракан, с. 160).

On his arrival at the Balkans or precisely in the region of the Lower Danube, he was promoted to the title of magistros and appointed doux of the imperial army, dispatched there with the task to bar the Guzes’ way through the Danube.

This position, in command of the combined imperial army for a particular military operation, finds full proof both in the above-cited words of Matthew of Edessa and of two other Byzantine chroniclers: “They defeated the Bulgars and the other soldiers blocking their passage and captured prisoner, who were their military commanders” (see **Attaleiates**, *Historia*, p. 83).

Precisely this capacity as magistros, vestes and doux is reflected on the four bullae found in the region of the Lower Danube. They illustrate the active exchange of correspondence between the commander Basil Apokapes and the various divisions subordinate to him.

The remaining three groups of seals reflect the time when Basil Apokapes was doux of Edessa in the period of 1078-1083. During this not very long period, he successively received the titles protoproedros, protonobelissimos and sebastos.

The information and commentary on the presented seals do not corroborate the identification of Basil Apokapes with magistros Basil from Eustathios Boilas’ testament. At that time he must have been vestes or vestarches but not magistros. This information probably applies to Basil Apokapes from the first group of seals.

#### 46-48. Τζυορβανέλης Ἀποχαρπης πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγός (ca. 1000)

a. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 16701. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav, 25. 10. 1978. D. 27-30 (23) 3 mm, W. 14. 20 g. Incomplete imprint in a good state of preservation.

Ed. **Йорданов**, Преслав, № 374.

b. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 17209. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav, 14. 07. 1979. D. 23-26 (23) 2 mm, W. 4. 90 g. Incomplete imprint in a poor state of preservation. The blank was smaller than the diameter of the dies.

Ed. **Йорданов**, Преслав, № 375.

c. National Historical Museum, Sofia. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 32-33 (23) 4 mm. Incomplete imprint in a poor state of preservation. Corroded lower half.

Ed. **Йорданов**, Преслав, № 376.

No parallels known.

The obverse was struck with two different dies, while the Rev. with one and the same.

Obv. Bust of St. Theodore facing, holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription: Θ-ΘΕ-Ο || .- ΩΡ-Ο’ : Ὁ ἅγιος Θεόδωρος

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

—✕— | Τ8ΡΑ | Ν’Α’СПΑΘ’ | .СТРАΤ’Г’ | .ΑΠΟΧΑ | ΡΠΙC

Τζυορβαν(έλης) (πρωτο)σπαθ(άριος) [(καὶ)] στρατ(η)γ(ός) [ὁ] Ἀποχαρπης

#### 49-51. Βασίλειος Ἀργυρός πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγός Θράκης (1020s-1040s)

a. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 17577. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav, 11. 08. 1979. D. 24.5-26 (25) 2 mm, W. 5.75 g. Incomplete imprint in a good state of preservation. Direction of the seals as with coins. Thin and flat blank.

Ed. **Йорданов**, Преслав, № 232.

b. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 24551. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav, 02. 08. 1983. A

fragment smaller than a half. Incomplete imprint.

Ed. **Йорданов, Преслав**, № 233.

c. Historical Museum, Shoumen. Findspot: Silistra. D. 14-26 (25) 2.5 mm. Incomplete imprint. Half of the specimen is missing.

Unpublished.

The three specimens are struck by the same die.

No parallels known.

Obv. Patriarchal cross on two steps with fleurons rising from base

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

— . ∙ . — | + RACIA | ΠΑΤΡΙΚ. | ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓ | ΘΡΑΚΗΣΩ | ΑΡΓΥΡΟ  
+ Βασίλ(ειος) πατρίκ(ιος) [(καὶ)] στρατηγ(ὸς) Θράκης ὡ Ἄργυρός(ς)

The information obtained from different narrative sources and attendant analysis could be supplemented by the opinion of Kazhdan. He has expressed some doubt about the identification of Basil Argyrus, strategos of Samos dispatched to Italy in 1011 as Basil Messardonites, katepano of Italy after 1010. The author also has assumed that there was more than one person bearing the name Basil Argyrus and each case must be considered separately (**Kazhdan**, Some notes, 69-70, no. 4).

Naturally, these scrupulous attempts at identification of various persons are in order, all the more so when seals are concerned. But the inscription of the seal is indisputable and it points the name of Βασίλειος πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς Θράκης ὁ Ἄργυρός. This information is unknown from other sources. This specimen dates generally to the period 1020-1040.

## 52. Θεοφάνης Ἀργυρὸς ταγματοφύλαξ καὶ χαρτουλάριος (X-XI c.)

Private collection (in the town of Pernik). Found on the land of the village of Gornoslav, Asenovgrad region. D. 17-19 (13) 3 mm, 7.75 g. Complete and well-preserved imprint.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of four lines:

+ ΘΕΟ | ΦΑΝΗΣ | ΤΑΓΜΑΤ | ΦΥΛΑΞ

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

SXAP | Τ8ΑΑΡ | ΟCOAP | ΓΥΡΟ

+ Θεοφάνης ταγματ(ο)φύλαξ (καὶ) χαρτουλάρ(ι)ος ὁ Ἀργυρὸς(ς)

Theophanes Argyros is unknown from the written sources although the prosopography of this family has been thoroughly studied. The position ταγματοφύλαξ is unknown from the written sources and refers to a lower-ranking officer in the tagma under the command of the domestikos. In this case, he holds two positions. The second χαρτουλάριος determines him as being related to the financing and supplying of the tagma.

## 53. Λέων Ἀριανίτης κουροπαλάτης (the end of XI c.)

National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 24132. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 13-15 (over 15) 2.5 mm. Incomplete imprint. Blank smaller than the diameter of the dies. A further difficulty in reading is due to the obliteration of some of the letters.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with the medallion of Christ on her chest.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

..... | ..ONTO . | .8ΡΟΠΑΛ | . 8Τ8ΑΡ | .NIT8  
[+ Σφραγὶς Λέ]οντο[ς κ]ουροπαλ(ά)[του] τοῦ Ἀρι[α]νίτου

If the reading is correct, a connection with the other three groups of seals kept in different collections is possible:

1. A bulla of Leo Arianites as magistros dated 1050s-1070s is stored in the collection O'Hara, see **Šandrovskaja-Seibt**, S.51.

2. A bulla of Leo Arianites as protoproedros and katepano of the Optimatoi dated 1070s-1080s is preserved in the Fogg collection no. 1003, see **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, DOS, 3, no. 71.27.

3. A seal of Leo Arianites as a private person dated in the end of the XI c. is preserved in the Hermitage collection (M-6116), see **Šandrovskaja-Seibt**, no. 31

Obviously, these four groups of seals belong to the same person. They determine the following cursus honorum:

- μάγιστρος (1050s-1070s)
- πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ κατεπάνω τῶν Ὀπτιμάτων (1070s-1080s)
- κουροπαλάτης (the end of the XI c.)
- private person (the end of the XI c.)

Another lead seal of a member of the same family is stored in:

- DO. 58. 106. 3399 (unpublished):

Obv. Bust of St. Theodore holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

Rev. + | KER'Θ' | ΙΩΤΩΑ | ΠΙΑ...

- Unpublished from Zacos collection, III, no. 1500:

Obv. Bust of a military saint.

Rev. + KER'Θ' | ΝΙΚΗΦ | ΟΡΟΠΠΙ | ΤΟΑΡΙΑ | ΝΙΤΗ

## 54. Ἀριέβης (late XI c.)

In a private collection (Slavei Petrov from Haskovo). Find-spot: The Blesna stronghold near the present-day Dimitrograd. D. 20-20 (18) 2 mm. Successful imprint, slightly off-center.

Ed. **Йорданов-Аладжов**, Хасковско, № 4.

Parallels: **Schlumberger**, Sig., p. 622 ; **Laurent**, *Orghidan*, no. 408; Archaeological Museum Istanbul, no. 762/2876-1966, see **Henning-Müller**, Bizans, no. 1. They were struck in the same boulloterion as our specimen.

Obv. St. Theodore standing frontally, holding a spear (r. hand), his l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground. Vertical inscription: Θ-Θ-Ε || .-Δ-Ρ' : 'Θ ἄ(γιος) Θε[ό]δωρ(ος)

Rev. Inscription in four lines:

+ KER'Θ' | .ΩCΩΔ' | ΛΩΑΡ | ΕRH  
+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) [τ]ῷ σῶ δ(ού)λῳ Ἀριέβη

The aforementioned investigators, as well as some other authors who have studied the life of this person (see **Каждан**, *Армяне*, № 45; **Skoulatos**, *Personnages*, no. 18) tend to identify the owner of the present seal with Ἀριέβης also attested by the chroniclers.

1082: At the time of the first Norman invasion in Byzantium, according to Anna Komnene, Ἀριέβης guarded the fortress in Achrida and did not allow Bohemond's further invasion (*Alexiade*, II, 22.15).

1091: A plot headed by the Celt Houmbertopoulos (on him, see no. 529-532) and the Armenian Ἀριέβης was discovered (*Alexiade*, II, 146.29-30). After they were proved guilty, they were convicted and condemned to exile and their property confiscated. Thus, according to Anna Komnene, the emperor discharged them from the extreme penalty demanded by the laws. She has expressed her attitude towards them through the characteristics "two noblemen and devotees of Mars" (*Alexiade*, II, 146.30-32)

Nothing else is known about Ἀριέβης, but Constantine Houmbertopoulos was perhaps pardoned, because in 1095 we come across him in the emperor's retinue at the head of a detachment to protect the mountain-passes through the Zygum against the Cumans (*Alexiade*, II, 193.9). This fact has given reasons to the author of the prosopographical research on the personages in the *Alexiad* (*Skoulatos, Personnages*, p. 29) to assume that Ariebe was perhaps also pardoned.

In this case too, we are coming up against the difficulty that Anna Komnene usually reports the patronym or the sobriquet of her hero. But sometimes she surprises us with the homonym, which later becomes a patronym. All that hinders the identification of her personages with owners of seals bearing the same names.

This is exemplified by the following two facts:

The documents regarding the island of Crete dated 1118 also mention Βασίλειος Ἀριέβης πρόεδρος καὶ πριμικήριος (*MM*, 6, 96.27-28).

An unpublished bulla of a certain Ἀριέβης ωβελίσσιμος καὶ δοῦξ is preserved in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection DO. 58. 106. 1816:

*Obv.* St. Theodore standing as above.

*Rev.* + ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΩΩΩΔ8' | .PIERHN8 | .ΕΛΛΙCΙM | .Δ8ΚΙ

Due to coincidence of names, iconographic subject and dating, it could be assumed that the owner of the seal is identical with the one from our specimen. By this seal we learn about the title and position of Ἀριέβης, which does not surprise us much. These are titles and positions possessed by the other leading military commanders of Alexios I Komnenos.

Exactly the same title and position also possessed the accomplice in the plot Constantine Houmbertopoulos (see nos. 529-532).

What is more important, however, is to try to answer the following questions: what is the dating of the seal of Ἀριέβης as a private person and on what occasion was his correspondence sent to the Blasna fortress? No absolutely certain answers are possible, but I am left with the impression that private seals are parallel to those with official characteristics.

### 55. Μαρία Ἀριστηνάς (late XI c.)

National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 31507. Find-spot: uncertain. Offered for purchase from a collector from the town of Russe. D. 15-18 mm. Good imprint and a well-preserved bulla.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion.

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

СΦΡΑΓ' | ΜΑΡΙΑ | ΤΗCΑΡ | ΤΙΝΑC  
Σφραγι(ς) Μαρία τῆς Ἀριστινάς

Maria could be wife or daughter of any of the numerous representatives of the Aristenos family. On them, see below. It is also quite possible that she was connected with μονῆς τῆς Ἀριστίνης (see *Janin*, *Eglises C-ple*, 56-57). On him, see below.

### 56. Ἀριστηνός ἑπαρχος (X/XII c.)

Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 15-16 (?) 2 mm. Incomplete imprint but well-preserved bulla.

*Ed.* *Мушмов*, *Печати*, № 34; *Laurent*, *Corpus*, II, no. 1036.

*Parallels:* Another specimen struck in the same boulloterion is preserved in the MK Wien, no. 350 (see *Laurent*, *Corpus*, II, no. 1036; *Wassiliou*, *Seibt*, no. 13).

*Obv.* Inscription of three lines:

+ CKE | ΠΟΙCΕ | ΠΑΡΧΟ' | ---

*Rev.* Inscription of three lines:

ΑΡΙ. | ΤΗΝΟ. | ΧΕΜ.

+ Σκέποις ἑπαρχο(ν) Ἀρι[σ]τηνό[ν] Χ(ριστ)έ μ[ου]

The difficulties in the commentary of the text come from the existence of only one name which presumably is a patronym. In the above publication, an attempt has been made to identify the owner of the seal with Michael Aristenos known from his seals as logothetes of the dromos (for him see no.57). It seems to me that the assumption made there is not supported by sufficient argument. In the presence of a patronym only, the known XIth-XIIth-century representatives of the Ἀριστηνός family should be considered as well.

The etymology of the name Ἀριστηνός is related to classical traditions in Byzantium (*Каждан*, *Соц. состав*, p.190) and is associated with the name of the town Ἀρίστη / Ἐριστή in the Bithynia (*Wassiliou*, *Seibt*, S. 85). προάστειον τοῦ Ἀριστηνοῦ (*MM*, 4, p.9.27) and μονῆς τῆς Ἀριστίνης (see *Janin*, *Eglise C-ple*, 56-57) were attested in the XIIth c.

Known for the period XI/XII c. are the following:

1. N., Ἀριστηνός, Psellos' correspondent, whose son was educated by him; in his letters he calls him "beloved brother". (*Psellos*, *S.M.* 2, 266.28-29-267.8).

2. N., Ἀριστηνός πρωτοασκηρητῆς, Psellos' correspondent; in his letters he refers to him not as "beloved brother" but "dear nephew" (*Psellos*, *S.M.*, 2, 101.2-4; 122.12;). It seems he is the aforementioned son of no. 1. Psellos knows him as protoasekretis (*Psellos*, *S.M.*, 2, 139.11). From other sources, we learn that the protoasekretis Aristenos was Psellos' student. (*Weiss*, *Untersuchen*, S. 357). He was forced to leave the capital and strove for rehabilitation through Psellos (*Psellos*, *S.M.*, 2, p. 100.16-27).

3. Γρηγόριος Ἀριστηνός πρωτοβέστης. On 21st of March 1082 he participated in the session of the case against John Italos (*Gouillard*, *Le proces*, p.145.162). The same, but already bearing the title of πρόεδρος, took part in the sessions of the Blachernae Synod of 1094 (*Gautier*, *Blachernes*, no. 39).

4. Ἀλέξιος Ἀριστηνός who held ecclesiastic and civil positions under John II and Manuel I Komnenos. He is known mainly from literary sources: one of Theodor Prodromos' letters (*Theodoros Prodromos*, T. LVI,1-2) was addressed to: τῷ πρωτοεκδίκῳ καὶ νομοφύλακι κυρῷ Ἀλεξίῳ τῷ Ἀριστηνῷ δις ὀρφανοτρόφῳ γενομένῳ; another letter of Gregory Tornikes has the following address: τῷ μεγάλῳ οἰκονόμῳ καὶ δικαιοδότῃ τῷ Ἀριστηνῷ. Darrouzes assumes that it applies to Alexios making a comprehensive survey of

his career ending as oikonomos some time around 1166. There is no available information on him after this date, but we know that in 1170 grand oikonomos was already John Pantechnes (**Darrouzes**, *Tornikes*, 53-57, 175-177, no. 28).

The following representatives of the Ἀριστηνός family are known from seals:

1. Ἀλέξιος Ἀριστηνός νομοφύλαξ, known from four bullae stored in various collections (Fogg no 827, 1061 DO 58. 106. 3259; 55. 1. 2938 and Zacos, III, no. 1726) and who has been identified (see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, nos. 912-913) with his namesake no. 4.

2. Ἀλέξιος Ἀριστηνός διάκονος, νομοφύλαξ καὶ πρωτέκδικος, according to a lead seal from DO 55. 1. 4957 (see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, V.3. no. 1650) also identified with his namesake no. 4.

3. Ἀναστάσιος Ἀριστηνός πρόεδρος, according to a bulla in the British Museum which dates to the second half of the XIth c. (see **Gray Birch**, no. 17760).

4. Βασίλειος Ἀριστηνός: πρωτοπρόεδρος – according to bullae in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul, no. 891 (**Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, p. 629; **Seibt**, **Wassiliou**, S.85, n. 402), British Museum (**Gray Birch**, no. 17760), Zacos, III, no. 1524 and Shaw, 341 (no 826); κουροπαλάτης καὶ παραθαλασίτης – according to his bulla in the Fogg A. M. collection, no 1247 (see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, no. 1132); and as a private person according to an unpublished bulla from Fogg, A. M., no. 1981.

*Obv.* Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand).

*Rev.* +|CΦΡ...C| RACIACIΘ |T8APIC. | N.

5. Ἰωάννης Ἀριστηνός

a. βέστάρχης καὶ στρατηγὸς Χίου, according to a specimen in the Hermitage (M-8077, see **Лихачев**, *Молитвословы*, LXX.10);

b. κατέπανω, according to an unpublished specimen in Zacos, III, no 1506:

*Obv.* Bust of St. John of Chrysostom.

*Rev.* - + - | .ΘΕΟΛΓ | .ΟΗΘΗΩ | ΚΑΤΕΠΑΝ | ΤΩΑΡΙCΤ' | -N'-

c. κουροπαλάτης, according to a bulla from Corinth (**Davidson**, Corinth, no. 2812) and unpublished from DO. 58. 106. 2424.

6. Μιχαήλ Ἀριστηνός πρωτοσπαθάριος, logothetes of the dromos and as a private person (on him see here no. 57).

7. Νικόλαος Ἀριστηνός as a private person according to several groups of bullae with a metrical text (see **Laurent**, *Bulles metriques*, no. 30; Fogg, A. M. 3813; Zacos, III, no 1412) and one with a standard text from DO. 55. 1. 2939.

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin holding the medallion of Christ before her.

*Rev.* ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8' | ΝΙΚΟΛΑΩ | ΤΩΑΡΙC | ΤΗΝΩ

8. N., Ἀριστηνός ἐβδομάριος καὶ ἐκ προσώπου (X-XI c.), according to a seal from Athens (see **Koltsida-Makre**, no. 379; **Seibt**, **Wassiliou**, S.85, n. 404).

9. N., Ἀριστηνός ἐπὶ τῶν κρίσεων, known from a seal where a homonym is lacking, just like with ours (see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, no. 901).

10. N., Ἀριστηνός as a private person, according to a metrical seal where a homonym is likewise lacking (**Laurent**, *Bulles metriques*, no. 461).

The survey of the known late XIth- and early XIIth-century members of the Aristenoi family does not allow us any one-sided identification of the owner of the seal presented here with Michael Aristenos, logothetes of the dromos. Almost every one of the above-listed representatives of this family could be our eparch. Most of them were men of law (see Kazhdan's conclusion *Соц. состав*, 206) and the position of eparchos could fit in the career of each of them.

## 57. Μιχαήλ Ἀριστηνός λογοθέτης τοῦ δρόμου (late XI c.)

Historical Museum, Pernik, no. 357. Found in the course of excavations of the medieval fortress, 25.06.1969, sq. V/88, depth. 0.50 m, D. 21-21 (19) 2.5 mm. Well-centered imprint and well-preserved bulla.

*Ed.* **Юркова**, *Перник*, II, 115-17, табл. II.2.

*Parallels:* two other specimens, struck with the same pair of dies, are stored in the Cabinet des Medailles, Paris, no. 43 and in the Wien MK, no. 667. See **Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, no. 439; **Wassiliou**, **Seibt**, no. 56.

*Obv.* Inscription of five lines:

+ TON. | ΠICTHNON | ΝΥΝΛΟΓΟΘΕ | ΤΗΝΔΡΟ | ΜΟV

+ Τὸν [Ἀ]ριστηνὸν νῦν λογοθέτην δρόμου

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

-.- | TONMI | ΧΑΗΛΛΕΙ | ΚΝVCICΦΡΑ | ΓΙΔOCTV | ΠOC

+Τὸν Μιχαήλ δείκνυσι σφραγίδος τύπος

An individual bearing these names is unknown in the narrative sources, although some representatives of the Aristenoi family are known.

However, there are several seals with these names:

1. A bulla of the protospatharios Michael Aristenos with a metrical text, generally dated to the XIth c., is stored in the unpublished Zacos collection, III, no. 1500.

*Obv.* Bust of archangel Michael.

*Rev.* .IXA | ..A'CΠA | ..P'TΩA | .ICTI | - N -

2. Two unpublished bullae of Michael Aristenos as a private person, with a metrical text, dated to the late XIth c., are stored in the collections of Fogg A. M. no 1880 and Zacos, III, no 1396.

*Obv.* + APIC | THNOV | CΦPAGIC | MA

*Rev.* MIXA | ΗΛΔV | TOV

The above-cited authors identify the owner of this seal, the logothetes Michael Aristenos, with the owner of the seal on which only the patronym Aristenos and the position of eparchos are inscribed. I refer to this not very convincing identification when presenting the data from his seal, found in Bulgaria. There I argue against Yurukova's unconvincing identification of Michael Aristenos from the seal with one of Michael Psellos' correspondents from the period of 1042-1055, named only his patronym Aristenos.

In the above-cited publications the suggested dating is to the third quarter of the XIth c. (Yurukova) and the XIth-XIIth c. (V. Laurent). For a more precise dating, some supporting points such as iconography, paleography, title, etc., are lacking. Nevertheless, the metrical text of the seal as well as the absence of a ligature inscribing of C + T = 47 somehow give priority to the dating suggested by Yurukova.

It is not unlikely that the owner of these two seals with the name of Michael Aristenos as protospatharios and as a private person is the same, with the first group reflecting the earliest period in his career, while those with the metrical text and as a private person refer to a period after the end of his official career.

## 58. Βασιλάκιος Ἀρβαντίνος κουροπαλάτης (the end of XIc.)

Private collection. A plaster cast of the same was sent to me by Ivan Karajotov from Burgas. It is reported that the bulla is in the possession of a collector from Burgas (Kliment Atanassov) and its find-spot is Pomorie. D. 28-28 (25) ? mm. Incomplete imprint because it was poorly centered in the boulloterion and rather indistinct, in addition. This makes difficult the overall reading.



Obv. St. George facing, standing on a suppedion, holding (r. hand) a spear on shoulder and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription: : -A-ΓI-O-C || ΓΕ-Ω-P-Γ-. : [O] ἅγιος Γεώργ[ιο(ς)]

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

...ΠΟΙ... | ΝΕΚ8ΡΟΠΑΛΤ | ΤΟΝΑΡΑΝΤ. | ΝΟΝΡΑCΙΑΚ | .ΟΝΑΝΑ.  
[Σκέ]ποι[ς ἄγ]νέ κουροπαλάτ(ην) τὸν Ἀρβαντ[η]νὸν Βασιλάκ[ι]ον ἀνα[ξ]

The text of the seal cannot be completely deciphered. From the preserved letters, we are sure that the owner was a kouropalates from the Arbantenoi family and that his proper name was Basilakios. He is unknown from the narrative sources. There is no such person in Guiland's prosopographical list of the kouropalatoi (**Guiland**, *Curopolate*, 201-249). In the same list, we can find Kale's father (Pakourianos by marriage), the kouropalates Basilakos, whose family name is unknown. Having in mind that the Arbantenoi are related to the Armenian families (see **Каждан**, *Армяне*, 29.6; 67), it is not unlikely that this is the same kouropalates Basilakios.

Reference of the representatives of the Arbantenoi family, attested on their seals, can be seen in **Seibt**, *Bleisiegel*, no. 116; **Wassiliou**, **Seibt**, no. 293.

#### 59. Ἰωάννης Ἀρβαντίνος (XI-XII c.)

National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 31918. Found in the stronghold near the village of Razboina-Prosenik, Burgas region, by Vassil Dimitrov Vassilev. It was purchased for the collection of the National Historical Museum in Sofia. D.14-16 (13) 2 mm. Superb imprint.

Unpublished.

Parallels: **Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, p. 619, no. 1, stored in the Hermitage (M-6544), see **Šandrovskaja-Seibt**, no. 23.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with medallion. Sigla:  $\overline{M}$  ||  $\overline{\Theta}$  : M(ήτηρ) Θ(εοῦ).

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+ CΦΡΑΓ' |  $\overline{I\omega T}$ 8AP | RANTH | NOV  
+ Σφραγ(ίς) Ἰω(άννου) τοῦ Ἀρβαντηνοῦ

Ἰωάννης Ἀρβαντίνος σεβαστός καὶ γαμβρός is attested in the XIIth c. (1133-1166) in the narrative sources (see **Gautier**, *L'obituaire*, 241.85-86; 260-262. A commentary on this family is offered there too).

There are several known groups of seals with this name:

1. κουροπαλάτης, dated to the late XIth or the early XIIth c. (see **Stavrakos**, no. 23 and the unpublished ones in the Hermitage, M-6714, 6715, 5839);

Obv. St. Theodore standing holding (r. hand) a spear on shoulder and a shield (l. hand).

Rev. + KER'Θ' |  $\overline{I\omega K}$ 8PO | ΠΑΛΑΤΗ | ΤΩΑΡΑΝ | ΤΗΝΩ

2. as a private person, dated to the XIIth c., according to two groups of seals:

a. see **Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, p.619, no. 2, stored in the Hermitage (M-8250); **Laurent**,

*Bulles metriques*, no. 179; **Šandrovskaja-Seibt**, no. 24.

Obv. Composition representing the descent of Christ to hell.

Rev. ΙΩΑΝΝΗΝ | ΜΕΤΟΝΑΡ | ΡΑΝΤΙΝΟΝ | ΚΕΠΟΙC

b. according to an unpublished bulla, DO. 58. 106. 2910.

Obv. Bust of St. Theodore holding a spear (r. hand) and shield (l. hand).

Rev. ΜΕΓΑ | ΛΟΜΑΡΤ | ΦΥΛΑΤΕ |  $\overline{I\omega T}$ ΟΑΡ | ΡΑΝΤΙΝ

The dating of our seal is generally to the late XIth or the early XIIth c. It is difficult to identify its owner with Ἰωάννης Ἀρβαντίνος σεβαστός καὶ γαμβρός.

#### 60. Παῦλος Ἀρμενοπούλος βεστάρχης (third quarter of XI c.)

Private collection. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 21-23 mm. Incomplete imprint, poorly centered in the boulloterion, which makes reading difficult.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of four lines:

..... | ..CΩΔ.. | ..ΡΛΩΡΕ | ..ΑΡΧΗ

Rev. Inscription of three lines:

. ΩΑΡ. | ΝΩΠΩ | \* ΛΩ \*

[+Κ(ύρι)ε βο(ή)θ (ει) τῷ] σῶ δ[ούλ(ω) Πα]βλω βε[στ]άρχῃ [τ]ῷ  
Ἀρ[μ(ε)]νωπώλω

Paul Armenopoulos is known solely by his seals:

1. On both sides of an unpublished bulla in the Dumbarton Oaks collection (DO. 58.106.5109) is inscribed:

+ ΚΕ | ΡΟΗΘΕΙ | ΠΑΝΛΩ | ΠΡΩΕ | ΔΡΩ - ΚΑΙ | ΔΟΝΚΙ | ΤΩΑΡΜΕ | ΝΟΠΟΛΟ | ο ΛΩ ο

The text on either side of the bulla is encircled with a border of pellets and dots.

2. On both sides of a bulla in the collection of the Hermitage (M-6801) is inscribed:

- + - | ΗCΦΡΑ | ΓΙCΠΑΝ | ΛΟΝ - Δ8ΚΟC | ΑΡΜΕΝΟ | ΠΩΛ8 | - • -

(see **Schlumberger**, *Inedit*, no. 250; **Laurent**, **Metriques**, no. 152; **Šandrovskaja-Seibt**, no. 33).

Its first publisher (**Schlumberger**) identifies the doux Paul Armenopoulos with the military commander Armenopoulos who was dispatched by Michael IV (1034-1041) against the Serbian prince Stefan Voislav (1040-1052) and suffered a defeat. The dating of the metrical seal is generally to the last quarter of the XIth c., which makes the above identification risky (as **Kazhdan** has noted, *Армяне*, № 27.1-2, but putting forward different arguments).

It is obvious that the three bullae illustrate Paul Armenopoulos who had a career in the third quarter of the XIth c. initially as vestarches, later as proedros in charge of military tasks.

It is not unlikely that there is a connection between Paul Armenopoulos

and the owner of the seal Bardas, gambros of the vestarches and doux Paul (unpublished from Historical Museum of Silistra)

Obv. ΘΚΕΡΟ | ΗΘ..RAP | ΔΑ...AM | R...8Δ' | -.OC-

Rev. -.∴.- | ΚΥΡΟΝ | ΠΑΝΛΟΝ | ΚΑΙΡΕC | ΤΑΡΧΗ | -.∴.-

Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθ[ει] Βάρδα [τῷ γ]αμβ[ρῳ τ]οῦ δου[κ]ός κυροῦ Παῦλου καὶ  
βεστάρχῃ

#### 60A. Μιχαήλ Ἀρνής ὑπατος καὶ βεστιαρίτης (mid-XI c.)

Private collection (V. Stankov from Batak). Find-spot: Melnitsa, Elhovo region. D. 27-28 mm. A good and

well-preserved imprint.

*Unpublished.*

*Parallels:* **Sandrovskaja, Seibt**, no.34, struck in a different boulloterion.

*Obv.* Bust St. Michael holding a scepter ornamented with three balls (r. hand) and a globus (l. hand). Inscription: M-I || X-A : Μιχα(ήλ)

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΜΙΧΑΗΛ | ΥΠΑΤΩΝΣ | ΡΕCΤΙΑΡ' | ΤΗΝΤΟΝ | ΑΡΝΗΝ | – ο –  
+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Μιχαήλ ὑπατων (καὶ) βεστιαρ(ί)την τὸν Ἀρνήν

#### **61-62. Βραχάμιος Ἀρσακίδης βεστάρχης** (third quarter of XI c.)

a. Archaeological Museum, Preslav, no.18526. Find-spot: strategeia of Preslav, 22.05.1980. D. 22-23 (19) 5 mm, 16.09 g. Complete and well-preserved imprint.

*Ed.* **Йорданов, Преслав**, № 71.

b. Archaeological Museum, Preslav, no. 1841. Find-spot: strategeia of Preslav, 17. 05. 1980. D. 23-24 (19) 4.5 mm, 10.90 g. Once a good imprint heavily damaged during excavation.

*Ed.* **Йорданов, Преслав**, № 72.

*No parallels known.*

*The two specimens were struck with the same die.*

*Obv.* St. George standing facing, holding a spear (r. hand) and resting his l. hand on shield set on the ground. Vertical inscription on either side: Θ-Γ-Ε || Ω-Ρ-Γ' : Ὁ ἄ(γιος) Γεώργ(ιος).

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΡΑΧΑΜ' | ΡΕCΤΑΡΧ' | ΤΟΝΑΡCΑ | ΚΙΔΗΝ  
+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Βραχαμ(ίω) βεστάρχ(η) τὸν Ἀρσακίδην

To supplement the presentation in the above-cited publication, I wish to add the information from V. Seibt's special study of this family. He quotes evidence mainly from Armenian sources, according to which one of the sons of Gregory Magistros Arsacid, later katholikos of the Armenians under the name of Gregory II (1055-1105), was called Vahram; in one of his father's letters dated 1055, he is called Vahram, vestes (see **Seibt**, Arsakuni, no. 5, n.28). It is not unlikely that the owner of the seal affixed on the correspondence to Preslav and that vestes Vahram Arsacid are one and the same person. In this case the seal from Preslav must reflect a later stage in his career.

To whom in Preslav and on what occasion was Vahram Arsacid's correspondence sent? I will try to answer that when I present information on the rest of the representatives of the Arsacid family.

#### **63-64. Τικράνιος Ἀρσακίδης** (second half of XI c.)

a. Historical Museum, Panagjurishte. Found in the course of excavations in the medieval fortress "Kressen". D. 13-17 (10) 3.5 mm. Good imprint. Blank rather thick and the strike on the boulloterion quite heavy, which caused the dies to go rather deep.

*Ed.* **Топтанов, Д. - А. Марос**, Моливдовул от средновековната крепост Красен при Панагюрище.- Нумизматика, 4, 1986, 34-37.

b. Private collection (a collector from Pernik). From the vicinity of the village of Starossel, Plovdiv region. D. 15-16 mm. Incomplete imprint.

*Unpublished.*

*The two specimens were struck with the same die.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Inscription of four lines:

+ΤΙ | ΚΡΑΝΗ | ΣCΦΡΑ | ΓΙC

*Rev.* Inscription of three lines:

Τ8ΑΡ | CΑΚΙ | Δ8C

+Τικρανίου σφράγισ(μα) τοῦ Ἀρσακίδους

Obviously, the owner of the seal who sent his correspondence to an unknown recipient in the "Krasen" fortress is not a Greek but probably has an Armenian origin from the Arsacid (Aršakuni) family, who had switched to service in Byzantium.

In his prosopographical study of Byzantine families of Armenian origin, A. Kazhdan has recorded only one representative of this family by his seals (see **Каздан, Армяне**, № 62.3).

Probably this prompted Seibt's ambition to search out and record all seals connected with this family (see **Seibt**, Arsakides). Here is a list of the members of this family:

1. Ἀπελγαρίφης Ἀρσακίδης ἀνθύπατος, πατρίκιος, βέστης καὶ στρατηγὸς Σελευκίας- after mid-XIth c.

2. Βραχάμιος Ἀρσακίδης βεστάρχης- the third quarter of the XIth c. (see no. 61-62).

3. Γρηγόριος Ἀρσακίδης μάγιστρος ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος, δούξ Βασπρακανίας καὶ Ταρῶνος (1050-1058).

4. Γρηγόριος Ἀρσακίδης – a private person of the last quarter of the XIth c.

5. Θεόδωρος Ἀρσακίδης μάγιστρος καὶ κατεπάνω Καρσίου (1065-1073).

6. Κωνσταντῖνος Ἀρσακίδης – a private person of the XIth-XIIth c.

7. Πακουριάνος Ἀρσακίδης κουροπαλάτης and πρωτοκουροπαλάτης (XI/XII c.)

It is hard to determine the direct connection of Tikranes Arsacid with the above. He is undoubtedly a representative of the same family and a chronological successor of most of them.

The dating of this seal is to the second half or most probably to the late XIth c.

In a letter of Gregory Arsacid (no. 3 here), the name of Tikranes who is assumed to be his uncle, is also mentioned (see **Seibt**, Arsakides, S. 353, n. 22). The dating of the bulla from Krassen makes such an identification unacceptable. Most probably in this case, we are dealing with another member of the Arsacid family with the very popular name Tikranes.

Another difficult question to answer is to whom in the "Krassen" fortress Tikranes Arsacid wrote in the late XIth c. In nearby Philippopolis, the doux was the Armenian Gregory Kourkouas (see nos. 368-371). There was a considerable Armenian colony in this part of the country. A connection is likely to be found between the Arsacids and the Pakourianoι, whose representative Gregory at that time founded Bachkovo monastery.

#### **65. Γρηγόριος Ἀρτοκλίνης βεστάρχης** (third quarter of XI c.)

Historical Museum, Dobrich, no. I 1281. Find-spot: Silistra. D. 15-16 (12) 3.5 mm. Incomplete imprint. The obverse is well printed, but the reverse is a little off-center, and as a result the last two lines with the patronym are missing. From the initial letters I would suggest the completion τ[ῶ] Ἀ[ρ]τ[ο]κλ[ίνης]. The name of the katepano Constantine Artoklines is reported in Skylitzes (see **Skyllitzes**, 422.25)

Ed. Йорданов, Силистра, IV, № 4.  
No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding the book of the Gospels (l. hand).  
Vertical inscription: ⬤ -N-I || K-O-Λ-A' : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Νικόλα(ος).  
Rev. Inscription of five lines:  
+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙ' | ΡΕCΤΑΡΧ' | Τ.ΡΤ. | ΚΛ  
+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Γρηγορί(ω) βεστάρχ(η) τ[ῷ] Ἀ]ρτ[ο]κλ(ίνη)

#### 66. Λέων Ἀστραμηνός (XII/ XIII c.)

Archaeological Institute and Museum, Veliko Turnovo. Discovered in the course of archaeological excavations on the Tzarevetz under the supervision of Zlatka Genova. D. 28-30 mm. Good imprint and a well-preserved bulla.  
Unpublished.  
No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Nicholas facing, blessing (r. hand) and holding the book of the Gospels (l. hand). Vertical inscription: ⬤ -NI-KO || Λ-A-OC : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Νικόλα(ος).  
Rev. Inscription of five lines:  
+ | Α'ΡΑ | ΜΗΝΟΝΛΕ | ΟΝΤΑΠΑΜΜΑ | ΚΑΡCΚΕ | ΠΟΙC  
+ Ἀστραμηνὸν Λέοντα, παμμακαρ, σκέποις

Λέων Ἀστραμηνός is unknown from other sources. It is possible that the patronym Ἀστραμηνός derives from a toponym, possibly related to the town of Ἀστρος, for it see BZ, 2, 1893, 73-75; 17, 1908, 92-107.

Another salient question is the presence of the bulla in the Bulgarian capital Veliko Turnovo. The dating of the seal is generally to the XIIth-XIIIth c., which will require further investigation.

#### 67. Ἰωάννης Ἀτζίμης (XIII/XIV c.)

Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 38-39 (38?) 4 mm. Incomplete imprint. Some of the side letters are out of the blank or partially have not been printed, which has made the reading of the text more difficult.  
Ed. Мухомов, Печати, № 50.  
Parallels: Konstantopoulos, Stamules, no. 117; Laurent, Bulles, metriques, no. 267, 267a. Struck with the same boulloterion as our specimen.

Obv. St. Michael nimbate and winged, standing facing; wear cuirass short chiton and military chlamys; in r. drawn sword resting on shoulder; l. placed on sheath standing on ground.  
In field l. and r. sigla: || M.  
Rev. Inscription of seven lines:  
ΟΤΩΝΑ. | ΛΩΝΤΑΓΜΑ | ΤΩΝΑΡΧΗΓΕ | ΤΗCCKΕΠΟΙC | ΕΥΜΕΝΩCΑ |  
ΤΖΙΜΗΝΙΩ | ΑΝΝΗΝ  
'Ο τῶν ἀ[ύ]λων ταγμάτων ἀρχηγέτης σκέποις εὐμενῶς Ἀτζίμην Ἰωάννην

Probably Mushmov did not have at his disposal Konstantopoulos' publication, where the specimen is well-preserved, and he did not succeed in the reading of this rather difficult text

of the seal. In his view, the owner of the seal is Oteon archegetes of the XIIth-XIIIth c.

Although Konstantopoulos had a better preserved specimen and was largely more experienced in reading of such texts than Mushmov, he nonetheless could not read the patronym. According to him it is Ἀγρίμης.

Laurent has examined this seal at least twice: once reviewing Konstantopoulos' publication (Laurent, Bulletin, II, p. 818, n.11) and a second time, with his own publication on metrical seals (Laurent, Bulles metriques, no. 267). In both cases, he has fully adopted Konstantopoulos' reading. He hardly offers any new reading of Ἀτζίμης Ἰωάννης in his book's additions, since it was only in the last moment when he received a photo of a better preserved specimen from the photo archives in Vienna in reference to a specimen preserved in Budapest.

From the illustration of the specimen in Stamules collection and the one in Archaeological Museum- Sofia, it is evident that T is followed by a sign resembling S, Z or minuscule ζ, which renders the reading of the patronym Ἀτζίμης correct.

The previous publishers have suggested a dating to the XIIth-XIIIth-century. However, the image of archangel Michael and the paleography of the characters point to a late XIIIth- or XIVth-century dating.

Ἰωάννης Ἀτζίμης is unknown from the narrative sources. Among Micheal Gabras' correspondents is a certain Μιχαήλ Ἀτζίμης, domestikos of the eastern themes (see Gabras, Briefe, no. 76).

Whether there is any connection between him and Ἰωάννης Ἀτζίμης is hard to say. Presumably they belong to the same family.

#### 68. Μιχαήλ Ἀτουέμης σεβαστός (XIII/XIV c.)

Historical Museum, Iambol, no. II 1034. Currently in the exhibition of the National Historical Museum in Sofia, from where I obtained a plaster cast. The original was found in the stronghold near the village of Pravdino, Iambol region. D. 33-37 (over 32) 5 mm. An overall complete and distinct imprint but some of the relief parts, such as the face of the St. Michael, are obliterated.

Ed. Йорданов, Севаст, № 30.

Parallels: A bulla struck in the same boulloterion and commented on by almost all eminent specialists in the field of the Byzantine sigillography is stored in the Athens Numismatic Museum: Froehner, no 12. He has assumed that the seal belonged to a certain sebastos Angelos; Schlumberger, Sig., p. 584, no. 31, and is hesitant regarding the patronym Angelos Konstantopoulos, no. 493 is of the same opinion, but later in a marginal note to a specimen in his book in the possession of the Athens Numismatic Museum he adds that a better preserved specimen was shown to him by Mr Chr. Asimos, a deputy from the Cycladic Islands, with a preserved last line containing the inscription ΑΤ8ΕΜΗΝ, which might be the owner's family name (I take the opportunity to express once again my thanks to Dr. I. Touratsoglou from the Athens Numismatic Museum for sending a photocopy of Konstantinopulos' book and deciphering the marginal note). Laurent (Bulles metriques, no. 34), being unfamiliar with that marginal note, adopts Schlumberger's view, but limits the dating to the XIIth-XIIIth (?) c.; three unpublished bullae are stored in Zacos' collection, III, no. 1650. All six (along with ours) were struck in the same boulloterion or the same pair of dies.

Obv. St. Michael standing on a dais with open wings and ruler's insignia. He holds a long labarum (r. hand) and a globe with a cross above, at the r. the sigla:

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

.ΧΩΝΜΙ | ΧΑΗΛΑΤΑΓΜΑ | ΤΩΝ8ΡΑΝΙΩ. | ΦΡΟΥΡΕΙΜΙΧ. | ΗΛCΕΒΑ'ΟΝ |  
ΑΤ8ΕΜΗΝ  
[Ἄρ]χων Μιχαήλ ταγμάτων οὐρανίω[ν] φρούρει Μιχ[α]ήλ σεβαστὸν Ἀτουέμην



The owner of the seal is sebastos Μιχαήλ'Ατουέμης. Other representatives of the 'Ατουέμης family with a variant writing 'Ατούμης from the XIth through the XIVth c. are known in the literature (for general information, see **Seibt**, *Bleisiegel*, I, 317-318, and for the later period see PLP, nos. 1639-1650). The etymology of this patronym, according to some, comes from ataman (see **Seibt**, *Bleisiegel*, S. 318), according to others they are Armenians from Utman (see **Каждан**, *Армяне*, № 62:2) and according to a third opinion they are Turks (see **Moravcik**, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, 79, 214).

Before making an attempt to identify the owner of the seal with a person from the narrative sources, it is necessary to try to date the seal itself.

The shortened figure of St. Michael, the combined decoration of the loros of the imperial dress as well as the overall iconography point to a general dating to the XIIIth-XIVth c., the second half of the XIIIth c. being more plausible. The paleography of some of the characters, mostly the closed B (in the dated seals this letter appears after 1254-1258 see **Oikonomides**, *Dated*, p. 159) also points to such dating.

Two Michaels with the patronym 'Ατουέμης / 'Ατούμης are known from the narrative sources:

The name of the one Μιχαήλ 'Ατουέμης is written under a manuscript dated Sept 18, 1310, written by him and his brother Constantine in the village of Βολιόνες on Crete (see **Turyn**, *Dated manuscripts*, p. 108).

The name of the other Μιχαήλ 'Ατουέμης is also known from a manuscript dated 1349 (*N.Ell.*, 7, 1910, p. 142, no. 62).

I cannot say whether some of them could be identified with the owner of the seal who sent his correspondence to a recipient unknown to us, residing in the fortress near the present-day village of Pravdino, Iambol region. Nevertheless, my impression is that the owner of the seal must have been a military person, though that does not rule out the possibility of his devotion to literature and writing at a later stage.

We should always keep in mind the reasonable questions of when and to whom this correspondence was sent. The dating of the seal to the XIIIth-XIVth c. (or the second half of the XIIIth c.) makes it possible to find particular events which allow for the presence of the addressee of the sebastos Μιχαήλ 'Ατουέμης in the fortress near the present-day village of Pravdino. Such a presence, as in most cases, could be related to a military expedition of the Empire for settling issues on the relations with Bulgaria (for some of them, see the seal of the despotes Constantine Palaiologos, no.550).

Other early XIIIth-century representatives of this family, holding the same title, are also known:

1. Βάρδας 'Ατουέμης σεβαστός, known from a document dated to 1216 (*MM.*, 6, S. 175.33);

2. Νικηφόρος 'Ατούμης σεβαστός, attested on a bulla dated to the XIIth-XIIIth c. (see **Seibt**, *Bleisiegel*, I, no. 174)

#### 69. Λέων 'Αττικὸς (XII c.)

In a private collection (Stefan Bilik from Sofia). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 22-18 mm, W. 8.866 g. Imprint of a superb state of preservation, yet slightly off-centered on the reverse.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* The hand of God occupies the whole depiction. On either side the inscription:

X-ΕΙΡ || Κ̅V̅ : Χεῖρ Κ(υριο)ῦ .

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

CONATTI | KONAΕONTA | ΧΕΙΡΘVCKE | ΠOIC

+Σὸν 'Αττικὸν Λέοντα, Χεῖρ Θ(εο)ῦ, σκέποις

The etymology of this family is related to the toponym 'Αττικὸς. Its best known representative is Kosmas, who in 1146-1147 was patriarch of Constantinople. The remaining known representatives of this family were also church officials. Λέων 'Αττικὸς was probably a cleric, bishop and metropolitan bishop too. It is not by chance that the hand of God is represented on the obverse of his seal. The same is unknown from other sources.

The name of 'Ιωάννης 'Αττικὸς, diakonos and exarchos of the bishopric, is reported in a patriarchal decree of October 1256 in reference to the monastery Virgin Makriotissa in the Δημήτριας bishopric (**Grumel**, *Regestes*, no. 1333).

#### 70-71. Μιχαήλ Αὐλῶνα πρωτονωβελίσσιμος (XI/XII c.)

a. In a private collection (of Vurban Vurbanov, Elhovo). Find-spot : fortress near the village of Melnitsa. D. 16-17 mm. In spite of the small blank, almost all letters are printed with some exceptions from the last two lines. A well-preserved bulla.

*Ed.* **Jordanov**, Melnitsa, no.38.

b. Private collection (Ivan Yotov, Iambol). Find-spot: probably from the village of Melnitsa. D. 19-19 mm. Poorly damaged specimen which might have been an incomplete imprint. From the available letters we may surmise that the seal belonged to the same dignitary Michael Avlonas.

*Unpublished.*

*Both specimens are struck in the same boulloterion.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with out of medallion. Sigla: .. || ΘV : [Μ(ήτη)ρ] Θ(εο)ῦ.

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

a. +| MIXAHA| A'NOREAH | CIM'TON. | .ΛONA

b. +| .. XAH . | .. OREΛ I | ..... | ..... .

+ Μιχαήλ (πρωτο)νοβελισίμ(ω) τὸν [Αὐ]λωνα

The main problem in the interpretation of this seal is the precarious reading of the last two lines, where the patronym was inscribed. The available letters .|.ΛONA suggest an association with the town of Avlona-Valona (Αὐλῶνα).

The dating of the bulla is generally to the late XIth c. or the early XIIth c. If the completion of the missing letters is correct, then the owner of the seal comes from the town of Avlona. This town was a strategic citadel in the wars of Alexios I Komnenos against the Normans both in 1081 and in 1108 (for the course of events, see *Alexiade*, III,104; **Златарски**, *История*, II, 170-177, 240-246).

The name of Michael Avlona is unfamiliar to me from the narrative sources. In 1108, Michael Kekaumenos, presumably protonobelissimos too, was appointed commander of the Byzantine forces in Avlona (**Skoulatos**, *Personnages*, no. 133; **Savvides**, *Cecaumenos*, no. 6). The question arises: could it be possible that Anna Komnene has mistaken the names or that this military commander, after winning a victory, was given the sobriquet of Avlonas, which also appears on his seal?

**72-73. Χριστοφόρος Βασπρακανίτης πρωτοκυροπαλάτης (late XI c.)**

a. Private collection (St. Bilik, Sofia). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 16-18 (15) 2.5 mm. W. 6.04 g. Incomplete imprint, but a well-preserved bulla.

Ed. Билик, Фамилни имена, N 19.

b. Historical Museum, Nova Zagora, no. 921.- Settlement Mound, Diadovo. Found in the course of regular archaeological excavations of the medieval settlement above the Diadovo mound in 1999. D.15-19 (15) 3 mm. Incomplete imprint, slightly off center, and a bulla in a poor state of preservation.

Unpublished.

Both specimens are struck in the same boulloterion.

No parallels known.

Obv. St. Christophoros standing, holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand set on a shield resting on the ground. Vertical inscription: ⬤ -X-PI-CT-O || Φ.-PO-C: 'Ο ἄγιος Χριστοφ[ό]ρος

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

a) . KER'Θ' | .PICTOΦ' | .ΚΟΡΟΠΑ | ΛΑΤΗΤΟΡ | .CΠΡΑΚΑ | NITH

b) . . ER'Θ' | .PICTOΦ' | .ΚΟΡΟΠ . | . ΑΤΗΤΟΡ | . . ΠΡΑΚΑ | . . ΤΗ

[+] Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) [Χ]ριστοφ(όρω) [(πρωτο)]κοροπαλάτη το Β[α]σπρακανίτη

Χριστοφόρος Βασπρακανίτης is unknown from the narrative sources.

Bullae of the same dignitary, but bearing a different title, are stored in the collection of the Hermitage (M-6716):

Obv. St. Christophoros standing as above. Vertical inscription in two columns:

⬤ -X-P-I-C||.-O-ΦO-PO-C

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

.ER'ΗΘ' | .PICTO | ΦΟΡ'Α'Α'ΕΔΡ' | ΤΟΑΣΠΡΑ | Κ'ΝΙΤΙ | --

It reflects an earlier stage of the career of Χριστοφόρος [Β]ασπρακανίτης.

**74. Abraham bar Bakos (XI c.)**

Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 20201. Find-spot: Strategia of Preslav. D. 19-21.5 (19) 4 mm. W.10.85 g. There was a slight slipping and dislocation of the obverse in relation to the reverse at the striking.

Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 421.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans. No medallion of Christ visible. Sigla:  $\overline{MP}$  ||  $\overline{\Theta V}$  : Μ(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ.

Rev. Syriac inscription of four lines, which transcribed in Latin says:

Abrah | m bar | Bako | s

+ Abraham bar Bakos

**75-76. Βαρδάνιος Βαλανέας πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς (mid-XI c.)**

a. Historical Museum, Silistra, no. 51. Found in the course of excavations in Dristra (Silistra) in 1992. D. 27-27.5 mm. A well-preserved specimen.

Unpublished.

b. Private collection. Find-spot: uncertain. D.28-29 mm. A well-preserved specimen.

Unpublished.

Both specimens are struck in the same boulloterion.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand). Vertical inscription:

.... || Λ-AO-C : ['Ο ἄγιος Νικό]λαος

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

RAPΔAN | A'CΠAΘ'S | CTPAT'Γ' | TONRA | - AN'-

Βαρδαν(ίω) (πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίω)(καὶ) στρατ(η)γ(ῶ) τὸν Βαλ(α)ν(έα)

For the person of Βαρδάνιος Βαλανέας, see below, where he is presented in a later stage of his career.

**77-80. Βαρδάνιος Βαλανέας πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς (mid-XI c.)**

A.

a. Historical Museum, Silistra, no.51. Found during excavations in Dristra in 1992. D. 27-27.5 mm. Well-preserved specimen.

Unpublished.

b. Private collection. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 28-29 mm. Well-preserved specimen.

Unpublished.

c. Historical Museum Shumen, no. 14818. According to its former owner, it was found in the Pliska area. D. 21.5-23 (22) 3 mm, W. 10.44 g. Well-centered. Once a good imprint, but there is now in the center a hole 9 mm in diameter; used as a weight for a spindle (?).

Unpublished.

The three specimens come from the same boulloterion.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand). Vertical inscription: .... || Λ-AO-C : ['Ο ἄγιος Νικό]λαος

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ KER'Θ' | RAPΔAN | A'CΠAΘ'S | CTPAT'Γ' | TONRA | - AN'-

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Βαρδαν(ίω) (πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίω) (καὶ) στρατ(η)γ(ῶ) τὸν Βαλ(α)ν(έα)

B.

Private collection. I examined it at a meeting of numismatists in Veliko Turnovo on April 5, 2003. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 16-28 mm. Fragment of about one third of what was once a good imprint.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Nicholas, as above. Remains of an inscription: .... || Λ-AO-C : ['Ο ἄγιος Νικό]λαος

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

..... |..CΩΔ8' | ...Δ'Α'CΠ |...PAT'T | ...NEA-

[ +Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῶ] σῶ δού(λω) Βαρ]δ(ανίω) (πρωτο)σπ[αθ(αρίω) (καὶ) στ]ρατ(ηγῶ) τ(ῶ) [Βαλ(α)]νέα

### 81-82. Βαρδάνιος Βαλανέας δισύπατος καὶ κατεπάνω (1050s)

a. Archaeological Institute and Museum, Shumen, no. 2387. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 27-28 (27) 3 mm. W. 10.70 g. Well-centered and well-preserved imprint.

Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 327.

b. National Historical Museum-Sofia, no. 24819. Find-spot: the stronghold near the village of Zlati Voyvoda. D. 20-21 (?) 3 mm. W. 4.66 g. Incomplete imprint. Blank quite smaller than the diameter of the dies, but nevertheless a well-centered imprint.

Ed. Jordanov, Zlati Voyvoda, no. 2.

Both specimen come from the same boulloterion.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand). Vertical inscription in two columns: Θ-NI-K' || Λ-AO-C : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Νικ(ό)λαος

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

a) + KER'Θ' | RAPΔ'ΔIC | ΠΑΤ'SKATE | ΠΑΝΩΤΩ | ΡΑΛΝΕΑ | -✕-

b) . . . . . | . APΔ'ΔI . | . AT'SKAT . | ΠΑΝΩΤΩ | ΡΑΛΝΕΑ | -✕-

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Βαρδ(ανίω) δισ(υ)πάτ(ω) (καὶ) κατεπάνω τῷ Βαλ(α)νέα

### 83. Βαρδάνιος Βαλανέας πατρίκιος καὶ κατεπάνω (1050s-1060s)

Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav. Found in the course of excavations in the Palace sector 161/183 of the Southern Square, at a depth of 0.65, in a grave, by the knees of the buried person, by archaeologist Snezhana Stefanova in person on 31<sup>st</sup> August 1994. D. 24-25 (25?) 1.5-3 mm. Well-centered imprint in an excellent state of preservation.

Ed. Vaklinova, V. An Unpublished Byzantine Seal from Veliki Preslav.- *Archeologia Bulgarica*, 4, 2000, 1, 87-93.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Nicholas as above.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+ KER'Θ' | RAPΔ'ΠI | SKATEΠIN | ΤΩΡΑΛΑΝ

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Βαρδ(ανίω) πα(τρ)ικίω (καὶ) κατεπ(ά)ν(ω) τῷ Βαλαν(έ)α

Its publisher suggests a dating in the period 1099-1108, thus trying to identify Bardanios Balaneas with one of the conspirators named Bardanios under Emperor Alexios I Komnenos. Obviously, this does not correspond to the dating of the seal.

The collection of IFEB no. 314 contains a specimen, on which Bardanios Balaneas is βεστάρχης καὶ κατεπάνω (see Seibt, BZ, pez. no. 327).

The four groups of seals outline the following cursus honorum of Bardanios Balneas:

a) πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγός (1040s-1050s)

b) δισύπατος καὶ κατεπάνω (1050s)

c) πατρίκιος καὶ κατεπάνω (1050s-1060s)

d) βεστάρχης καὶ κατεπάνω (1060s)

It strikes us that Bardanios Balaneas sent his correspondence to various addressees in Bulgaria during quite a long period of his career.

The following are seals of other representatives of the family Βαλανέας:

1. Λέων Βαλανέας. Two groups of his seals are known as:

a. πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγός, dating most generally from the mid-XIth c., according to an unpublished bulla in Zacos collection, III, no. 1680:

Obv. Bust of St. Michael with ruler's insignia. Circular inscription within a border of dots: + ΚΕΡΗΘΕΙΤΩΩΔ8Λ'

Rev. Continuation of the circular inscription: . ΕΟΝΤΑ'ΣΠΑΘΑΡ'ΤΩΡΑΛ'

In center, bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand).

b. private person, dating from the last quarter of the XIth c., according to an unpublished bulla in the collection of DO. 55. 2. 3830:

Obv. Bust of the Virgin.

Rev. + ΓΡΑΦ'|CΦΡΑΓΙΖ'|ΛΕΟΝΤ'ΡΑ|ΛΑΝΕΥ

2. Βῆκενης Βαλανέας in his capacity as πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγός, dating likewise from the mid-XIth c., according to an unpublished bulla in the Fogg collection A. M. no 240:

Obv. Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

Rev. + ΚΕΡ'Θ'|ΡΕΚΕΝ'Α|CΠΑΘ'Σ|CTP'T'R|ΛΑΝ'

The names Βαρδάνιος and Βῆκενης are Armenian, thus the origin of the patronym Βαλανέας could indeed be related to the toponym Βαλανέα with greater certainty.

The seals of Βῆκενης Βαλανέας and Λέων Βαλανέας in their capacities as πρωτοσπαθάριοι καὶ στρατηγοὶ have similar dating and may have belonged to contemporaries. The natural question arises: Were there any kinship ties between them and what were they? Then, we could think of a possible exchange of correspondence between them sealed, of course, with their seals.

It is not impossible, however, that the only thing they had in common was their origin from the theme of Βαλανέα .

### 84-85. Στέφανος Βαρδαλῆς ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης (end of the XII c.)

a. In a private collection (V. Pantaleev from Varna). Find-spot: the stronghold "Blesna", near the town of Dimitrograd. D. 17-32 (32 ?) 3.5 mm. Half of what was once a good imprint.

Unpublished.

b. In a private collection (V. Pantaleev from Varna). Find-spot: the stronghold "Blesna", near the town of Dimitrograd. D. 21-32 (?) 2 mm. Half of what was once a good imprint. A piece cut.

Unpublished.

Parallels: Braunlin-Nesbitt, Thirteen Seals, no. 8. Struck in the same boulloterion. Mordtman, Peri, no.41; Seibt, SBS, 3, p. 24; Spink Auction 135 (Oct. 199), no. 284 and three unpublished seals from Zacos, collection III. They were struck in a different boulloterion.

Obv. Monogram containing the letters Φ,Φ,N disposed in a column: Στέφανον Border of dots.

Rev. Metrical legend of six lines preceded by a cross between two eight-pointed stars:

a. \* + \* | .....ΔΑΛΗΝ | .....ΗCΦΡΑ | .....ΤΡΑΠΕ | .....ΟVNTA | .....KTO | -:..... :-

b. | ..... ΛΗΝ | ..... CΦΡΑ | .....ΤΡΑΠΕ | .....ΟVNTA | .....KTO | -: ...C:-

[+Τὸν Βαρ]δαλῆν [Στέφανον] ἢ σφρα[γὶς γράφει] τραπέ[ζης] [ἐπιστατ]οῦντα

[τοῖς ἀνα]κτό[ροις]

The dating of the seal is to the late XIIth c. This conclusion has been drawn on the basis of its paleography, ligatures = E and I and the ending :-, attested on other late XIIth-century seals. Its owner was Στέφανος Βαρδαλῆς ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης. In this case too, it is difficult to determine the position: whether it applies to the chief of the servants attending at the emperor's and empress's table or to his subordinates. In pseudo-Kodinos, the office holder is δομέστικος ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης and is twentieth in the rank list, while twenty-first

is ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης (*Pseudo-Kodinos*, p.138.10-11). For the significance of this eunuch title, see **Bury**, *System*, 125-128; **Guiland**, *Recherches*, I, 216-236; **Oikonomides**, *Listes*, 305-306; **Seibt**, *Bleisiegel*, S. 154.

Taking into consideration the convention, the quality and size of the seal, I am inclined to assume that it applies to the office holder. Stephanos Bardales must have been chief of the imperial table of some of the Angeloi (Isaak II or Alexios III, a confidant of the emperor).

His name is unknown from the narrative sources. There are two groups of seals which show certain similarities:

1. A seal of Στέφανος ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς β'τραπέζης was discovered in the archives of the Strategia of Preslav (see **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 31). It is however generally dated to the Xth-XIth c.

*Obv.* Unclear bust of a saint, blessing (r. hand). No epigraphy visible.

*Rev.* Inscription in five lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | .Τ..ΑΝ | .ΠΙΤΡ'ΤΡ | ΑΠΕΖΗ | C

+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ει) [Σ]τ[εφ]άν(ω) [ἐ]πὶ τ(ῆς) β' τραπέζης

2. The Dumbarton Oaks Collection contains an unpublished seal (DO. 58. 106. 1277) of Stephenos Bardales as a private person from the XIII th c. D. Blank 23-23 mm, seal proper 18 mm. Complete imprint in a very good state of preservation. The direction of the dies is the same as with coins.

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with medallion. Sigla : MP || ΘV.

*Rev.* + CΦ | ΡΑΓΙCΜΑΓΡ | ΦΩΝΒΑΡ | ΔΑΛΗΤCΤΕ | ΦΑΝ8

It strikes us that its overall shape, size and iconography do not suggest dating after the XIIth c. The paleography of the letters is however different from the standard Byzantine seals. The writing of M, B, A, Δ, Λ, etc., point to XIIIth-XIVth-century dating, provided the seal was engraved in a shop in Constantinople. However, if we assume that the seal was engraved after the capture of Constantinople, in the province, for example in Nicaea, by an inexperienced engraver, who followed a text inscribed on parchment or paper, a dating to the first half of the XIIIth c., when Stephanos Bardales retired in the provinces (probably to Nicaea, where he had a new boulloterion made for him), would be plausible.

What do we know about the representatives of this family? Its origin is debated. S. Papadimitriou assumes that the name has a Turkish inflexion and derives from a non-Greek toponym (**С. Пападимитриу**, Рецензия на Г. Мориц.-*ВВр.*, 6, 1889, с. 169). Kazhdan has included it in his inquiry among the names of assumed Armenian origin as close to or deriving from Bardanios (**Каждан**, *Армяне*, 37.3-6).

The individuals known from the narrative sources bearing this name are not many either:

1. Bardales, whose proper name is not mentioned, was envoy of Emperor Alexios I to the Egyptian sultan Amerimnes in 1102 (*Alexiade*, III, 33.19; **Skoulatos**, *Personnages*, no.20)

2. Another Bardales named Michael was envoy of Emperor Manuel I Komnenos to Emperor Conrad III in 1149-1150 (**Dölger**, *Regestes*, no. 1378).

Known by their seals are the following:

1. George Bardales, a private person from XI-XII c., according to a bulla from the Hermitage (M-2976, see **Шандровская**, Святого Георгия, № 5; **Шандровская**, Сфрагистика, с. 149, № 832; **Лихачев**, *Моливдовулы*, LXXXI, 10).

2. Leon Bardales, a private person from XI c., according to three unpublished lead seals from Dumbarton Oaks:

a. DO. 58. 106. 4252;

*Obv.* Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l.hand).

*Rev.* - + - | ΚΕΡΟΗΘΙ | ΛΕΟΝΤΑΤ' | ΡΑΡΔΑ | ΛΗ

b. DO. 58. 106. 3304; DO. 55. 1. 2952 and Fogg A.M., no. 1469.

*Obv.* Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l.hand).

*Rev.* - + - | ΚΕΡΟΗΘΙ | ΛΕΟΝΤΑ | ΤΟΡΑΡΔΑ | ΛΗ

3. Michael Bardales, a private person from XII c., according to an unpublished seal from Dumbarton Oaks (58. 106. 3106):

*Obv.* The Virgin standing with hands upraised toward Hand of God.

*Rev.* +|ΓΡΑΦΑ | CΦΡΑΓΙC | ΜΙΧΑΗΛ | Τ8ΡΑΡ | ....

4. Niketas Bardales, attested on several groups of seals:

a. vestarches (last quarter of the XI c.), according to an unpublished bulla from DO. 58. 106. 3158.

*Obv.* Bust of an unknown military saint.

*Rev.* + ΚΕΡΘ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8 | ΝΙΚΗΤ'ΡΕC | ΤΑΡΧ'ΤΟΝ | ΡΑΡΔΑΛ'

b. protoproedros (last quarter of the XI c., see **Bell**, **H. W.** Byzantine Sealing.- *BZ*, 30, 1929-1930, S. 637).

c. protokouropalates (beginning of the XII c.), according to two different groups of seals (see **Laurent**, *Orghidan*, no. 114 and see **Stavrakos**, *Korrekturen*, 45-47; **Stavrakos**, no. 33).

5. Symeon Bardales attested by two group seals:

a. protoproedros (last quarter of the XI c.), according to an unpublished bulla from DO. 58. 106. 4293.

*Obv.* St. Theodore standing, holding a spear (r. hand), his l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground. Vertical inscription: O-A-ΓΙ-O-C || Θ-Ε-O-Δ-O-P'

*Rev.* + ΜΑΡΤVС | ΦVΛΑΤΕ | CVMΕΩΝ | Α'ΕΔΡΩΝ | ΤΟΝΡΑΡ | ΔΑΛ'

b. private person from XI c., according to an unpublished seal from DO. 55. 1. 2953 and Fogg A.M., no. 1011.

*Obv.* Bust of St. George Theodore holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

*Rev.* + CV | ΜΕΟΝ | ΟΡΑΡ | ΔΑΛ'

Seven or more different groups of seals represent seven or more different individuals. Five of them are dated to the XIth c. Thus, a relevant remark is that of the Arabian poet Abu Faras, who noted that in the XIth c. Bardales were a noble Byzantine family, whose representatives took active part in the wars against the Arabs (see **Adontz**, **N.**, **M. Canard**. Quelques noms de personages byzantins une piece de poete arabe Abu Faras. - *Byzantion*, 11, 1936, 454-455).

Seal no. 3 offers some possibilities for identification with Michael Bardales, Emperor Manuel I Komnenos' envoy to Conrad III, provided, of course, that the restoration of the patronym really applies to Bardales. Another possible restoration is Bardakes.

On the representatives of this family who participated actively in the life of the Empire in the XIIIth-XIVth centuries, see *PLP*, no. 2177-2187.

Of course, it is important for us to determine when and to whom in Blesna-Belisimos fortress Stephanos Bardales sent his correspondence. It is quite possible that he took part in the campaigns of the Byzantine emperors Isaakios II and Alexios III against the Bulgarians and exchanged correspondence with addressees in various fortresses in pursuit of his official duties.

## 86. Βασιλάκης πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ δοῦξ (?-1078)

Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia, no. 2. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 26-26 (about 26) 3 mm. Incomplete

imprint due to slipping of the blank at the strike (especially on the reverse with the text) rather than the equal size of the dies and the blank.

Ed. **Мущмов**, Печати № 41.

*Parallels:* The Schlumberger collection, Sceaux inedits, no. 333 contains a bulla conceivably struck in the same boulloterion, but since it is not documented and illustrated, I cannot be sure.

*Obv.* The Virgin seated on a high-backed throne holding a medallion of Christ before her breast.

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

ΘΚΕΡΟ | ΗΘΕΙΤΩC. | ΔΟΝΑΩΡΑ. | ΛΑΚΙΩΑτΠ. | ΕΔΡΩCΔ. | –. –  
+Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθει τῷ σ[ῶ] δούλῳ Βα[σ(ι)]λακίῳ (πρω)τ(ο)π[ρ(ο)]έδρῳ (καὶ)  
δ[ουκ(ι)]

Both Mushmov and Schlumberger have deciphered the homonym as Βασιλάκης / Βαρδάκης.

The key letter is the third one, unfortunately lost on our specimen.

The seals presented below, which could be attributed to the same person, give me grounds to assert that it refers to Βασιλάκης:

1. Unpublished seal from DO. 55. 1. 2254:

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin holding a medallion of Christ before her breast.

*Rev.* | ΘΚΕΡ'Θ'|ΤΩCΩΔ. | ACIAA. | XAPT8| ΛΑΡ'  
= +Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῶ δ[ού(λ)ῳ] [B]ασιλα[κ(ί)ῳ] χαρτουλάρ(ί)ῳ

2. Zacos, Seals, I, no. 2691.

*Obv.* The Virgin seated on a throne, as above.

*Rev.* + ΘΚΕΡ'Θ'|ΩCΩΔ8Λ' | ACIAAKH | AΓICTPΩ | ECTAPXH | SΔ8KI |  
= +Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) [τ]ῷ σῶ δούλ(ῳ) [B]ασιλακ(ή)ῳ [μ]αγίστρῳ  
[β]εστάρχη (καὶ) δουκὶ

3. According to three specimens in DO. 58. 106. 1374 and 58. 106. 3035 (see **Zacos**, *Seals*, I, nos. 2692 a-b) and one unpublished DO. 55. 1. 2255.

*Obv.* The Virgin seated on a throne, as above.

*Rev.* + ΘΚΕΡ'Θ'|RACIAA | KIOA'NOIA | Θ̄NΠPOE | ΔPΩCΔ8 | - KI -  
= +Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) Βασιλακίῳ (πρω)νοία Θ(εο)ῦ πρέδρῳ (καὶ) δουκὶ

4. According to two specimens in the collections: **Zacos**, *Seals*, I, nos. 2692 bis and unpublished in Fogg A. M. no 2249.

*Obv.* The Virgin seated on a throne, as above.

*Rev.* + ΘΚΕ | ROHΘEI | AτAΕΔPΩ | RACIAA | KIO  
= +Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθει (πρω)τ(ο)(προ)έδρῳ Βασιλακίῳ

5. According to unpublished specimens kept in Fogg, A. M., no. 1911.

*Obv.* The Virgin seated on a throne, as above.

*Rev.* .O.CO | ΔΕCΠOINA | ΦVΛATTE | RACIAA | KI8  
= [T]ὸ[v] σὸν Δεσπόινα φύλαττε Βασιλακίου

Obviously, it refers to one and the same person and there is a chronological connection

and development between the separate groups.

Who was this Basilakes ?

Almost all investigators who have on different occasions dealt with the above-listed groups of bullae uncritically accept that it is Νικηφόρος Βασιλάκης known from the chronicles, who in 1078 claimed the throne (see **Skoulatos**, *Personnages*, no. 24; **Zacos**, *Seals*, I, 1469-1470).

However, such certainty seems questionable since only one source records the proper name Nikephoros as well, while other aristocrats bearing the name Basilakes are also attested, but they can hardly be associated with the usurper of 1078.

According to Nikephoros Bryennios, Basilakes is the son of Phlora and presumably originates from Paphlagonias (Bryennios, 104.13-14).

According to Matthews of Edessa (p. 134, sec.57) ... Vasilak, an Armenian noble, who was brave and was regarded as a great warrior, died in the battle at Mantzikert in 1071 (**Scylitzes** *Continuataes*, (146.1-2,) specifies that Νικηφόρος Βασιλάκης μάγιστρος καὶ δούξ Θεοδοσιουπόλεως, in charge of the local stratiotes, was taken prisoner in the same battle or some time later, which was also confirmed by Attaleiates (*Historia*, p. 155.5-6).

His new title (Νικηφόρος πρόεδρος ὁ Βασιλάκης) from the last years of Michael VII Doukas' reign (1071-1077) is reported again in Scylitzes *Continuataes* (p. 173.10).

In 1077, he is πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ δούξ Δυρράχιον (**Scylitzes**, *Continuataes*, 182.15). In order to turn Basilakes from plotting against him, the new emperor sent him a chrysobull granting him the rank of nobilissimos, skipping kouropalates and its derivative protokouropalates (**Scylitzes**, *Continuataes*, 183. 2; **Attaliates**, *Historia*, 298.17-18). According to the same authors, "Basilakes recklessly scorned the benefaction he had in his hands and then he repented in vain." Without entering into details, I would only mention that Basilakes' revolt ended in failure, he was taken prisoner, put in chains and blinded on the way to Constantinople. A comprehensive account of the revolt near Chrysopolis and its suppression can be found in Anna Komnene and Nikephoros Bryennios, but there he is likewise reported solely by the name Basilakes.

The question which arises is whether this information applies to one person – Nikephoros Basilakes- and what is his connection with our seals bearing only the name Basilakes.

It should be noted that other individuals bearing this name are also known: the kouropalates Basilakes, Kale Bakouriani's father, mentioned as deceased in her will of 1098 (see ГИБН, VII, 70.36), as well as her nephew (ГИБН, VII, 77.2). They are difficult to identify with the usurper of 1078, although such attempts have already been made (**Dölger**, *Schatzkammern*, no.65.13; see Kazhdan's objections in *Армяне*, 1-4, № 6).

With the available sources and information from seals both alternatives remain possible:

The one, largely accepted, is that Nikephoros Basilakes, who appeared in the sources in 1071 and disappeared in 1078, is concerned. If he is identical to the owner of the seals, he should have the following cursus honorum:

1. χαρτουλάριος (1050s-1060s)
2. μάγιστρος, βεστάρχης καὶ δούξ (before 1071)
3. μάγιστρος καὶ δούξ Θεοδοσιουπόλεως (1071)
4. πρόεδρος (1072-1076)
5. πρόεδρος καὶ δούξ (1072-1076.)
6. πρωτοπρόεδρος (1077)
7. πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ δούξ (1077)
8. πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ δούξ Δυρράχιον (1077-1078)



9. Private person (after 1078)

The other possibility is to associate the seals with the kouropalates Basilakes, father of Kale Pakourianos, or with a different person. Then the cursus honorum of the kouropalates Basilakes would look differently:

1. χαρτουλάριος (second half of the XI th c.)
2. μάγιστρος, βεστάρχης καὶ δοῦξ (third quarter of the XI th c.)
3. πρόεδρος καὶ δοῦξ (last quarter of the XI th c.)
4. πρωτοπρόεδρος (1070-1080)
5. πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ δοῦξ (1080)
6. κουροπαλάτης (before 1098)
7. Private person (after 1078)

### 87-88. Γρηγόριος Βασκινος (second half, XI c.)

a. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 17207. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 22.5-24 (17) 1.5 mm. W.5.30 g. Incomplete imprint but in a good state of preservation.

Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 460.

b. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 17556. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 22-24 (17) 4 mm. W.7.80 g. Incomplete imprint; corroded.

Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 461.

Both specimens were struck in the same boulloterion.

Parallels: An illustration of a specimen from the Hermitage (M-5725) is preserved in the photo archives in Vienna. It is struck in the same boulloterion as ours and they complement each other, see Šandrovskaja-Seibt, no. 44.

Obv. Peacock in heraldic posture with wings and tail outspread and head turned r. Border of pellets between double border of dots.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

- a) . . ΕΡΟΗ | . . ΓΡΙΓ | . . ΙΩ . . | . KIN .  
b) . . ΕΡΟΗ | . ΗΓΡΙΓ | . ΡΙΩ . . | . KINO  
+ ΚΕΡΟΗ | ΘΗΓΡΙΓ | Ο . . . RA | ΚΚΙΝΟ (M-5725)  
+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθη Γριγορίω Βασκίνο

If the reading is correct, it is probably connected with a patronym related by origin to Armenia, e.g. the name Vasgen.

### 89-92. Βρυένιος Βατάτζης

His name is attested on four different groups of seals:

1. πατρίκιος-ὑπατος καὶ στρατηλάτης τῆς Δύσεως (mid-XI c.)

Evidenced by an iron boulloterion kept in the Archaeological Museum in Sofia. Discovered in 1926 in a field near the village of Iablanovo, municipality of Kotel, district of Sliven.

The boulloterion has the form of two-arm pliers whose flat arms end with two biconical thick shapes and are connected with a hinge bolt. They are 315 mm in length. The boulloterion weighs 2506 g. The operating jaws are arch-shaped and form two cylindrical dies whose diameter at the lower end is 26 mm. One of them is reverse and since its top was struck with a hammer, this surface is flattened. It is 92 mm in height. The other one is obverse and took the strike which was softened by the lead blank put between the two dies. It is 68 mm high.

D. of the die:

Obv. Diameter of the whole field 26 mm and of the dotted circle 25 mm. Small parts have crumbled, probably during work with seals.

Rev. Diameter of the whole field 26 mm and of the dotted circle 23 mm.

Ed. Мушмов, Н. Отчет на нумизматичния отдел.- ОБАИ, 8, 1927, 1-8; Mouchmov, N . Un nouveau boulloterion byzantin.- Byzantion, 4, 1927 (1928), 189-190; Йорданов. И., Още веднъж за булотириона от Археологическия музей в София. - ГИМ, 8, 1992, 387- 393; Jordanov. G. Names, no. 26.9.

A description of the image and text:

Obv. Bust of the Virgin holding a medallion of Christ before her. Sigla:  $\overline{MP}$  ||  $\overline{\Theta V}$ : Μ(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ.

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΡΡΥΕΝ'ΠΡΠ | ΒΠΑΤ'ΣCΤΡ' | ΤΙΑΑΤ'ΤΗC | ΔΥC'ΤΩΡΑ | ΤΑΤΖ  
Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) Βρυεν(ίω) π(ατ)ρι(κίω) ὑπάτ(ω) (καὶ) στρ(α)τιλάτ(η) τῆς  
Δύσ(εως) τῷ Βατάτζ(η)

Here for the purpose of research, I will only summarize the information from this extremely rare and interesting seal:

My publication just cited introduced not only a better reading of the text and the dating of the seal but also suggested that Bryenios Batatzes together with his corps participated in the military expedition against the Pechenegs near Preslav in 1053, which ended disastrously for the Byzantine army. I assumed that after the defeat of the Romans and the subsequent rout of the army, Bryenios Batatzes lost not only his boulloterion, but also his life. This assumption of mine was ruled out by the next find:

### 2. ἀνθύπατος, πατρίκιος καὶ κατεπάνω (1050s-1060s)

In a private collection (Vurban Vurbanov from Elhovo). Recovered at the stronghold near the village of Melnitsa, district of Elhovo. D. 26 mm. It gives the impression that the relief with representation of the Virgin is high and of good quality. Due to poor centering of the strike, the first line reverse was not imprinted.

Ed. Jordanov, Melnitsa, no. 11.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin, wearing a chiton and a maphorion, holding a medallion of Christ before her. Sigla:  $\overline{MP}$  ||  $\overline{\Theta V}$ : Μ(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ.

Rev. Inscription of seven lines:

..... | ΤΩCΩΔ8' | ΡΡΥΕΝΙΩ | ΠΡΠΙΑΝΘΥΠ' | SKATEΠΙΑΝΩ | ΤΩΡΑΤΑ | -ΤΗ-  
[ +Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει)] τῷ σῷ δού(λω) Βρυεν(ίω) π(ατ)ρι(κίω) (καὶ)  
κατεπάνω τῷ Βατάτζ(η)

3. βεστάρχης ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος καὶ κατεπάνω, dated to the 1060s according to unpublished seals from Zacos collection, III, no. 1482.

Obv. The Virgin standing, holding Christ on l. arm.

Rev. ...ΕΝΙΩ | ..CΤΑΡΧΗ | ..ΙΤΚΟΙΤΟΝ | SKATEΠΙΑΝ | ..ΡΑΤΑ | -ΤΖΗ-

### 4. as a private person, dated to the second half of the XI<sup>th</sup> century

a. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 19230. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 22-23.5 (19) 4

mm. W. 10.80 g. Once a good imprint, now damaged.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 398.

b. Private collection (Ivan Iotov from Iambol, presently with V. Panteleev from Varna). Presumably comes from the stronghold near the present-day village of Melnitsa, District of Elhovo. D.20-27 mm. Weakly imprinted and chipped.

Ed. **Jordanov**, Melnitsa, no. 12.

Both specimens are struck in the same boulloterion.

Parallels: Similar specimens are stored in various collections: *Hermitage* (M-227, 304, 6552, 6735); *British Museum*, no. 17848; *IFEB*, no. 321; *Wien*, MK no. 357; *DO*. 58. 106. 2952; *Athens*, no. 614. Ed. **Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, p. 712, nos. 2-3; **Gray Birch**, 17. 848; **Konstantopoulos**, no. 614; **Stavrakos**, no. 37.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion on her breast. Sigla:  $\overline{MP} \parallel \overline{\Theta V}$  : M(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ KER'Θ' | TΩCΩΔ8' | RPVENIΩ | TΩRATA | -TZH-  
+ K(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῶ δού(λω) Βρυενίω τῷ Βατάτζη

The Dumbarton Oaks Collection contains an unpublished seal (58. 106. 3697) of the following description:

Obv. Inscription of three lines: + KER'Θ' | TΩCΩ | ΔOV'

Rev. Inscription of four lines: RPV | ENIΩ | TΩRA | TATZCH

It is an open question which period of Bryennios Batatzes' life is reflected by this group of seals not bearing his titles and positions.

Do they reflect the period when he retired from active military and state service or were they affixed to his private correspondence throughout his life, which means that they were used parallel to his other seals? However, a letter impressed with either seal was received in the fortress near the village of Melnitsa.

Conclusion:

Thus, Bryennios Batatzes is unknown from the narrative sources.

The three or four groups of seals outline the following cursus honorum:

Around the middle of the XIth c. he held the title πατρίκιος-ὑπατος and was chief of one of major corps of the tagmata, the stratelatai, located in a garrison in the European part of the Empire. After the defeat of the Byzantines at Preslav in 1053, some time was needed for a new corps to be recruited. Immediately after these events or later, Bryennios Batatzes was promoted to the rank of πατρίκιος-ἀνθύπατος and appointed katepano unbound to a particular military-administrative unit. It is likely that he was subsequently placed at the disposal of the command of the imperial army to be sent where they deemed necessary.

He retained this status until later, when he was promoted to βεστάρχης ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος. There is no available information about any other appointments. During all that time however, he maintained correspondence with unknown addressees in Bulgaria: Preslav, the stronghold near the present-day village of Melnitsa, etc.

### 93. Γεώργιος Βατάτζης (late XI c.)

Historical museum, Silistra, no. 85. Found by a treasure-hunter with a metal detector in the fortress near the present-day village of Vetren, Silistra region, in 1988. D. 14-16.8 (16?) 2.5 mm. Well-centered imprint but not distinct enough.

Ed. **Йорданов-Атанасов**, *Ветрен*, № 5

Parallels: Two other specimens struck in the same boulloterion are stored in the collections *Orghidan* no. 418 and *Fogg A. M.*, no. 1383. The latter is unpublished.

Obv. Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription: Θ-Γ. || .-P-Γ' : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Γεώργ(ιος).

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

- + - | .ΕΦΟΙΚ | .ΦΡΑΓΙC | ΓΕΩΡΓΙ8 | RAT.T'  
+ [Π]έφοικ(α) [σ]φραγὶς Γεωργίου Βατ[ά]τζ(η)

A bulla of the following description is stored in the collection of *DO*.58. 106. 1619:

Obv. .ΦP | ..ICB | ATAT | -8-

Rev. TΩN | ΓΡΑΦΩ | ΝΓΕΩ | ΡΓΙ8

It is dated to the second half of the XIIth c. and presumably refers to a different person with the same name.

### 94. Ἰωάννης Βατάτζης βέστης (third quarter, XI c.)

In a private collection (Vurban Vurbanov from Elhovo). Presumably found in the stronghold near the village of Melnitsa. D. 24-24(?)3 mm. Weak imprint, especially the last two lines of the inscription.

Ed. **Jordanov**, Melnitsa, no. 31.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. John the Baptist blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand). Vertical inscription in two columns: Θ-  $\overline{I\Omega}$ -O ||  $\overline{\Pi\Delta}$  : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Ἰω(άννης) ὁ Πρ(ό)[δ(ρομος)]

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+ KER'Θ' |  $\overline{I\Omega}$ REC T' | TON.ATA | ..HN  
+ K(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Ἰω(άννην) βέστ(ην) τὸν [B]ατά[τ]ζην

The available letters allow only for a tentative reading of the patronym. The dating of the seal is generally to the third quarter of the XIth c.

The literature contains other seals with the name of John Batatzes:

1. τοποτηρητής (XI c.), **Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, p. 713, no. 6.

Obv. Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

Rev. +  $\overline{I\Omega}$ TO | .OTIP' | .ORAT | ..HN

2. πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγός (XI c.) according to an unpublished lead seal from *Fogg A. M.*, no. 2857).

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion on her chest. Sigla:  $\overline{MP} \parallel \overline{\Theta V}$ .

Rev. + ΘKER'Θ' |  $\overline{I\Omega}$ A'CΠAΘ' | TΩRATA | T...

3. πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγός (XI th c.), attested by two specimens, one of which was found in Thessalonike (see **Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, p. 353; **Schlumberger**, *Inedite*, V, no. 247):

Obv. Bust of St. Demetrios or St. George represented as a warrior.

Rev. + KER'Θ' | TΩCΩΔ' |  $\overline{I\Omega}$ A'CΠAΘ' | SCTPAT'Γ' | TΩRAT | - TH -

4. κουροπαλάτης (end of the XI th - beginning of the XII th c.) as attested by two specimens struck in different boulloteria:

a. one recovered in Noviodunum (see **Barnea**, *Noviodunum*, I, no. 7). Its publisher dates

it to the XIth c. and identifies its owner as John Komnenos Batatzes (1132-1182), grandson of Emperor John II Komnenos (1118-1143) (see **Barzos**, *Komnenoi*, no. 147);

b. the other one unpublished in the collection of DO. 55. 1. 4226:

*Obv.* +CΦP|AΓIC ΠE|ΦVKA| IΩ

*Rev.* ... | KOPO| ΠAΛATH|TORAT'|Tζ

5. σεβαστὸς (XII th c.), according to an unpublished lead seal from Fogg A.M. no.1394.

*Obv.* The Virgin standing, holding Christ on l. Sigla: MP || ΘV.

*Rev.* + RATA | TZHNCKE | ΠOI CERA | ΦONIWAN | -NHN

6. private person (XI c.) attested by three unpublished seals from : DO. 55. 1. 3382; 55.1. 3383 и Fogg A. M. no 1192.

*Obv.* Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

*Rev.* +KER'Θ'| TΩCΩΔ8' | IΩTΩRA | TATZH-

Conclusion:

It is difficult to be absolutely sure whether the eight or so groups of seals belonged to one and the same person. In theory it is possible for an aristocrat to begin his career as a protospatharios and to end it up as a member of the imperial family with the title sebastos in the late XIth or the early the XIIth centuries. But the real situation is hard to restore. It is quite possible that the seals of John Batatzes as sebastos belonged to a different representative of the family in the XIIth c. On the whole, there is lack of homogeneous iconography on the obverse, which is the case with the next representative, Nikephoros. The eight groups of seals could cover one or two individuals. I will dwell upon this question below.

It is significant for us to determine whether the seals from the stronghold near the villages of Melnitsa and Noviodunum belonged to John Batatzes quoted in Skylitzes.

From the seals presented above, it could be assumed in theory that the four groups of seals belonged to one and the same person, whose career developed during the second half of the XIth c. and ended up with the rank of sebastos in the beginning of the XIIth c. However, it is also possible that they apply to two or three separate persons, the more so since the Batatzes family was quite active during this period.

## 95. Ἰωσήφ Βατάτζης (XII/XIII c.)

Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia, no. 37. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 32-33 (32) 3 mm. A well-centered but poorly preserved bulla.

*Ed.* Мущмов, Печати, № 44.

*Parallels* : A specimen was offered at the auction Münzzentrum, Sale 96 (10-12 September 1998), no. 649, see SBS, 8, 2003, p. 240.

*Obv.* Bust of St. Theodore holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

— + — | CKEΠOIC | MEAPATVC | IΩCHΦTON| RATATZH—  
+ Σκέποις με μάρτυς Ἰωσήφ τὸν Βατάτζην

Joseph Batatzes is unknown from the narrative sources.

The dating of the seal is generally to the XIIth-XIIIth c.

Two other bullae with the same names on the obverse are stored in the Dumbarton Oaks collections:

a. DO. 58.106.3024. Unpublished. Its dating should not go beyond the XIth c.

*Obv.* +KER'Θ'| TΩCΩΔ8'| IΩCHΦ

*Rev.* TΩRA | TAT.| ο Η ο

b. Fogg A., no. 3105. Unpublished. Its dating is generally to the XIIth-XIIIth c. but its reading is not very secure.

*Obv.* Christ standing facing, with nimbus and himation.

*Rev.* — + — | CKEΠOIC | IΩCHΦRA |..... ΘV | ΛOΓE

= +Σκέποις Ἰωσήφ Βα[τάτζην] Θ(εο)ῦ Λόγε

If the reading is correct, it is not unlikely that the owner of this seal is identical to the owner of our seal.

A seal of Joseph Batatzes sebastos was offered at auction: Classical Numismatic Group, Mail Bid Sale (9-10 September 1094), Auction 31, no. 1871. It could have belonged to a different individual. I have not seen its illustration, but according to the bibliography in SBS, 6, 1999, p. 116, it is dated to the XIVth c.

## 96-98. Νικηφόρος Βατάτζης

The name of Nikephoros Batatzes is attested on three different groups of seals from the territory of modern Bulgaria.

### 1. βεστάρχης καὶ κατεπάνω (1060s)

Historical Museum, Silistra, no. 36 [83]. Found on the land of the town. D. 23-26 (20) 3 mm. A good imprint but a bulla in a poor state of preservation. Oxidated surface.

*Ed.* Ъорданов, Силистра, I, № 14.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of St. Demetrios holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription : ..... || M - T - P' : [ἸΟ ἄ(γιος) Δη]μήτρ(ιος).

*Rev.* Inscription of seven lines:

+ AΓIE | ΔIMITPH|EPOHΘ'NIKH | ΦOP'PECTAP | XSKATEΠA | NOTORA | TATH  
+ Ἁγιε Διμιτρήε βοήθ(ει) Νικηφόρ(ω) βεστάρχ(η) (καὶ) κατεπάνω το Βατάτζη

### 2. μάγιστρος βέστης καὶ δοῦξ πάσης Δύσεως (1060s-1070s)

In a private collection (V. Pantaleev from Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 24-25 mm, W. 19.00 g. Once a good imprint. Currently holed in the center, presumably used as a weight of a spindle.

*Unpublished.*

*Parallels*: Fogg A. M. no. 1300, see **Nebitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 1, no. 1.21. struck in the same boulloterion.

*Obv.* Bust of St. Demetrios holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription : Θ-.. || M-H-TP' : ἸΟ ἄ(γιος) [Δη]μήτρ(ιος).

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

— + — | AΓIEΔH| MHTPIEP'Θ'| NIKHΦOPΩ | MAFICTPΩ | RECT...KI | ΠA...ΔV  
| CEOTΩRA | TATZH  
+ Ἁγιε Δημητρίε βο(ή)θ(ει) Νικηφόρω μαγίστρω βέστ(η) [καὶ] δου[κὶ] πά[σης]  
Δύσεω(ς) τῷ Βατά(τ)ζη

### 3. πρόεδρος καὶ δοῦξ Βουλγαρίας (1070s)

In a private collection (V. Pantaleev from Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 24-24 (19) 4 mm, W. 14.80 g. Superb

imprint in an excellent state of preservation.

*Unpublished.*

*Parallels:* Шандровская, Болгария, с. 148, рис.3; Neslitt-Oikonomides, *DOS*, 1, no. 29.3; Maksimovic et Popovic, no. 14).

*Obv.* St. Demetrios standing frontally, holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand on a round shield resting on the ground. Vertical inscription in two columns: Θ-ΔΗ-Μ-Η || .-Ρ.-Ο-Σ : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Δημή[τ]ρ[ι]ος.

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

-- | + ΚΕΡΟΗΘ' | ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΩ | ΠΡΟΕΔΡΩΣ | ΔΟΥΚΙΡ8Λ | ΓΑΡΙΑΣΤΩ |  
RATATZH | --  
Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ει) Νικηφόρῳ προέδρῳ (καὶ) δουκὶ Βουλγαρίας τῷ Βατάτζη

Nikephoros Batatzes is unknown from the narrative sources. His name is attested on other groups of seals:

a. βεστάρχης καὶ στρατηγός-(1050s-1060s), according to a bulla kept in the Hermitage (M-6652) see Шандровская, Моливдовулы, с. 151, фиг. 1.

*Obv.* Bust of St. Demetrios holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

*Rev.* + ΑΓΙΕ | ΔΙΜΙΤΡΗ|ΕΡΟΗΘ'ΝΙΚ' | ΦΟΡ'ΡΕΣΤΑΡ | ΧΗΣΤΡΑΤ' | ΓΟΤΟΡΑ | ΤΑΤΖΗ

b. μάγιστρος, βεστάρχης, δούξ καὶ πραιτωρ Αἰγαίου Πελάγους (1060s-1070s, according to a lead seal from the Hermitage (l-2974), see, Панченко, Каталог, no. 241; Шандровская, Поправки, с. 111.

*Obv.* St. Demetrios standing frontally, holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand on a round shield resting on the ground.

*Rev.* + ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΩ | ΜΑΓ..ΤΡΩΡΕ | ..ΑΡΧ.Δ8ΚΙ | ΣΠΡΑΙΤΩΡ'Τ8 |  
ΑΙΓΑΙ8ΤΩ | RATATZI

c. κουροπαλάτης (1070s-1080s) attested by five specimens kept at: the Hermitage (M-2598 and M-3074, see Панченко, Каталог, № 350; Шандровская, Моливдовулы, 148-151, рис.5; the British Museum, see Gray Birch, no. 17913; IFEF and Wien MK 360, see Seibt, *Bleisiegel*, no. 113.

*Obv.* St. Demetrios standing as above.

*Rev.* - + - | ΑΓ'Ρ'Θ' | .CΩΔ8' | ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΩ | ΚΟΥΡΩΠΑ | ΛΑΤ'ΤΩΡΑ | ΤΑΤΖΗ

d. a private person (last quarter of the XI c.), according to an unpublished lead seal from DO. 55. 1. 4172. This has escaped investigators' notice. Perhaps the same or a different specimen was published in Mordtman (*Schlumberger*, *Sig.*, pp. 54, no. 19; 712, no. 1). Regretfully, I have not had access to the original publication, and there is no illustration available in the cited one. This group of seals could possibly be associated with the period when Nikephoros Batatzes retired from active military and state service. This is the only metrical seal and is presumably the latest.

*Obv.* +ΟΥ | ΣΦΡΑΓΙΣ | ΠΕΦΟΙ | ΚΑ

*Rev.* ΝΙΚΗΦΟ | Ρ8RATA | TZH

Conclusion:

It is obvious that the seven groups of seals belong to one individual - Nikephoros Batatzes. In addition to their names, they share also continuity of the titulature and the positions and iconography (the earlier seals feature St Demetrios in bust and the last - standing).

Nikephoros Batatzes is unknown from the narrative sources, but, as we could see, he is presented by seals, which outline a detailed cursus honorum:

a. βεστάρχης καὶ στρατηγός-(1050s-1060s);

b. βεστάρχης καὶ κατεπάνω - (1060s);

c. μάγιστρος, βέστης καὶ δούξ πάσης Δύσεως (1060s);

d. μάγιστρος, βεστάρχης, δούξ καὶ πραιτωρ Αἰγαίου Πελάγους (1060s-1070s);

e. πρόεδρος καὶ δούξ Βουλγαρίας (1070s);

f. κουροπαλάτης (1080s)

g. private person (last quarter of the XIth c.)

It is an interesting fact that Nikephoros Batatzes' career begins with the same title with which Bryenios Batatzes' career ends up. This suggested to me that they could have been father and son. Another interesting fact is that Nikephoros Batatzes' career was connected with Bulgaria for a longer period of his life. In the 60s, when the Bulgarian lands were arena of hostilities against the Pecheneg and Ouzes raids, he was a commander of the European army of the Empire, and later a doux of the theme Bulgaria. The distribution of his seals is also of interest. Those from the Hermitage, Dumbarton Oaks, British Museum, Vienna and Paris presumably originate from Istanbul (Constantinople), the location of those chiefs or relatives to whom he wrote. The other four from modern Bulgaria and modern Serbia (Margum on the bank of the Danube, see Maksimovic-Popovic, no. 14) must have been in connection with his official duties in these lands.

## 99. Στέφανος Βατάτζης σεβαστός (XII/XIII c.)

Private collection (Slavei Petrov from Haskovo). Found in the Chala fortress near the village of Goliam Izvor, Haskovo region. D. 34-34 (27) 3 mm. Superb engraving of the matrixes and a superb imprint.

*Ed.* Йорданов-Аладжов, Хасковско, № 3; Йорданов, Севастия, № 35.

*Parallels:* Henning-Muller, Bizans, no. 2; Unpublished in the collection of IFEB, no. 9. Struck with the same pair of dies.

*Obv.* The Virgin orans standing frontally on a souppiedion with a medallion of Christ on her breast. Sigla: MP || ΘΥ : Μ(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ.

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

+ | CΕΡΑϣ'ON | RATATZHN | ϣ'ΕΦΑΝON | ΠΑΡΘΕΝΕ | ΚΕΠΙΕ  
+ Σεβαστὸν Βατάτζην Στέφανον, Παρθένε, σκέπε

An unpublished bulla of the same dignitary but struck with a different pair of dies is preserved in the Zacos collection, III, no. 1630.

*Obv.* The Virgin standing as above, but the style is not so refined.

*Rev.* - ο - | CΕΡΑϣ'ON | RATATZHN | CΤΕΦΑΝON | ΚΕΠΟΙC

The Dumbarton Oaks collection contains an unpublished bulla (DO. 58. 106. 1340) of the same iconographic subject but having a rather primitive style. The inscription on the reverse is rather strange, imitative perhaps, and one must use imagination in order to deduce the name of the sebastos Stephanos Batatzes.

*Obv.* The Virgin standing.

*Rev.* CΕΒΑ | CΤΟΝΒΑΤ | ΑΤΗΝΘ|ΤΝΟΝ | ΘΕΝΕC | Π

The sebastos Stephanos Batatzes is unknown from other sources. It is an interesting fact that among the numerous representatives of the Batatzes family for the period of XIth-XIIth c. (Kazhdan only, Соц. состав, с. 89.10, reports twenty-five of them) none with the name Stephanos is known.

The dating of this seal is to the late XIIth c. This brings up the question: did the seals

presented above belong to one and the same person? The one in Zacos collection, III, undoubtedly belonged to the same dignitary. As for the other preserved in Dumbarton Oaks, no certain answer can be given. At first glance, it could be assumed that it is a counterfeit of our specimen, but its dating to the XIIIth-XIVth c. is also possible.

It cannot escape our notice that two groups of seals dated to the late XIIth c. (those of the sebastos Constantine Kladon, see no.318 here, and of Stephanos Batatzes discussed here), both having a strikingly good style of workmanship, also have their copies, which could be assumed to be later provincial counterfeits at the time of the capture of the capital Constantinople by the Latins. It is not unlikely that the counterfeit seal of the sebastos Stephanos Batatzes was made somewhere in the province, where the engraver lacked the skill and knowledge of a professional.

#### 100. N., Βατάτζης (XI c.)

Private collection (V. Pantelev, Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. D.21.5-22 (24 ?) 4 mm, W. 13.20 g. Incomplete imprint. The blank slipped in the boulloterion and as a result there is about 10 mm displacement between the *Obv.* and *Rev.* dies.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of St. George facing, holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Circular inscription along a border of dots, beginning at twelve o'clock: + ΑΘΛΟΦ .....ΙΕΤΟΝ  
*Rev.* Bust of St. Demetrios facing, holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Inscription in two columns: Θ-ΔΗ-ΜΗ || Τ-ΠΙ-ΟC. Circular inscription along a border of dots, beginning at twelve o'clock: .....RATATZIN  
+ 'Αθλοφ [λόρε .....] ιετον ..... Βατατζιν

#### 101-102-102A. N., Βατάτζης (XII/XIII c.)

a. National Historical Museum Sofia, no. 30451. Find-spot: the village of Eleshnitsa, disc. Razlog. D. 19-30 mm. Fragment less than one third.

*Unpublished.*

b. In a private collection (V. Pantelev from Varna). Find-spot: South Bulgaria. D. 21-40 mm, W. 13.3 g. Fragment less than one third of the whole imprint but from a different specimens.

*Unpublished.*

c. Historical Museum Shumen, no. 14852. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 18-38 mm, W. 7.32 g. Fragment less than one third of the whole imprint but from a different specimens.

*Unpublished.*

*The three specimens were struck with same dies.*

*No parallels know.*

*Obv.* After examining the three fragments, I am left with the impression that three military saints are depicted. St. George in the center and St. Theodore Stratelates and St. Theodore Teron on his either side, both holding a long spear (r. hand) and a shield resting on the ground (l. hand). Part of the name of the saint in the center is visible above his head ΕΩΡΓ.

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

... PA | ..... ΓΡΑ | ... RATA | .... KA | ....  
+ CΦ... | ΓΙCΜ... | ΦΩΝ... | ΤΖ8... | Ο...  
+ Σφραγισμ[α] γραφων Βατατζου .....

There are three unpublished fragments (smaller than a half) from different bullae on whose basis we do the restoration of the text.

Other known seals of representatives of this family:

XIth century

1. Συμβατικός Βατάτζης κουροπαλάτης (end of the XIth c.), attested by two lead seals from DO. 55. 1 . 3384, see **Langdon**, *Vatatzes*, p. 280 and collection Opphidou-Nikolaidou, no. 42, see **Makri**, no.161, where the author has deciphered the name Συμεών instead of Συμβατικός.

*Obv.* +ΚΕ| ΡΗΘΕ.| CVMRAT' | KHO

*Rev.* Κ8ΡΟ | ΠΑΛΑΤ' | TORAT' | ΤΖΗ

2. N., Βατάτζης κουροπαλάτης (end of the XI c.), according to an unpublished seal from DO. 58. 106. 4750). It is closer to the group of John Batatzes with the same title, but still the proper name is not preserved.

*Obv.* +CΦΡ|ΑΓΙC ΠΕ|ΦVK..

*Rev.* ...Ο | ΠΑΛΑΤ' | Τ8ΡΑ | ΤΑΤΖΗ

XIth-XIIth centuries

3. 'Ανδρόνικος Βατάτζης, attested by two different groups of seals :

3.a. σεβαστὸς, according to two lead seals from Auction Künker (Osnabruck), sale 20 (September-October 1991), no. 1093; Münzzentrum, Sale 98 (05-07 May 1999), no. 653. and unpublished from Fogg A. M. no. 483.

*Obv.* +|HCΦΡΑΓΙC|ΑΥΤΗΤΟΝ|ΡΑΤΑΤΖΗΝ|ΜΗΝΕΙ

*Rev.* CΕΡΑϣ|ΟΝ||ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΝ||ΕΚΤΗCΑΞΙ|-AC-

3.b. a private person, according to a lead seal hanging from the document which is firmly dated to August 1181 (see (**Oikonomides**, *Dated*, no. 122).

4. Andronikos Komnenos, nephew of emperor Manuel and son of Eudokia born in the porphyra, and Theodore Vatatzes, despotes, for him, see here no.339

5. Βασίλειος Βατάτζης

5.a. πρωτοανθύπατος (third quarter of the XIth c.), according to an unpublished lead seal from Fogg, A. M. no. 1865.

*Obv.* Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand).

*Rev.* + ΚΕΡ' Θ' | ΕΡΑCΙΑ'Α' | ΑΝΘΥΠ' | Τ'ΤΟΡΑ | ΤΑΤ

5.b. σεβαστὸς. Attested by three very close groups of seals

5.b.1. According to a specimen from the Hermitage (M-8019, see **Лихачев**, *Моливдовулы*, 125-126, табл. LXV.8).

5.b.2. According to a specimen from Zacos, Seals, no. 2740).

5.b.3. Auction Münzzentrum, Sale 98 (05-07 May 1999), no. 655. It comes from a different boulloterion. The paleography of some letters is rather different and seems later (**Wassiliou**, *Siegeln in Urkunden*, 143-145).

6. Θεόδωρος Βατάτζης.

6.a. a private person attested by three different groups seals:

6.a.1. Ophridou-Nikolaidou, see **Makri**, no.13.

6.a.2. According to an unpublished lead seal from DO. 58. 106. 4006.

*Obv.* St. Theodore standing frontally, holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand on a round shield resting on the ground.

*Rev.* + |CΦΡΑ... | ΘΕΟΔΩ... | ΤΟΥΡ... | ΤΖ.

6.a.3. **Laurent**, *Orghidan*, no. 419).

6.b. νωβελισσίμος, according to an unpublished lead seal from DO. 58. 106. 4438.



Obv. Military saint on horseback walking l.

Rev. + |CΦPAG'ΘΕ | ..ΩP8NO | ...ΛΙCΙM8 | .... TATZ.

7. John Komninos, nephew of emperor Manuel and son of Eudokia born in the porphyra, and Theodore Vatatzes, despotes, attested by three specimens (**Mordtmann**, Komnion, p. 47, no. 10; **Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, p. 713, no. 4; **Панченко**, Каталог, № 347; Zacos 1972, no. 2730 bis (the latter currently in DO. 58. 106. 3220).

8. Λέων Βατάτζης.

According to three lead seals from Athens (see **Konstantopoulos**, no. 610b; **Laurent**, *Bulles metriques*, no. 507; **Stavrakos**, no. 38) and unpublished from DO. 58. 106. 2386 and collection Zacos, III.

9. Νικηφόρος Βατάτζης σεβαστός, according to a fragment from the collection of Schlumberger (*Sig.*, p. 713, no. 5), whose reading is uncertain but has been reproduced uncritically in later publications.

Information in the sources:

The etymology of this family name is unclear: according to some, it derives from the word βάτος = bush or βατάκι = unlit, dark, sombre (**Amantos**, Vatatzes, p. 174; **Polemis**, *Doukai*, p. 106); while others assume that the ending of the name Batatzes – άτζης is Armenian and points to an Armenian origin which is not unlikely bearing in mind the existence of a seal of Symbatikos Batatzes (Бартикян, Ватацци, 244-250).

John Skylitzes considers the Batatzes as Adrianoupolitans, while George Akropolites associates them with Dimotika. Still, the first representatives of this family were recorded in Adrianoupolis and very often in connection with various rebellions and conspiracies.

The earliest information on this family is found in John Skylitzes, who reports about the year 997/998 in connection with the danger from the Bulgarians and about the repressions undertaken against some aristocrats: "Certain nobles in Adrianoupolis, who had excelled as military commanders, joined Samuel for fear of the same fate if accused of conspiracy. Those were Batatzes who fled with his whole household and Basil Glavas who fled by himself" (**Skylitzes**, p. 343).

His successor was perhaps John Batatzes whose name was reported regarding the revolt of Leo Tornikes in Adrianoupolis in 1047-1048 as second in rank among the rebels (**Skylitzes**, 441-442).

Again regarding the same events, Skylitzes reports the name of another Batatzes from Rodesto, who however was loyal to the emperor (**Skylitzes**, p. 441).

In the end of the XIth c., the names of representatives of this family are likewise reported in Rodesto: a certain Batatzena, a widow from a noble family (she could be the wife or daughter of the above Batatzes) and her son. They appeared in support of Nikephoros Bryennios' rebellion in 1077 (**Attaliates**, *Historia*, 244-245).

The same Batatzes was perhaps mentioned in the late XIth or the early XIIth c. in the Life of St. Meletios (died 1105) as a doux of Tiva. He accompanied Bryennios during his visit to the saint and talked to him. The hagiographer of St. Meletios defined him as a person who knew the Holy Script (*Vita St. Mletios*, c. 29. 20-21).

There is no information on this family for almost half a century after this date.

The name of the sebastos Batatzes as a governor of a theme is mentioned in a letter of John Tzetzes to the logariastes John Smeniotes dated 1146 (**Tzetzes** 1972, p. 67.21, no. 47).

Thus, we come to the appearance of Theodore Batatzes, who married Eudokia, daughter of John II Komnenos and sister of Manuel I. As the emperor's son-in-law, he was granted the title pansebastohypertatos (according to **Cinnamus**, 114, 180 and the minutes of two sessions

of the synod in 1166, see **PG**, CXL, cols. 236, 253) or pansebasto-sebastos, according to the minutes of the session of the synod on 30<sup>th</sup> January 1170 (**Petit**, Documents, p. 479.12), while on the seals of his sons Andronikos and John he is styled despotes. He took part in several military campaigns against the Hungarians and to Sicily. In 1151, he participated in the siege of Zemun and in 1158 he recaptured Tarsus from the Armenians (see Cinnamus, p. 114.10-11, 180.20-23.). He died before 1166 (**Cheyne**, Philadelphie, p. 41, n. 23.)

Theodore Batatzes had four sons from his marriage to Eudokia: Andronikos, Alexios, John and Isaakios (see **Cheyne**, Philadelphie, p. 41, n. 23.)

Andronikos Komnenos Batatzes was born in 1133. His name was reported among the participants in the synod on 2<sup>nd</sup> March 1166 (see **PG**, vol. CXL, 236D,253B) and on 30<sup>th</sup> January 1170 (see **Petit**, Documents, p. 479.10-12) in his capacity as τοῦ περιποθήτου ἀνεψιοῦ τοῦ κραταιοῦ καὶ αγίου ἡμῶν βασιλέως κυροῦ Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ, τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ πανσεβάστου σεβαστοῦ κυροῦ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Βατάτζη. In 1176, he took part in the campaign against the Seljuks and died in the siege of Neocaisarea. His head, impaled on a spear, was sent by order of the sultan to the Roman camp to be shown to his uncle, Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (**Choniates**, 182.39-46; **Barzos**, *Komnenoi*, no. 148).

The name of the other brother Alexios was reported along with that of his brother at a session of the synod on 6<sup>th</sup> March 1166 (**PG**, 140, col. 253A).

The name of John Komnenos Batatzes is not included in the synodical lists; however, he is known from other sources.

He is one of the military commanders who excelled in the hostilities led by the emperor after the defeat at Myriokephalon in 1177 and 1178, specifically in their attempts to take possession of the villages by the river Meander (**Choniates**, 192-193. 60-65).

The next information about him dates from the year 1182, when he opposed Andronikos Komnenos' attempts to usurp the throne calling him 'tyrant'. At that time he was grand domestikos of the East and doux of Thrakesian and had his residence at Philadelphia. He must have been appointed to this position by Emperor Manuel I Komnenos after his success against the Seljuks in 1177-1178.

Government troops led by Andronikos Lapardas were dispatched against the rebel. Those were met by an army in charge of John Batatzes' two sons Manuel and Alexios, which was routed in the first battle. During the next battle John Batatzes prevailed, but soon after that he died (16 May 1182) and the citizens of Philadelphia obeyed the regent (**Choniates** 1975, 262-263, **Cheyne**, Philadelphie, 43-44).

After the suppression of the rebellion, Batatzes' sons initially fled to the Ikonion sultan, then they set out to the West (Sicily and Rome), but were captured on Crete and blinded by order of Andronikos I Komnenos (1182-1185) (**Choniates**, p. 264).

After Isaakios II Angelos (1185-1195) ascended the throne, in 1187 Alexios Komnenos Batatzes was appointed as a commander of the military expedition against another rebel, Isaakios Komnenos, who proclaimed himself an independent ruler of Cyprus. The government troops were routed and the two commanders were taken prisoner. Alexios Komnenos Batatzes was dispatched as a captive to Sicily (**Langdon**, *Vatatzes*, p. 33).

Isaakios Komnenos Batatzes is the last son of Theodore Batatzes and Eudokia. His name was mentioned in an anonymous poem as the husband of Irene Komnene, daughter of Dokianos (*Markianos* 524, p. 162, no. 272).

Besides Theodore Batatzes' descendants, there are other representatives of the Batatzes family unrelated to the Komnenoi.

The name of Leo Batatzes, who took part in the campaign of Manuel I Komnenos against

the Hungarians in Transylvania as a commander of an army recruited of Wallachs, is reported in the history of John Komnenos for the year 1166 (see **Cinnamus**, p. 260).

In 1181, by order of Emperor Alexios II Komneneos, Andronikos Batatzes vestiarites restored the Lavra to its rights over proasteion claimed by Cuman proniarioi settled in the theme of Moglen (*Lavra*, I, no. 65, 12-13, 39).

The name of Basil Batatzes, married to an emperor's niece, was reported in the years of Isaakios II Angelos (1185-1195). Initially he was attested as sebastos and doux of the theme of Melassa and Melundia (**MM**, IV 1871, 319-320; **Dölger**, *Regesten*, no. 1594a). Later he was appointed grand domestikos of the East and doux of Thrakesian, thus succeeding his relative John Komnenos Batatzes, and was dispatched again to Philadelphia against another rebel – Theodore Mangaphas. Soon after that the latter had to flee to Ikonion (**Choniates**, p. 400, **Cheynet**, *Philadelphie*, p. 47). After coping with the rebellion in Philadelphia, Basil Batatzes was dispatched to Adrianoupolis on the Balkans against the Bulgarians already in his capacity as a grand domestikos of the West. Precisely then, the emperor's cousin Constantine Angelos, doux of Philipopolis, tried to usurp the throne. He sent a letter to his sister's husband Basil Batatzes offering him his cooperation, which was not only refused, but he was also rebuked for his recklessness. In return, Constantine marched towards Adrianoupolis to win his brother-in-law over against his will, but was taken captive on the way and betrayed by his followers (**Choniates**, p. 435-436).

The name of Basil Batatzes was last mentioned in 1194, when the Byzantine army was defeated by the Bulgarians near Adrianoupolis. Here the main sources, Choniates and Skoutariotes, corroborate each other. Theodore Skoutariotes specifies that the eastern troops under the command of Alexios Gidos were put to rout and he lost a larger part of his army, while Basil Batatzes in command of the western armies died along with his subordinate contingents (**Choniates**, p. 446. 63-66; Божилов-Гюзелев, с. 434; **Skoutariotes**, p. 441).

Niketas Choniates reports the name of a military commander bearing the family name Batatzes, who was slain in Bithynia by order of Emperor Alexios III Komnenos (**Choniates**, p. 486). It has been hypothesized that precisely he was the father of the future Emperor John III Doukas Batatzes from his extramarital relations with Euphrosine Doukaina Kamaterina, wife of Emperor Alexios III, and that this was the reason for his murder. The other hypothesis regarding the paternity of John III Doukas Batatzes associates him with Basil Batatzes, but there is a certain discrepancy between the dates of John III's birth and Basil Batatzes' death - problems, however, remaining outside the chronological scope of this research.

#### ATTEMPTS FOR IDENTIFICATION

The possibilities for identification for the Xth-XIth centuries are highly limited, in spite of the fact that there are available seals having belonged to four or five different individuals. In one case only, that of John Batatzes, his proper name is reported in the chronicles. In this case too, we find it difficult to identify him for the lack of information on his title and position, while on the other hand there are more than eight different groups of seals covering more than one individual. Skylitzes and the other authors report that John Batatzes was second in rank among the rebels (**Skylitzes**, 441-442). Regarding the leader of the rebellion, Leo Tornikes, M. Attaleiates reports that prior to the rebellion he had the title patrikios-vestes and the position strategos of Melitene (**Attaleiates**, *Historia*, p. 22.8-10). It could be assumed that his companion-in-arms must have had a similar rank and position thus allowing to be identified with John Batatzes, protospatharios and strategos, presented by the above seal (I. 2.3).

Who are the other individuals named John Batatzes attested on seals nos. I. 2.1-2.2, 2.4-2.8? It is hard to say. It could be assumed that John Batatzes from 1047-1048 was the

grandson of Batatzes from 997-998 and that he bore the name of his grandfather John. In this case, it seems an inviting idea to identify the grandfather John with the individual behind the seal of John Batatzes as topoteretes (I. 2.1). The topoteretes was the right-hand man of the commanders of various corps of the tagmata as well as of military subdivisions dislocated in the province. At that time (the late Xth c.), a heavily armed cavalry unit headed by a doux and a topoteretes resided at Adrianoupolis. It is an interesting coincidence that the same iconographic subject (bust of St. George as a warrior) is found on the remaining seals of doukes of Adrianoupolis (**Jordanov**, *G. Names*, 29-31, nos. 3.2-3.3.). To conclude with the Xth-XIth centuries, a very cautious suggestion could be a possible kinship relations between the representatives of the Batatzes family known by their seals and from the narrative sources.

Bryennios Batatzes came on the stage by his seals after 1050 and was John Batatzes' contemporary. It could be assumed that since he was entrusted the command of the stratelatai in 1050s, he could be identified with the Rodesto representative of this family, who remained loyal to the emperor during the rebellion. His successor could be Nikephoros Batatzes, who could be associated with Nikephoros Bryennios' partisan in 1077. His career did not end with the suppression of the revolt. It is a well-known fact that the Bryennioi became relatives of the Komnenoi, and their followers were not persecuted. The kouropalatai Symbatikos (I.4) and John (I. 2.5-2.6) and the protoanthypatos Basil Batatzes could be his contemporaries and perhaps brothers.

In the XIIth c., the representatives of the Batatzes family became related with the imperial one, thus attracting the chroniclers' attention more often. Therefore the possibilities for identification seem greater and in some cases it is almost certain.

The military commander of 1166 Leo Batatzes could be identified with the owner of seal no. II. 8.

The identification of Andronikos Batatzes, vestiarites in 1181, with the owner of seal no. II-1.2 could be accepted with greater certitude, and possibly also with the owner of seal no. II-1.

We find difficulties with the identification of seals nos. II.5. It is tempting to identify them with Theodore Batatzes prior to his wedding to Eudokia, but a mid-XIIth-century dating would seem far-fetched for many of them (generally nos. II.5.1a-6).

Seals nos. II.2 and II. 6 can be identified with his sons Andronikos and John with absolute certainty. Their texts corroborate the known information about them and their father.

Seals nos. II.3 can be identified with Basil Batatzes.

The eighty or more seals of representatives of the Batatzes family presented in this research serve as important material for the future prosopography of this family. Of special interest to us is the fact that a considerable number was discovered in Bulgaria. They are dated within the period of two centuries or so, during which time representatives of this family maintained correspondence with various places in Bulgaria. The reason for each particular case is specific, but it is obvious that the representatives of this family were related to the Bulgarian lands for a longer period.

#### 103-104. 'Ουρσενιος Βῆκενης (second half XI c.)

a. Historical Museum, Shumen, no. 14210. Offered for purchase by the middleman N. Georgiev. The information is that it comes from Silistra or Preslav. D.17-18 (16) 4 mm, W. 7.29 g. A low-quality imprint, which makes the reading of the text problematic.

Unpublished.

b. Private collection. Probably the same find-spot. D. 20-20.5 (16) 3 mm. The imprint is as with the above

specimen. The first three letters of the owner's homonym are uncertain. The reading is therefore tentative.

*Unpublished.*

*Both specimens were struck in the same boulloterion.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of St. John the Baptist blessing (r. hand) and holding an indeterminate object in his l. hand. Vertical inscription in two columns: Θ-ΙΩ-Ο || Π-Δ' : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) 'Ιω(άννης) ὁ Πρ(ό)[δ(ρομος)]

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

a) + ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8 | ΛΩ8ΡCΕ | ΝΙΤ8ΡΙ | ΚΕΝΙ

b) + ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8 | ΛΩ8ΡCΕ | ΝΙΤ8ΡΙ | ΚΕΝΙ

+Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ 'Ουρσενί(ῳ) τοῦ Βικενι

If the reading is correct, the owner of the seal is 'Ουρσενιος Βῆκενης. He is unknown from the narrative sources. It obviously refers to a person of Armenian stock. In the narrative sources there is mention of a certain 'Ουρσενιος, who in the year 1097 captured Adana and was dispatched as a representative of the Empire in the campaign of Tancred (on him and his origin, see **Каждан, Армяне**, № 51.2).

The receipt of the correspondence of 'Ουρσενιος Βῆκενης in present-day northeastern Bulgaria is probably connected with the correspondence of the next representative of the family Παγκράτιος Βῆκενης.

#### 105-112. Παγκράτιος Βῆκενης (second half, XI c.)

A.

a. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 18517. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 18-19 (13) 3 mm. W. 8.10 g. Imprint in an excellent state of preservation; struck over another one.

*Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 399.*

b. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 24599. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 16-22 (13) 3.5 mm. Imprint in a poor state of preservation; corrugated and deformed.

*Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 400.*

*Both specimens were struck in the same boulloterion.*

*Parallels:* A specimen struck in the same boulloterion was found on the lands of the villages of Selkovic and Kaliste, situated on the route to Nish (see **Maksimovic et Popovic**, no. 19). Another specimen is stored in the collection of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum (see **Seibt**, Rez., S.137).

*Obv.* Inscription of four lines:

+ΚΕ | ΡΟΗΘΕΙ | ΤΟΝCΟΝ | Δ8ΛΟΝ | --

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

- ΠΑΝ- | ΚΡΑΘΗΝ | ΤΟΝΡΗΚΕ | -ΝΗΝ-

+Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τὸν σὸν δοῦλον Πανκράτην τὸν Βηκένην

B.

a. Historical Museum, Silistra, no. 23. Find-spot: the town. D.16.5-18 (12) 3 mm. Good imprint in a poor state of preservation.

*Ed. Йорданов, Силистра, II, № 18.*

b. National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 23711. Purchased from Silistra. D. 17-18 (12) 2.8 mm. Incomplete imprint, oxidated.

*Ed. Йорданов, Силистра, II, № 19*

c. National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 24825. Found in the stronghold near the present-day village of Zlati

Voivoda. D. 17-17 (12) 4 mm. W. 7.37 g. A well-centered but indistinct imprint.

*Ed. Jordanov, Zlati Voivoda, no. 19*

d. National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 24826. Found in the stronghold near the present-day village of Zlati

Voivoda. D.13-19 (12) 4 mm. W. 5.47 g. A good imprint but a portion chipped.

*Ed. Jordanov, Zlati Voivoda, no. 20*

e. Private collection (Stefan Bilik, from Sofia). Find-spot: uncertain. D.12-18 mm. W. 6.2 g.

*Unpublished.*

*The five specimens were struck in the same boulloterion.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Inscription of four lines:

+ ΚΕΡΟ | ΗΘΗΤΩ | CΩΔΟΝ | ΛΩ

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

ΠΑΝ | ΚΡΑΘΗ | ΤΟΝΡΗ | ΚΕΝΩ

+Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Πανκράτη τὸν Βηκένῳ

Παγκράτιος Βῆκενης is unknown from the narrative sources. It is difficult to determine the reason for his active correspondence, received in various medieval settlements of Bulgaria: Dristra, Preslav, near the present-day village of Zlati Voivoda and on the route to Nish.

#### 113. Κωνσταντῖνος Βερροῖτης (XI/XII c.)

Private collection (Jh. Biulbiulev from Harmanli). Find-spot: Silistra. D.17.5-18 (over 18) 2.5 mm. A well-centered but incomplete imprint.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription:

.. || ΕΩ-Ρ' : ['Ο ἄ(γιος) Γ]εώρ(γιος)

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

.... | ..NTIN | .ΦΡΑΓΙC | .Τ8ΡΕ | .ΟΙΤ8

[+ Κωνστα]ντίν(ῳ) [σ]φράγισ[μ(α)] τοῦ Βε[ρ]ροῖτου

In spite of the uncertainty in the reading of the first line, I have tentatively accepted that it refers to Κωνσταντῖνος Βερροῖτης. The family name Βερροῖτης, according to Laurent, should be distinguished from Βηριώτης.

The Orghidan collection (see **Laurent, Orghidan**, no. 420) contains a bulla of the following description:

*Obv.* Bust of St. George as above.

*Rev.* ΚΩΝ | ΤΑΝΤΙ | ΝΟCΟΡΕ | ΡΙΩΤΗC

Its publisher dates it to the XIIth-XIIIth c., which is perhaps far-fetched. A connection with our seal, dated to the turn of the XIth c., could be found.

Among the clerics, who signed a bill of sale of Docheiariou Monastery dating from February 1112, fifth indiction, is also Κων(σταντῖνος) (πρω)τεκδυκος (καὶ) διάκονος τῆς 'Αγι(ας) Σοφῆ(ας) ὁ Βεριώ(ης), see *Actes Docheiariou*, p. 72, no. 3.75.

It is impossible to say with certainty whether there is any direct relationship between these persons.

#### 114. Ῥωμανὸς Βλατοπόδης πρωτοσπαθάριος (XI c.)

Private collection (V. Pantelev from Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. D.14-15 (14) 2 mm. W. 2.5 g. A well-centered specimen in a superb state of preservation.

Unpublished.

Parallels: Two unpublished specimens struck in the same boulloterion are preserved in the DO collection. 58. 106. 3770; DO. 55. 2632.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans, holding a medallion of Christ on her breast. Sigla: .. || Θ̅V̅:  
[M(ήτη)ρ] Θ(εο)ῦ.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΡΟΜΑΝΩ | Α'ΣΠΑΘΑΡ' | ΤΩΝΡΛΑ | ΤΟΠΟΔ'

+ Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) Ῥωμανῶ (πρωτο)σπαθαρ(ίω) τῶν Βλατοπόδη

The family Βλατοποδης is unknown to date both from narrative and sigillographic sources.

#### 115-116. Georgius Bodinus (XII c.)

a. Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia, no. 69. Found in the vicinity of the town of Borisovgrad, present-day Parvomai. D.24-30 mm. Good imprint and a well-preserved bulla.

Ed. Gerassimov, T. Un sceau en plomb de Georges, fils du roi Bodine.- *Studia Serdicensia*, 1, 1938, 217-218.

b. Private collection (Ivan Hristov Stoianov from Kurdjali). Found in the vicinity of the village of Krepost, Haskovo region. Good imprint and a well-preserved bulla.

Ed. Юркува, Й. Нов оловен печат на Георги Бодин.-*Нумизматика*, 2, 1984, 8-13.

Both specimens were struck in the same boulloterion:

No parallels known.

Obv. St. George standing frontally, holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand) resting on the ground. Vertical inscription in two columns: O-A-Γ-I-O-C || Γ-Ε-Ω-P-Γ': 'Ο ἄγιος Γεώργιος (ιός).

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

GEOR | REGIS | BODINI | FILIVS

Geor(gius) regis Bodini filius

The seal, according to the publishers of the bullae, belonged to George, son of King Bodin. Under the name of King Bodin we should understand Constantine Bodin, king of Zeta for the period of 1082-1106, who before that, in the year 1071, was proclaimed king of the Bulgars under the name of Peter III. After the unsuccessful uprising, he was captured by the Byzantines and taken to Constantinople, where in 1081 he was released with the help of the Venetians, and soon after that occupied his father's throne.

After Constantine Bodin's death, internecine wars broke out in Zeta, on which Byzantium capitalized. Emperor John II Komnenos sided with George Bodin's opponents twice, in 1123 and in 1137. In 1137, George was captured by the Byzantines and taken to Constantinople, where soon after he died.

The problems here are the dating of the seal and the connection between the person of George, son of King Bodin, and the finding of his bullae in the area near Philippopolis.

J. Youroukova is inclined to accept that the bullae were received in Bulgaria at a time when Constantine Bodin was still living, and that the recipients of his correspondence were his relations and adherents, living permanently or just staying in these lands.

Another assumption, besides this possibility, should also be considered. It is to a certain extent prompted by the discovery in Parvomai of the seal of another participant in the aforementioned events, John Kantakouzenos. It is not unlikely that after George Bodin's capture, the Byzantine army withdrew to spend the winter traditionally in Beroe, Philippopolis region. George Bodin could have stayed in the military camp only as "filius regis" Bodin. As a person of high standing, the son of King Bodin, he must have exchanged correspondence with various high-ranking Byzantine dignitaries, spending the winter in this part of the Empire.

#### 117-119. Μανουήλ Βοτανειάτης σεβαστὸς (early XII c.)

a. Historical Museum, Pernik, no. 938. Found in the course of excavations of the medieval fortress near the town, October 1975, sq. X (9) D. 26-26 (23) 3 mm. Good but incomplete imprint. Bulla in a good state of preservation.

Ed. Юркува, Перник, II, 123-126; Йорданов, Севаст, № 27.

b. Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia, no. 39. Purchased for the collection of the Archaeological Institute and Museum from a goldsmith from Sofia. D. 32-32 (22) ? mm. Incomplete and blotted imprint. The first letters of almost every line are out of the blank.

Ed. Мушмов, Печати, № 19; Йорданов, Севаст, № 28.

c. Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia, no. 54. Found in the vicinity of Radomir. D. 25-25 (22) ? mm. Complete imprint but in a poor state of preservation.

Ed. Мушмов, Печати, № 19; Йорданов, Севаст, № 29.

The three bullae were struck with the same pair of dies.

Parallels: Schlumberger, Sig., p. 626, no. 4; eight other unpublished specimens are kept in various collections in the world: DO. 58. 106. 645; 646; 647; 648; 58.106. 5307; DO. 55. 1. 2959; Fogg A. M., nos. 123, 710, 1937, 2119; Shaw, 395 (no. 1022); Zacos, III, nos. 1706, 1716. They were struck in the same boulloterion.

Obv. The Virgin Hodegetria standing half-turned l. on a suppedion, holding Christ on r. arm.

Sigla: ΜΡ || Θ̅V̅ : M(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΜΑΝΘΗΛ | CΕΡΑCΤΩ | ΤΩΡΟΤΑ | ΝΕΙΑΘΗ

+ Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) Μανουήλ σεβαστῶ τῷ Βοτανειάτῃ

The owner of the seal is the sebastos Manuel Botaneiates, son of Nikephoros Botaneiates and Anna Komnene (daughter of the eldest brother of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos, Manuel). He was born ca. 1090, married Irene Synadene in 1110 and died before 1136 (Barzos, *Komnenoi*, 274-275).

There is scarce information about Manuel Botaneiates. His name is mentioned in:

a) an epitaph devoted to his early widowed wife (Lampros, S. NE, 8, 1911, 75.7-9);  
b) a typikon of the Pantokrator monastery composed by Emperor John II Komnenos in 1136 (Димитриевский, *Типика*, 698.32-34; Gautier, *Typikon Pantokrator*, 1510, 1543-1544). From the context of this typikon, it could be assumed that he was already deceased when his estate in Berroia was donated to the emperor "[ἡ ἐν Βερροίᾳ περιελθοῦσα ἐπίσκεψις τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου ἀπὸ δωρεᾶς τοῦ σεβαστοῦ κυροῦ Μανουήλ τοῦ Βοτανειάτου μετὰ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πλανητῶν καὶ λοιπῶν δικαίων (Gautier, *Typikon Pantokrator*, 1543-1544)

The receipt of at least two letters of the sebastos Manuel Botaneiates along with those of other representatives of the Botaneiatas (Emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates, Irene Synadene and others) in the Pernik region (Radomir is only some 10 km. away) is evidence perhaps of



the existence of another Botaneiates' estate here, in addition to the one in Berroia.

#### 120. Κωνσταντῖνος Βουρτζης μάγιστρος (mid-XI c.)

Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia, no. 143. Found in the village of Kostenets, Sofia region, and included in the collection of the Archaeological Institute and Museum in 1958. D. 27-28 mm. Very good imprint and a bulla in a superb state of preservation.

*Unpublished.*

*Parallels:* Another specimen struck in the same boulloterion is kept in the Dumbarton Oaks collection (DO.58.106.778), (see **Cheyne**, Bourtzes, 35-36, pl. I.7).

*Obv.* Bust of St. Theodore holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription in two columns: Θ-ΘΕ-Ο || Δ-Ω-Ρ' : 'Ο ἄ(γ)ιος Θεόδω(ρ)ος).

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

+ ΚΕΡΟ | ΗΘΕΙΚΩΝ | ΜΑΓΙΣΤΡ' | ΤΩΡΟVP | ΤΖΗ  
+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει Κων(σταντῖν)ο μάγιστρ(ο) τῷ Βούρτζη

The members of this family play a quite an important role in the life of the Empire from the Xth through the XIIth c. and they are well presented. Some named Constantine are also known. Our investigations were facilitated by two prosopographical studies devoted to this family (**Каждан**, *Армяне*, № 32, **Cheyne**, Bourtzes, 15-55), where the following persons are differentiated:

*Constantine Bourtzes I:* John Skylitzes reports that at the accession of Constantine VIII (1025-1028) many Byzantine aristocrats, among them the patrikios Constantine Bourtzes, were sentenced and blinded (**Skylitzes**, 371.45-46; **Каждан**, *Армяне*, № 32:2; **Cheyne**, Bourtzes, no. 4). A group of seals (DO.58.106.4304; Shaw no. 1027) is attributed to the same.

*Obv.* Patriarchal cross on three steps with fleurons arising from the base. Circular inscription: ..... ΘΙΤΩCΩΔ8Λ'

*Rev.* +ΚΩΝ | CΤΑΝΤΙΝ | ΠΑΤΡΙΚ. | .ΤR8PTZH

*Constantine Bourtzes II:* known from seals that can be categorized in four groups: with no title but containing the position ἄξίαρχης; spatharokandidatos and topoteretes; magistros and ὀπλιτάρχης; magistros and doux of Antioch. They all contain a representation of St. Demetrios as a warrior on the obverse. They are dated to the mid-XIth c. (see their documentation in **Cheyne**, Bourtzes, no. 7; **Idem**, Antioche et Tarse, no. 48).

*Constantine Bourtzes III:* an exchange of land between the monastery and the protoproedros Constantine Bourtzes is reported in a document of the Iveron monastery of 1104 (**Каждан**, *Армяне*, № 32:12; **Cheyne**, Bourtzes, no. 23).

*Constantine Bourtzes IV:* the name of magistros Constantine Bourtzes as one of the katepano of Crete's retinue is reported in connection with the trial of 1117 on the island of Crete between Achilles Limenites and the peasants from the Menix municipality (**Каждан**, *Армяне*, № 32:13; **Cheyne**, Bourtzes, no. 28).

*Constantine Bourtzes V:* attested by a bulla from the unpublished Zacos collection, with no title and position inscribed, dated to the first half of the XIIth c. (**Cheyne**, Bourtzes, p. 50, n.56).

From the survey of various documentary sources on the dignitaries named Constantine Bourtzes, we draw the conclusion that they should refer to different persons (three or four), but their identification (i.e. which information applies to which person) is hard to ascertain.

The question of interest to us is to determine the identification of the owner of the seal affixed to the correspondence to an unknown recipient in the settlement near the present-day village of Kostenets, Sofia region.

St. Theodore is represented on its obverse. This gave enough ground to Cheynet to differentiate it in a separate group (**Cheyne**, Bourtzes, no. 11). But since, according to Cheynet himself, the seal of Constantine Bourtzes, magistros and doux of Antioch, is no longer in this group, I am not sure that such differentiation is necessary. Possibly, our seal could be incorporated into the group of seals associated with the person of Constantine Bourtzes II, and thus determining the following cursus honorum:

- a) taxiarches (early 1040s);
- b) spatharokandidatos and topoteretes (1040s);
- c) magistros and ὀπλιτάρχης (1040s-1050s);
- d) magistros and doux of Antioch (1050);
- e) magistros (1050s-1060s).

The problem remains whether this group of seals is the last one. If the change of the iconographic subject is not by chance, since it refers to a military saint, protector of this obviously a military dignitary, our seal could be connected with an earlier period, prior to his position as a doux of Antioch. Otherwise, a logical assumption is that it reflects a later period, when Constantine Bourtzes had retired from active military service.

#### 121-122. Ἀλέξιος Κομνηνὸς Βρανᾶς πανυπερσέβαστος (1183-1186)

a. Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia, no. 43. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 34-36 mm. Good but incomplete imprint. Some letters are out of the blank.

*Ed.* Йорданов, Комнини-Ангели, № 5.

b. Private collection. A plaster cast of the same was sent to me by Ivan Karajotov from Burgas. It stems from the Plovdiv region, probably from Dobri Dol. D. 22-23 mm; 30 mm of the border of dots. Half of what was once an indistinct imprint, especially on the obverse.

*Ed.* Йорданов, Комнини-Ангели, № 6.

*Both specimens were struck in the same boulloterion.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Inscription of five lines:

- a) + | ΑΛΕΞΙΟC | ΤΥΠΟΙΜΕΡ | ΡΑΝΑC ΔΕCΠ. | ΤΗCΚΟΜΝΗΝ. | ΦΥΗC
  - b) . | . . . ΕΞΙΟC | . . . . ΙΜΕΡ | . . . . . | . . . . . ΝΗΝΟ | . . ΗC
- + Ἀλέξιος τυποῖ με Βρανᾶς δεσπ[ό]της Κομνηνοφυῆς

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

- a) ΕΚΓΕΝ8C | Τ8ΜΗΤΡΟΘΕ | ΚΑΙΡΑΝΥΠΕΡ | CΕΡΑΥΟCΕΚ | . ΗCΑΞΙΑ
  - b) ΕΚΓΕΝ. . | Τ8ΜΗΤ . . . . | ΚΑΙΡΑΝ . . . . | CΕΡΑΥΟ . . . | ΤΗCΑ . . .
- ἐκ γένους τοῦ μητρόθεν καὶ πανυπερσέβαστος ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας

The owner of the seal affixed to the correspondence to an unknown recipient in Bulgaria is Ἀλέξιος Κομνηνῆς Βρανᾶς πανυπερσέβαστος. Who was he?

Alexios Komnenos Branas is son of the sebastos Michael Branas and Maria Komnene, grand-daughter of the first sebastokrator Isaakios Komnenos (**Barzos**, *Komnenoi*, II, 395-417). According to Choniates, he was born in Adrianoupolis (**Choniates**, 378.58). According to a later copy of Choniates, Alexios Branas "was short in stature, but gigantic in the scope of his intelligence and the cunningness of his designs, and he was the most versed in generalship of all men at that time" (**Choniates**, 376.27-30; tr. **Magoulias**, p. 207).



We first encounter his name at a session of the Synod of 1166 in his capacity as πανσέβαστος σεβαστὸς (**Grumel**, *Regestes*, no. 1075; *PG*, CXL, 252C).

Under Alexios II Komnenos (1180-1182), he was startegos of the tagmata (**Choniates**, 376.28-30). In 1182, the Hungarian king Bela III, encouraged by the empress-mother Maria, invaded the Beograd and Branichevo regions, reached Nish and Sofia, from where the relics of St. John of Rila were taken and carried over to Hungary. Two experienced military commanders, Alexios Branas and Andronikos Lapardas were dispatched against the Serbs and Hungarians (**Choniates**, 376-378). The latter left the field and went to Asia Minor, where he raised the flag of riot, while Alexios Branas kept his loyalty to the emperor. Soon after, he was dispatched against the rebels in Asia Minor, where he crushed the riot by means of cruel repressions, from which only Isaakios Angelos was spared. After the capture of Thessalonike by the Normans (on August 24, 1185) and the enthronement of the new Emperor Isaac II Angelos, Alexios Branas was put in charge of the war against the Normans. On 7th November 1185, in the decisive battle near Dimitritza, at the lower course of the Struma river, the Normans were defeated and shortly after that Thessalonike was regained (**Choniates**, 358-362).

At the breakout of the Bulgarian rebellion with Peter (Theodore) and Asen at the head and after the unsuccessful campaigns of the sebastokrator John and John Kantakouzenos, Alexios Branas was dispatched as a supreme commander against the Bulgarians. Initially he undertook military actions. But when enough of an army was mustered, he decided to set about fulfilling his long-standing dream of becoming a Byzantine emperor. Shortly after he was proclaimed emperor by the whole army, he set out to Constantinople, but this attempt ended in failure. Alexios Branas was killed in battle (**Choniates**, 378-389).

Seals with the name of Alexios Komnenos Branas in his capacity as a sebastos (**Zacos**, *Seals*, I, no. 2734) and protosebastos (**Laurent**, *Vatican*, no. 64) are also known. They, along with the one discussed here, determine his cursus honorum:

- a) πανσέβαστος ;
- b) πρωτοσέβαστος ;
- c) πανυπερσέβαστος .

His last title was presumably granted by Andronikos I Komnenos on his ascension in September 1183. The finding of his bulla in Bulgaria and specifically in the Plovdiv region could be connected with the expeditions against the Normans and the Bulgarians, which he commanded. A connection could possibly be established with the period when he was trying to usurp the throne, seeking support from commanders of garrisons and generally from aristocracy of the Plovdiv region.

#### 123-124. Ἐλπίδιος Βραχάμιος ταξιάρχης (XI c.)

- a. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 24564. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 20-23 (20) 1.5-5 mm. W. 11.50 g. Unsuccessful imprint. The blank was "bitten" in the boulloterion and has different thickness of 1.5-5 mm. The bulla itself was subsequently cut off into a rectangular shape.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 188.

- b. Historical Museum, Shumen, no. 14837. Find-spot: Preslav. D. 22-25 mm. W. 11.50 g. Incomplete imprint in a poor state of preservation.

Unpublished.

Both specimens were struck in the same boulloterion.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Demetrios holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription:

Θ-Δ- . || M-I-TP' : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Δ[η]μήτρ(ιος)

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

ΕΛ | ΠΗΛ'ΤΑ | ΞΙΑΡΧ | ORPAX. | ΜΗΟ'

Ἐλπήδ(ιος) ταξιάρχ(ης) ὁ Βραχ[ά]μηο(ς)

To supplement the information of the quoted publication, I could add the data of another seal of a dignitary by the same names:

An unpublished bulla is kept in the Zacos collection, III, no. 1528 of the following description:

Obv. Two standing saints: St. Demetrios at r. and a bishop at l.

Rev. + KER'Θ'|ΤΩCΩΔ8'|ΕΛΠΙΔΙ Ω|ΤΩΡΡΑΧ|ΜΙΩ

Its dating is generally to the late XIth c. and it could be the latest Elpidios Brachamios' seal as a private person, after he had retired from administrative and military service.

#### 125-126. Βασίλειος Βραχάμιος (second half, XI c.)

- a. Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia. Find-spot: the vicinity of Lovech. It was donated to the Archaeological Museum by the teacher Geno Ivanov from the town of Lovech. D. 20-20 (over 20) 3 mm. Incomplete imprint.

Ed. **Мущимов**, *Печати*, № 42.

- b. Private collection. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 23-25 mm. Incomplete imprint. Superb depiction on the obverse with high relief.

Unpublished.

Both specimens were struck in the same boulloterion.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Michael holding a scepter (r. hand) and a globe (l. hand).

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

a) . . . . . | . ΚΕΠΟ . | .ΑCΙΑΓ' | ΤΩNRPA | XAMIN

b) .CΩ.Ε | CΚΕΠΟΙ | .ΑCΙΑΓ' | ΤΩNRPA | XAMIN

[A]ω[μ(α) τ]ε σκέποι(ς) [B]ασιλ(ίω) τῶν Βραχάμιν

A bulla of Basil Brachamios in his capacity as a protospatharios and strategos is preserved in the collection of the Hermitage (M-10739). The same superb depiction of archangel Michael is represented on the obverse (see **Shandrovskaja**, V. Einige Kunstbesonderheiten der byzantinische Siegel.-SBS, 1, 29-30, Abb.3). Obviously it reflects an earlier stage of Basil Brachamios' life.

#### 127. Φιλάρετος Βραχάμιος πρωτοσέβαστος καὶ δομέστικος Ἐφας (?-1084)

- Private collection (G. Gulubov, Sofia). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 26-27.5 (over 27) 3.5 mm. Incomplete imprint. The relief of the letters is erased.

Ed. **Jordanov**, *G. Names*, no. 31.1.

Parallels: *Seyrig*, no. 192; **Cheyne**, *Zacos*, III, nos. 124-126. The last three seals are imprinted with a different boulloterion.

Obv. St. Theodore standing frontally, holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand resting on a shield placed on the ground.

Rev. Metrical inscription of seven lines:

..... | .ΙΚΟΝΕΩΑ. | ΑΘΛΗCΚΕΠ | ΟΙCΠΙΡΟΤΟΝ.. | ΡΑCΤΩΝΦΙ | ΛΑΡΕΤΟΝ |

ΡΡΑΧΑΜ

[Δομέστ]ικον Ἐφά[ς] ἀθλητ(ά) σκέποις πρωτον[σε]βαστῶν Φιλάρετον  
Βραχάμ(ην)

The seal is dated to the late XI<sup>th</sup> century where a man so named did live. Information about him which is sometimes rather extensive found in the narrative sources and seals (see **Каждан**, *Армяне*, № 7.7; **Cheyne**, *Brachamioi*, no. 13).

We are interested in the period when Philaretus Brachamios was a πρωτοσέβαστος καὶ δομέστικος Ἐφάς (between 1081 and 1084) and sent his correspondence to an unknown addressee in Bulgaria. It is impossible to tell which events were concerned and to whom it was sent. There is no direct evidence. It is possible that the eastern army was dispatched to the Balkans in order to repulse some danger for the Empire, for instance the invasion of the Normans headed by Robert Guiscard. The correspondence of Philaretus Brachamios may also have been sent to a relative or friend of his who participated as an army officer in the military expeditions of the Empire in the present-day Bulgarian lands.

#### 128. Ἰωάννης Γαβαλᾶς βέστης καὶ κατεπάνω (third quarter of XI c.)

Archaeological Museum, Plovdiv, no. 895. Reported find-spot: Rodosto, from where it was carried during the war. D.18-20 (16) 3.6 mm. W. 7.10 g. Well-centered but weak imprint.

Ed. **Jordanov**. Plovdiv, no. 18.

Parallel: An unpublished and better-struck specimen preserved in DO. 58. 106. 3725.

Obv. Inscription of four lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ' | ἸΩREC | - TH -

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

ΚΑΙΚΑ | ΤΕΠΑΝΩ | ΤΩΓΑΡΑ | - ΛΑ -

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῶ δ(ούλῳ) Ἰω(άννῃ) βέστη καὶ κατεπάνω τῷ Γαβαλᾶ

The origin of the family Γαβαλᾶς has been debated. Some investigators suggest a toponymic origin after the name of the Syrian town of Gabalas, taking into consideration its Phoenician-Biblical past (see **Moritz**, *Zunamen*, 2, S. 42). Others assume that it is connected with the biblical Gavrail arguing that names ending in ᾶς usually have patronymic origin (see **Kuruses**, *S. Manuel Gabalas et Mathaios metropolitae Ephesu*, Athens, 1972, 297-299; **Каждан**, *Соч. состав*, c.190).

Among its representatives who, according to most investigators, were active after the end of the XII<sup>th</sup> c., there are also some bearing the homonym Ἰωάννης.

One of them is mentioned in an act of the Lavra from 1196 as an official at the office of the navy (*Lavra*, I, no. 67-68).

The other one is known in connection with the setting up of the Gabalas family as independent rulers on the island of Rhodos - Ἰωάννης Γαβαλᾶς ἀνθεντης τῆς Ρόδος. Chronologically he is the second ruler of the island from 1240-1250. He also minted coins (see **Tzamales**, *Phrankokratias*, 131-134).

A seal of Ἰωάννης Γαβαλᾶς is also known:

Obv. St. Theodore represented as a warrior on horseback walking r.

Its publisher (**Regling**, *Bleisiegel*, no.III) dated it to the period 850-1050 and according to him the owner of the seal cannot be identified with the ruler of Rhodos from the XIII<sup>th</sup> c. The same conclusion is corroborated by father Laurent (**Laurent**, *Bulles metriques*, no.

346). Clearly, this second seal is different from ours. However, it is likewise clear that it can be associated with the ruler of Rhodos from the XIII<sup>th</sup> c. None of the investigators mentioned above has put forward arguments for the strange dating to the period 850-1050. The iconography as well as the text of this seal point to a dating in the period XIII<sup>th</sup>-XIV<sup>th</sup> centuries, when the subject of the ruler or saint on horseback was common.

Our seal has a general dating to the third quarter of the XI<sup>th</sup> c. and could not be identified with the officer in the department of the navy from 1196 either.

Below we offer seals of representatives of the family, which attest to their participation in the life of the Empire earlier in the XI<sup>th</sup> c.

1. Ἀνδρόνικος Γαβαλᾶς :

a. δισύπατος (mid-XI c.), according to a lead seal from MK 375, see **Seibt**, *Bleisiegel*, I, no. 108.

b. πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγός (second half of the XI c.), according to an unpublished seal from DO. 58. 106. 4033.

Obv. Military saint (St. Andronikos ?) standing holding a spear (r. hand), his l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground.

Rev. +ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙ | ΚΩΠΡΠ | Κ | CTPAT'ΓΩ | ΤΩΓΑΡΑ | -ΛΑ-

2. Γρηγόριος Γαβαλᾶς πρωτοσπαθᾶριος καὶ στρατηγός (XI c.), according to an unpublished seal from DO. 58. 106. 5418.

Obv. + ΑΓΙΕ | ΔΗΜΗΤΡ' | Ρ'Θ'ΤΩC'Δ | ΓΡΙΓΩΡ' | -Ω-

Rev. Α'CΠΑΘ' | SCT.AT. | ΓΩΤΟΓ | -ΑΡΑ-

3. Εὐστάθιος Γαβαλᾶς (mid-XI c.):

a. πρωτοσπαθᾶριος καὶ τοποτηρητής, according to an unpublished lead seal from Zacos collection, III.

Obv. The Virgin orans standing with a medallion on her breast.

Rev. ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΕΥCΤΑΘ' | Α'CΠΑΘ'ST' | ΠΟΤ'PITI | ΤΟΓ'RA | -Λ'-

b. πρωτοσπαθᾶριος-ὑπάτος καὶ τοποτηρητής, according to an unpublished lead seal from Shaw 1003 (no.1153)=DO. 47. 2. 1003 and Zacos collection, III.

Obv. The Virgin orans standing with a medallion on her breast.

Rev. ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΕΥCΤΑΘΙΩ | Α'CΠΑΘΑΡ' | ΒΙΑΤΩCΤΟ | ΠΟΤΗΡΗΤ' | ΤΩΓΑΡΑ | ΛΑ

c. πατρίκιος see **Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, 664-665, no. 1.

Obv. The Virgin standing as above.

Rev. ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΕΥCΤΑΘ' | ΠΡΠΓΩ | ΓΑΡΑΑ

4. Κωνσταντῖνος Γαβαλᾶς

a. πατρίκιος, ἀνθύπατος καὶ τοποτηρητής τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν (1050s), see DOS, 3, no. 86.63;

b. βεστάρχης καὶ κατεπάνω (third quarter of the XI c.), according to three specimens kept in : MK 374; DO. 55. 1. 3033 and Zacos, III, see **Wassiliou**, **Seibt**, no. 271;

c. as a private person (second half of the XI c.) according to a lead seal from Athens, **Stavrakos**, no. 48;

5. Μιχαήλ Γαβαλᾶς, a private person from the second half of the XI<sup>th</sup> c., according to two specimens kept in the British Museum (**Gray Birch**, no. 17865) and Zacos, III, see **Seibt**, **Wasisiliou**, p. 261, n. 149.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion on her breast.

Rev. ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΜΧΤΩΓΑ | ΡΑΑΑ

6. Νικηφόρος Γαβαλᾶς (a private person from the second half of the XI<sup>th</sup> c.), according to two unpublished groups of seals:

a. DO. 55. 1. 3027.

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin holding the medallion on her breast.

*Rev.* ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡ' | ΤΩΓΑΡΑ | ο ΛΑ ο

b. Fogg, A. M. no.136.

*Obv.* St. Theodore standing, holding a spear (r. hand), his l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground.

*Rev.* + | ΚΕΠΟΙC | ΜΕΜΑΡΤVC | ΓΑΡΑΛΑΝ | ΝΙΚΗΦΟ | ΡΟΝ

An interesting fact is that almost all of them served in the provincial army.

### 129. Ν., Γαβρᾶς (XII/XIII c.)

Historical Museum, Gabrovo. Found in the course of archaeological excavations in the stronghold near the village of Kramolin, Gabrovo region. I obtained a cast of the same from K. Kojcheva; later, in January 1987, I had the opportunity to examine it in the museum. D. 23-26 mm. Incomplete imprint in a poor state of preservation, which makes the reading of the text difficult. V. Seibt, in a letter of 13th March 1987, informed me that he also found difficulty in the reading. He suggested as a possibility the name ΚΥΡΙΑΟC or ΑΛΕΞΙΟC ΓΑΒΡΑC. The dating of the seal is generally to the XIIth-XIIIth c.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion of Christ before her chest. Sigla:  $\overline{MP}$  ||  $\overline{\Theta V}$  : Μ(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ.

*Rev.* Cruciform monogram (table III.60). In the quarters: ΟΓ | ΑΒ || Ρ | ΑC = Γαβρᾶς.

Of the representatives of the Gabras family of this time familiar to me, Alexios and Cyril are unknown (see **Brayr**, *The Gabrades*, 164-187).

### 130. Μιχαήλ ὁ τοῦ Γαγγρῶν (XII c.)

Private collection (V. Panteleev from Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 23-28 (20) 4.1 mm. W.16.00 g. Superb imprint, a tiny portion cut not damaging the text. On the reverse, the accents above the lines are also written out.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Metrical inscription of three lines:

+ | CΦΡΑ | ΓΙCMI | ΧΑΗΛ

*Rev.* Metrical inscription of three lines:

ΤΟV | ΤΟVΓΑ | ΓΓΡΩΝ | --

Σφραγίς Μιχαήλ τοῦ τοῦ Γαγγρῶν

The definite article ὁ τοῦ defines Michael as a nephew of the metropolitan of Gangra in Paphlagonia. Who was this metropolitan? Why should his nephew make himself known through him? These remain open questions. On this metropolitan bishopric, see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, V,1, p.318; **McGeer-Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 4, 48-49.

It is an interesting coincidence that at an earlier period (VII-VIII c.) a certain Constantine made himself known as the son of John priest of Gangra, see **McGeer-Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 4, no. 17.3.

The present seal dates generally from the XIIth c., from which time John metropolitan of

Gangra present at the patriarchal synod in 1166 is known (see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, V, 2, no. 1594; **McGeer-Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 4, no. 17.1).

### 131A. Γιαγούπης (XII c.).

a. Historical Museum, Stara Zagora, no. 10 C3-4. Find-spot: the town, in Hadji Dimitar Asenov Street. D. 31-31.5 (26) 4.5 mm. Successful and complete imprint, but not very well preserved.

*Ed.* Ёорданов, Берое, с. 65, № 13;

b. Historical Museum, Iambol, no. II 1663. Find-spot: unlocated settlement in Iambol region. D. 27.5-30 (26) 4 mm. Complete imprint in a good state of preservation.

*Unpublished.*

*Parallels* : Unpublished from DO. 55. 1. 2709, struck in the same boulloterion as ours.

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion on her chest. Sigla:  $\overline{MP}$  ||  $\overline{\Theta V}$ .

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

a. + | ΘΚΕ . . . | ΘΕΙΤΩCΩ | ΔΟVΛΩΓΙ | ΑΓ8ΠΗ

b. + | ΘΚΕΡΟΗ | ΘΕΙΤΩCΩ | ΔΟVΛΩΓΙ | ΑΓ8ΠΗ

+ Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Γιαγούπη

According to a number of investigators, the name Γιαγούπης derives from the Turkish-Arab Ya'qub, i.e. Jacob. It was attested in Byzantium as early as the XIIIth century (**Moravcik**, *Byzantinoturcika*, II, S. 135).

The fact that the Christian name is not inscribed on the seal under examination gives us grounds to assume that he must have been a first generation Arab or Seljuk in service in Byzantium.

On the basis of the seal of John Melek also discovered in Stara Zagora and having the same origin and date, we could look for a link between them and also with the events around the Seljuk sultan Izedin (see no. 456).

### 131. Ἀλέξιος Γίδος σεβαστὸς καὶ μέγας δομέστικος τῆς Δύσεως (end of the XIIth c.)

Private collection (V. Panteleev from Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 16-33 mm, W. 8.2 g. Half of what was once a good imprint.

*Unpublished.*

*Parallels* : Fogg A. M., no. 490, see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, no. 944; **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 1, 1.14.

*Obv.* Part of the figure of St. George and vertical inscription:.....|| ΓΕ-ΩΡ-ΓΙ-Ο-C : [ἄγιος] Γεώργιος

*Rev.* Inscription of seven lines:

+ | CΦΡΑ... | ΜΕΓΑΛ... | CΩΕCΔ..... | Κ8:Γ..... | 98..... | ..... | ..

+ Σφρα[γίς] μεγάλ[ου Δύ]σεως δ[ομεστί]κου: Γ[ίδου σεβα]στοῦ [τῶν γραφῶν Ἀλεξίου]

A bulla of the same dignitary with the same title and position but a different text is preserved in Istanbul Fonds Diogen, no. 1 (see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, no. 943).

An individual by similar names and position is attested in the narrative sources.

In 1185, regarding the capture of Thessalonike by the Normans, Eustathios of Thessalonike

reports the name of ὁ τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν μέγας δομέστικος Γίδος (see **Eustathios of Thessalonike**. *The Capture*, p. 72.17).

In the summer of 1189, regarding Frederick Barbarosa's passing through the Bulgarian lands, Niketas Choniates reports that the emperor (Isaakios II Angelos) ordered the protostrator Manuel Kamytzes and the domestikos of the West Alexios Gidos (τὸν τῆς δύσεως δομέστικον τὸν Γίδον Ἀλέξιον) to follow close behind with their troops and stealthily attack the Germans as they collected fodder and searched after food (**Choniates**, 403.61-64).

The name of Alexios Gidos is again reported regarding the Bulgarian lands in 1194, when the Byzantine army led by the two commanders of the East and West was routed at Arkadiopolis (**Choniates**, 446. 63-66). Theodore Skoutariotes specifies that Alexios Gidos, who was at the head of the eastern army was put to rout losing a larger part of his army, and Basil Batatzes who commanded the western army died along with his subordinate contingents (**Scutariotes**, p. 441; **Божилев-Гюзелев**, с. 434).

There is no further mention of Alexios Gidos in the chronicles. N. Choniates reports the name of another military commander, Andronikos Gidos, who in 1206 defeated the Latins at Tracheiai near Nikomedia (**Choniates**, 641.44-46).

The bulla of Alexios Gidos discovered in the Bulgarian lands (perhaps in modern southern Bulgaria) must have been from the time when he followed the crusading army in the summer of 1189 and coordinated the operations with the other military commanders and commandants of various strongholds. The differences in Alexios Gidos' position (domestikos of the East or West) should not seem striking to us. The same situation is observed with his brother-in-arms Basil Batatzes (see **Йорданов**, *Βατατζι*, 153, 159-160.). This is perhaps due to the dynamic conditions during the reign of Isaakios II Angelos and the frequent changes in the tactics of the army.

### 132-135. Βασίλειος Γλαβᾶς πρωτοσπαθᾶριος-ὑπάτος (XI c.)

a. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 18552. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 26-27 (18) 4 mm. W. 15.23 g. Superb imprint.

*Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 89.*

b. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 20128. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 22-25 (18) 3 mm. W. 11.63 g. The blank was irregularly shaped and the boulloterion was loose, resulting in a slight dislocation of the upper and lower dies.

*Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 90.*

c. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 19583. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 19-21 (18) 2.5 mm. W. 5.8 g. Imprint in a poor state of preservation.

*Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 91.*

*The three specimens were struck in the same boulloterion.*

*No parallels known.*

The bulla with a reprint of a seal of the same dignitary with the title protovestis actually also belongs to this group (on him, see no. 138 here). A commentary on the available information on this dignitary can be found there.

*Obv.* Bust of St. Michael holding a scepter topped with a palm branch (r. hand) and a globus surmounted by a cross (l. hand). Sigla: M-I || X-A.

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

— — | +ΚΕΡ'Θ' | RACIAIΩ | Α'СПΑΘΑΡ' | VΠΑΤΟ'Ω | ΓΛΑΡΑC | — —

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Βασιλίω (πρωτο)σπαθαρι(ώ) ὑπάτο (τ)ῷ Γλαβᾶς

### 136-140. Βασίλειος Γλαβᾶς πρωτοβέστης (1060s-1070s)

a. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 18058. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 24-26 (21) 4 mm. W. 14.45 g. Once a good imprint, now damaged. The depiction and image were cut through with a sharp object.

*Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 83.*

b. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Prfslav, no. 24549. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 24-24 (21) 5 mm. W. 15.6 g. Low-quality imprint. Half of the depiction and inscription was not printed. The blank itself was of low quality and irregular shape.

*Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 84.*

c. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 24555. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 26-28 (?) 4 mm. W. 16.10 g. Good imprint; what is most characteristic is that it was struck over a bulla of the same dignitary but with the title πρωτοσπαθᾶριος-ὑπάτος.

*Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 85.*

d. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 256. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 28-29 (?) 4 mm. W. 17.6 g. Its most characteristic feature is the lacking of almost any traces of the depiction and lettering. The reason and instrument for their obliteration is hard to explain, as well as whether they were printed at all.

*Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 86.*

e. Historical Museum, Shumen, no. 1212a. Find-spot: Pliska. A fragment smaller than a half. Once a good imprint.

*Ed. Йорданов, Плиска, № 7.*

*The five bullae come from the same boulloterion.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of St. Michael holding a scepter (r. hand) and a globus (l. hand). Sigla on either side: M || X.

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

— — | + APXI | CΤΡΑΤΙΓΕ | ΡΟΗΘ' RACI | ΛΕΙΩΠΡΩΤ' | ΡΕCΤΗΤΩ | ΓΛΑΡΑ — —

+ Ἀρχιστράτιγε βοήθ(ει) Βασιλείω πρωτ(ο)βέστη τῷ Γλαβᾶ

### 141. Βασίλειος Γλαβᾶς βεστάρχης (third quarter, XI c.)

Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 21583. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 20-22 (19) 4.5 mm.

W. 13.20 g. Complete and a well-preserved imprint.

*Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 70.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* An archangel (presumably St. Michael) standing frontally, holding a long scepter (r. hand) and a globus (l. hand). Sigla on either side: M || X.

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8' | RACIAHΩ | ΡΕCΤΑΡΧΗ | ΤΩΓΛΑ | RA

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δού(λ)ω Βασιλήω βεστάρχη τῷ Γλαβᾶ

Clearly the three groups of seals belong to one person. They outline the following cursus honorum:

a) πρωτοσπαθᾶριος-ὑπάτος (mid-XIth c.)

b) πρωτοβέστης (1060s)

c) βεστάρχης (third quarter of XIth c.)

His career seems ordinary, regardless of the fact that, from protospatharo-hypatos, he was directly promoted to protovestis!

How can the double printing of no. 138 be explained, when his seal in his capacity

as protovestes was overstruck with the seal of the same Basil Glabas, but with the title protospatharo-hypatos. If we accept what is obvious, it follows that Basil Glabas received the title protospatharo-hypatos after he had already been protovestes. This however is in contradiction with the natural development of his career. Protospatharo-hypatos is several degrees lower than protovestes. It remains to assume that Basil Glabas was reduced with three degrees: from protovestes – vestes, anthypatos, patrikios to protospatharo-hypatos due to a certain reason.

This reduction, if such a version is possible at all, was overcome, because at a certain latest to date point of the career of Basil Glabas he was granted the title vestarches, which is the highest.

In the sphere of conjectures again, it could be assumed that Basil Glabas had retained his boulloterion in his capacity as protospatharo-hypatos and for reasons unknown to us, later, having been already protovestes, had overstruck his bulla accompanying his correspondence to Preslav.

Who was Basil Glabas?

There is no information on such an individual.

John Skylitzes reports that in 999, among the distinguished citizens of Adrianoupolis who fled to the Bulgarian tsar Samuel, there was one called Basil Glabas (**Skylitzes**, 347.75). Information on his title and position is lacking.

The dating of Basil Glabas' seals in the third quarter of the XIth c. makes the identification of the owner of the present seals with the refugee of the year 999 impossible. The latter is probably his namesake, perhaps a predecessor or another representative of this family that took active part in the life of the Empire.

For the rest of the representatives of the Glabas family in the Xth-XIIth c., see no. 146 here.

#### 142-143. Γεώργιος Γλαβᾶς σεβαστὸς (XII/XIII c.)

a. Historical Museum, Veliko Turnovo. Found in 1978 in the course of archaeological excavations on the Tsarevets at site no. 13 near the Eastern fortress wall. D. 31-31(30) 3.2 mm. A well-centered but weak imprint. The swelling above the channel is not pressed.

Ed. **Тотев, К.** Новооткрит печат на севаста Георги Глава от Царевец.-*Нумизматика*, 4, 1982, 15-16; **Йорданов, Севаст**, № 8.

b. Private collection (a collector from Haskovo). A plaster cast of the same and information on the find-spot was given by D. Aladjov. It was found in the medieval fortress near the village of Perperek, Kurdjali region. D. 32-34 (30) ? mm. A good imprint but still some of the letters are out of the blank or are not printed. A bulla in a very good state of preservation.

Ed. **Йорданов, Севаст**, № 9.

Both specimens were struck in the same boulloterion.

Parallels: Known in the literature are several bullae struck in the same boulloterion:

- two specimens are from the former Lihachev's collection, presently in the Hermitage (M-8083); for information on them, see **Лихачев, Моливодовулы**, табл. LVIII.9;
- a metal imprint presumably of some of the above specimens is preserved in the Vatican collection (see **Laurent, Vatican**, no. 67; **Idem, Bulles metriques**, no. 651);
- in the collection of the Warsaw museum (see **Szemioth - Wasilewski**, Varsovie, I, no. 35);
- an unpublished bulla in the Fogg A. M. collection, no. 3761; **Zacos**, III, no. 202.

Obv. Half-length image of the Virgin orans with a medallion of Christ on her breast. Sigla:

MP || ΘV : M(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ.

Rev. Inscription of seven lines:

a) + MP || ΘV | ΚΚΕΠΙ.ΤΟΝ | ΚΟΝΔ. ΛΟΝ | ΚΕΡΑ. ΤΟΝ | ΤΟΝΓΛ. ΡΑΝ|ΓΕΩ.ΠΙ  
| ΟΝ :-

b) + MP || ΘV | ΚΚΕΠΙΕΤΟΝ | ΚΟΝΔ8ΛΟΝ | ΚΕΡΑΚΤΟΝ | ΤΟΝΓΛΑΡΑΝ|ΓΕΩΡΓΙ  
| ΟΝ :-

+ Μ(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ, σκέπε τὸν σὸν δοῦλον σεβαστὸν τὸν Γλαβᾶν Γεώργιον

The suggested dating of George Glabas' seal in the previous publications is from the XIth-XIIth c. (Lihachev) through the XIIth c. (Laurent). The iconographic characteristics, the paleography as well as some further characteristics of technique (e.g. the ending :-) point to a dating in the late XIIth c.

Among the representatives of the Glabas family that took active part in the life of the Empire from the Xth through the XVth c., there are also some bearing the proper name George. For a survey of the period Xth-XIth c., see seal no. 146 here. For the period XIth-XIIth c. no individuals named George are known. Several individuals bearing this name are attested in the XIIIth-XIVth c. (for short information on them, see *PLZ*, nos. 4215,91682-91684, 93348). For example, one of the sons of the famous Byzantine military commander Michael Glabas bore this name and probably the title sebastos (see **Papadopoulos**, *Palaiologen*, p. 151; **Guilland**, *Recherches*, I, p. 245).

A bulla with the same names obverse is kept in the Dumbarton Oaks collection (DO. 58. 106. 1907):

Obv. Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

Rev. + | ΓΕΩΡΓΙ|ΟΝΜΕΤΟΝΓΛ|ΡΑΝΜΑΡΤVС|ΚΚΕΠΟΙC

Its dating is within the XIth - the early XIIth centuries.

The dating of the seal of the sebastos George Glabas limits the investigation to the late XIIth and possibly the early XIIIth c., when a person bearing these names is unknown. To whom and on what occasion was the correspondence of the sebastos George Glabas sent? Many seals of Sebastoi with a similar dating have been found in the region of the Rhodope Mts. (see nos. 99, 318, 528 and others). Presumably they are connected with the Byzantine presence there and the attempts of the central authority to cope with their separation from the Empire. Of some interest is the finding of the first bulla in Turnovo. Who was its addressee there?

Probably the sebastos George Glabas was one of the Byzantine military commanders at the head of military operations of the Empire against various seceders like Dobromir Chrysos and others, related to the Bulgarians. It might be that the sebastos George Glabas, carrying out his mission, had to refer to a representative of the Bulgarian authorities in Turnovo. In the absence of documentary sources, this remains only one of the many assumptions, but nevertheless, the finding of George Glabas' seal in Turnovo and Perperek is a fact.

#### 144. Λέων Γλαβᾶς (second half, XI c.)

Private collection. Find-spot: uncertain, perhaps the village of Zlati Voyvoda. D. 20-21 mm. A very good imprint.

Unpublished.

Parallels: an unpublished specimen in the collection of DO.58. 106. 6899:

Obv. Inscription of four lines:

+ ΘΚΕ | ΡΟΗΘΕΙ | ΤΩCΩΔ' | -ΛΩ-

Rev. Inscription of three lines:



ΛΕΟΝ | ΤΑΤΩ | ΓΛΑΡΑ

+ Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δ(ού)λῳ Λέοντα τῷ Γλαβᾷ

#### 145. Νικήτας Γλαβᾶς μάγιστρος καὶ κατεπάνω (1060s)

Private collection. According to the information of V. Panteleev from Varna. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 20-21 mm.

Unpublished.

Parallels: unpublished specimens in the collection of DO.58. 106. 2205 and DO. 55. 1. 4221:

Obv. Inscription of four lines:

+ CΦΡΑ | ΓΙCΝΙΚΗ | ΤΑΜΑΓΙ | CΤΡΟV

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

ΚΑΙ | ΚΑΤΕΠΑ | ΝΩΤΟΝ | ΓΛ.Ρ.

+ Σφραγὶς Νικήτα μαγίστρου καὶ κατεπάνω τὸν Γλ[α]β[ᾶ](ν)

The name of Niketas Glabas is attested in the narrative sources. John Skylitzes reports that in the war against the Pechenegs in 1050, the Roman army would have been lost but for the sudden march out from Adrianoupolis of Νικήτας πρωτοσπαθᾶριος ὁ Γλαβᾶς τοποτηρητὴς ὦν τοῦ τάγματος τῶν σχολῶν. The Patzinaks saw; and as they were apprehensive of the arrival of Basil the Synkellos with the troops of the Bulgaricon (Skylitzes, 471.2-4).

Known are further two groups of seals bearing the names of Niketas Glabas:

a. in his capacity as πρωτοσπαθᾶριος καὶ τοποτηρητὴς, according to an unpublished specimen in DO (55. 1. 3036);

Obv. Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand).

Rev. ΙΚΗΤ' | Ρ'Α'CΠΑΘ' | ΠΟΤΙΡ | ΤΟΓΛΑ | ΡΑC

b. as πατρίκιος-ὑπατος καὶ στρατηγός, see Mordtmann, Conference, p. 48; Schlumberger, Sig., p. 667, now in MK-Wien, no. 379, see Wassiliou, Seibt, no. 296.

Obv. Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand).

Rev. -·-·- | ΝΙΚΗΤ' | ΠΡ'ΙΝΠΙΑ | Τ'CΤΡΑΤ' | Γ'ΟΓΛΑ | -R'-

Provided we accept that all these seals cover one person – the Niketas Glabas reported in Skylitzes, then his cursus honorum will have the following outlines:

a. πρωτοσπαθᾶριος καὶ τοποτηρητὴς ὦν τοῦ τάγματος τῶν σχολῶν (1050)

b. πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγός (1050s-1060s)

c. μάγιστρος καὶ κατεπάνω (1060s-1070s)

#### 146. Ν., Γλαβᾶς βέστης καὶ κατεπάνω (1060s)

National Historical Museum Sofia, no. 24820. Find-spot: the stronghold near Zlati Voyvoda. D. 21.6-25 (22) 3.5 mm. W. 11.77 g. Incomplete imprint that renders the reading difficult, particularly of line 3. It could be deciphered as + M[ΙΧΑΗΛ] or Ι]ΩΜ[ΑΓΙCΤ'] = 'Ι]ω(άννης) μ[αγιστρ(φ)] βέστι καὶ κατεπάνω τῷ Γλαβᾷ

Ed. Jordanov, Zlati Voyvoda, no. 5.

Parallel: Unpublished specimen in Dumbarton Oaks (DO. 55. 1. 3034). Unfortunately only three lines on the reverse can be read.

Obv. Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand).

Rev. Inscription of seven lines, the final letter between two horizontal bars:

..... | . ΩCΩ... | ΩΜ..... | ΡΕCΤΙΚΑΙ | ΚΑΤΕΠΑΝΩ | ΤΩΓΛΑΡ | -Α-

[+Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ [δούλ]ῳ Μ[ιχαήλ] βέστι καὶ κατεπάνω τῷ Γλαβᾷ

The owner of the seal, whose correspondence was received in the fortress near the present-day village of Zlati Voyvoda, is a representative of the family Glabas. The iconography of the seal and mostly the content of its text point to a general dating to the third quarter of the XIth c.

We need to present information on the known representatives of this family and to search among them the owner of the seal.

Known from the chronicles are the following:

1. Βασίλειος Γλαβᾶς – a distinguished citizen of Adrianoupolis, who in 999/1000 fled to Samuel (Skylitzes, 343.72-75).

2. Ν. Γλαβᾶς – a conspirator against the emperor in 1030 (see Skylitzes, 372.89).

3. Νικήτας Γλαβᾶς πρωτοσπαθᾶριος καὶ τοποτηρητὴς τῶν σχολῶν (1050, see Skylitzes, 471.2).

Known from seals are the following:

1. Βασίλειος Γλαβᾶς πρωτοσπαθᾶριος-ὑπατος, πρωτοβέστης and βεστάρχης, dated to the third quarter of the XIth c. (see nos. 132-141).

2. Κατακαλὼν Γλαβᾶς:

a. πρωτοσπαθᾶριος καὶ στρατηγός (mid-XIth c., according to a bulla offered at the Auction Hirsch 182 (4-6.05. 1994), no. 1117 and 194 (19-22.02. 1997), no. 668; Munzzentrum 81 (30.03-1.04. 1995), no. 1516; 91 (04.-05.09. 1997), no. 796, see SBS, 6, p. 126; 153-154; Wassiliou-Seibt, p. 284, n. 283.

Obv. + ΚΕΡΟ | ΗΘ'ΤΩCΩ | Δ'ΚΑΤΑ | ΚΑΛΩ

Rev. -·-·- | Α'CΠΑ | ΘΑΡΙΩC | CΤΡΑΤΙΓ' | ΤΟΓΛΑ | -R'-

b. πρωτοσπαθᾶριος καὶ στρατηγός Κεφαλλονίας see DOS, 2, no. 1.14; Seibt, BZ, 90, 1997, S. 461.

3. Κωνσταντῖνος Γλαβᾶς βεστάρχης καὶ κατεπάνω, dated to the third quarter of the XIth c., according to an unpublished bulla from DO. 55. 1. 3033:

Obv. + ΚΕΡΟ | .ΘΕΙΤΩ | .ΩΔ8ΛΩ | .ΩΝCΤΑΝ | .ΙΝΩ

Rev. ΡΕCΤΑ. | ΧΗΚΑΙΚ. | ΤΕΠΑΝ. | ΤΩΓΛΑ. | -Α-

4. Λέων Γλαβᾶς – a private person from the second half of XIth c., see here no. 144

5. Μιχαήλ Γλαβᾶς – a private person from the end of XIth c., according to an unpublished specimen from DO. 58. 106.2225:

Obv. St. Demetrios standing, holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield.

Rev. + ΧΕCΟ | CΟΝΜΙΧΑ | ΗΛΤΟΓΛΑ | ΡΑ

6. Νικήτας Γλαβᾶς πρωτοσπαθᾶριος καὶ τοποτηρητὴς; πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγός and μάγιστρος καὶ κατεπάνω (see here no.145).

7. Νικόλαος Γλαβᾶς πρωτοσπαθᾶριος-ὑπατος καὶ στρατηγός (mid-XI c., according to an unpublished bulla from the Zacos collection, III, no. 1526:

Obv. + ΚΕΡΟ | ΗΘΕΙΝΙ | ΚΟΛΑ'Α' | CΠΑΘΑ | -ΠΙ-

Rev. -·-·- | VΠΑΤ' | CΤΡΑ | ΤΙΓΩΤΟ | ΓΛΑΡΑ | -·-·-

8. Προκόπιος Γλαβᾶς – a private person from the XIth c., according to an unpublished specimen from DO. 55. 1. 3035:

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion of Christ before her.

Rev. ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8 | .ΩΠΡΟ... | .ΩΓΛ. | .RA

It is impossible to be sure who of the above-listed individuals was the owner of the present seal. Even if we accept the name Michael as a plausible one, we are not sure whether he is identical to the owner of the private seal presented above.

It is perhaps of no importance, but it strikes that three of the seven representatives of this family had the addition ὑπατος to their basic title.

#### 147-148. Βασίλειος Γλυκᾶς (XI-XII c.)

a. Private collection (V. Pantelev from Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 20-23 (20) 4 mm. W. 8.8 g. Imprint in a superb state of preservation.

Unpublished.

b. Private collection. Find-spot: The stronghold "Blesna" near the present-day town of Dimitrovgrad. D. 22-23 mm. Imprint in a superb state of preservation.

Unpublished.

Both specimens were struck in the same boulloterion.

No parallels known

Obv. Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Inscription in two columns: Θ-ΓΕ-Ω || Γ-Ι-Ο-С : 'Ο ἄγιος Γεώργιος

Rev. Metrical inscription of four lines:

СΦΡΑΓΙC | RACIACI8 | ΤΟΝΓΛΑΝ | οKVο

Σφραγίς Βασιλείου τοῦ Γλυκῶ

The owner of the seal is an unknown representative of the Glykas family bearing the name Basil (for the etymology of the family Glykas, see **Seibt-Zarnitz**, *Kunstwerk*, S.154).

The Dumbarton Oaks Collection (D.O. 58. 106. 963 and 58. 106. 2234) contains two seals similar to our bulla:

Obv. Bust of St. George as above. Θ-Γ-Ε || Ω-Ρ-Γ

Rev. +ΓΡΑ | ΦΑССΦΡΑ | ΓΙΖΩCΛΟ | Γ'Τ8ΓΛΑΝ | ΚΑΙΟC

+Γραφᾶς σφραγίζω καὶ λόγους τοῦ Γλυκαίου

It could be assumed that it also belonged to Basil Glykas.

The Dumbarton Oaks collection (DO. 55. 1. 3037) contains another lead seal of the same representative of the family Glykas.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin with both hands before her. Sigla :  $\overline{M}$  ||  $\overline{\Theta}$ .

Rev.  $\overline{K\omega N}$  | ΟΓΛΑΝΚ | ΗC

#### 149. Λέων Γουδέλης πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς (mid-XI c.)

Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 17091. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 19-21 (20 ?) 2.8 mm. W. 4.55 g. Well-preserved specimen. High-quality imprint, but nevertheless parts of the dies remained out of the blank.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 362.

No exact parallels.

Obv. Bust of St. Michael holding a scepter topped with five large pearls (r. hand) and a globus cruciger (l. hand). Sigla on either side: M-I || X-A.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

-ο- | + ΛΕΟΝ | Α'СΠΑΘΑΡ' | CTPATI | Γ'ΟΓ8ΔΕ | .ΗC | -ο-  
+Λέον (πρωτο)σπαθάρ(ιος) (καὶ) στρατηγ(ὸς) ὁ Γουδέ[λ]ης

An unpublished bulla of the following description is kept in the Fogg A. M. collection, no. 2704:

Obv. Bust of St. Michael as above.

Rev. ΛΕΟΝ. | .CΠΑΘ'С | CTPATH | .ΤΩΓ8Δ. | Λ.

Two unpublished bullae of the following description are preserved in the collections of DO. 58.106. 3747 and Fogg A.M., no. 1956:

Obv. Bust of archangel Michael as above.

Rev. + ΛΕΟΝ | Α'СΠΑΘ'С | CTPA'ΤΩ | Γ8ΔΕΛ'

Obviously they belong to the same person. The reason why such frequent change of boulloteria was needed is strange. Probably he held this position for a longer period.

Regarding the origin of this family, despite Skylitzes' information of an individual or individuals bearing this name and related by origin with Asia Minor, investigators are likely to assume that this patronym has a Slavic origin (**Lampros**, S. 'Ο βυζαντιακος οἶκος Γουδέλης.-NE, 13, 1916, 216-219; **Златарски**, *История*, II, с.34).

According to the available seals, Λέων Γουδέλης has the following cursus honorum:

1) πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς (mid- XIth c.);

2) μάγιστρος (1060s), see **Панченко**, *Каталог*, № 180; **Laurent**, *Bulles metriques*, no. 688 [Shaw 266 (no. 1161)].

3) πρόεδρος (1070s-1080s), according to an unpublished bulla in DO. 58. 106. 3909.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin holding a medallion of Christ. Sigla:  $\overline{M}$  ||  $\overline{\Theta}$ . Circular inscription:

+ ΘΚΕΡΟΗΘΕΙΤΩCΩΔΟΝΛΩ.

Rev. Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Circular inscription:

+ ΛΕΟΝΤΙΠΡΟΕΔΡΩΤΟΓ8ΔΕΛ'

4) Private person (XIth-XIIth c.), according an unpublished seal in the Zacos collection, III, no. 1628, with a metrical text;

Obv. The Virgin standing on a soupedion.

Rev. ΛΕΟΝΤΑ | ... ΕΛΙΩ | ΕΝΤΥΠΩ | ΦΕΡΩ |

#### 150. Gravina Alexander (XII c.)

National Historical Museum, Bucharest, from the former Papahagi's collection. Find-spot: Silistra. D. 23-23 (19) mm. W.6.77 g. Incomplete imprint. Parts of the matrix are not printed, which renders the overall reading difficult. The completion of the missing letters is based on further specimens cited below.

Ed. **Barnea**, *Dobrudja*, II, no. 10.

Parallels: Further three specimens are kept in various collections in the world: in the Hermitage (M-2221), see **Лихачев**, *Моливдовулы*, LXXXI.11; IFEB 300 (2/22f), unpublished; Zacos, III, no. 1588, unpublished.

It is difficult to determine whether they were struck with the same pair of dies as our specimen.

Obv. Bust of St. Catherine with nimbus and long hair, wearing a chlamys and a loros and holding (r. hand) a martyr's cross in front of her breast. Vertical inscription: Η - ΑΓΙ-ΑΕΚ || ΤΕΡ-... : ἡ ἁγία Ἑκ(α)τερ[ίνα]

Rev. Inscription of three lines:

. | ALEXA. | ...OM.. | GRAVIN.

[+] Alexa[nder c]om[es] Gravin[e]

The publisher of the bulla from Silistra identifies its owner with Alexander, count of Gravina in the region of the town of Bary, Italy, while Stepanenko specifies that it refers to Alexander of Conversano, count of Gravina (see BBp., 54, 1993, c.189). He was a Norman nobleman who switched to service in Byzantium and was sent on missions to various rulers' courts (for him see **Chaladon**, *Comnene*, II, 170, 226-227, 270, 345-349).

In May 1140, he was sent by John II Komnenos as a mediator for the marriage of the successor to the throne Manuel Komnenos to the sister of the German empress. (see *Friderici imperatoris, Gesta*, 365-366; **Chaladon**, *Comnene*, II, p. 170. This mission proved unsuccessful.

Nevertheless, after his ascension, Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180) continued entrusting important missions to Alexander of Gravina.

In 1146/1147, regarding the preparations for the Second Crusade, he was dispatched on a mission to Hungary, and Kinnamos offers some information about him (*Cinnamus*, 67.13-17).

In 1155, there followed missions to Frederick Barbarosa in Italy, to whom "were dispatched Michael Palaiologos and John Doukas, both of whom had reached the rank of Sebastoi; among them also was Alexander of Conversano, who had ruled Gravina, an Italian city, but when Roger had driven him out, he had come to the emperor as a refugee" (*Cinnamus*, 135.14-18; **Cinnamus**, tr. **Brand**, 106-107-109). Meanwhile his name was reported among the military commanders of the army dispatched to Sicily at this juncture: "Meanwhile the emperor sent a fleet to Italy, filling it with Alans and French knights and Romans. Iaonakios whom they surname Kritopulos commanded the Alans; the French Alexander [of Conversano], **Cinnamus**, 148.4; **Cinnamus**, tr. **Brand**, p. 115). This expedition ended disastrously for the Byzantines.

In 1168/69, he was included in the embassy sent to the king of Jerusalem Amalric (**Tyrensis**, p. 945).

I. In August of that same year, he was placed ahead of the Byzantine fleet dispatched to Acre to take part in the campaign in Egypt (**Tyrensis**, p. 962; **Chalandon**, *Comnene*, II, 538-539).

After the catastrophe at Myriokephalon in 1177, he took part in the embassy to the king of Jerusalem along with the grand hetaireiarches Andronikos Angelos (see **Willerti Tyrensis**, *Historia rerum*, 1030-1031; **Chalandon**, *Comnene*, II, p. 551).

What is the connection of Alexander Gravine's seal with Dristra, where it was found? Barnea's hypothesis on this basic question is that it has to do with an earlier mission of this diplomat to Europe and specifically with an embassy sent to one of the leaders of the second Crusade, the German emperor Conrad III, who in 1146/1147 was in Hungary: "... the emperor dispatched envoys, Demetrius Makrembolites and Alexander, an Italian by birth who had been count of Gravina, an Italian city, but who had along with many others been driven from the realm by the tyrant of Sicily [Roger II] and consequently had become the emperor's voluntary subject..., when they came before the barbarians' leaders ... When what they had come to the barbarians for had been achieved by the envoys, they returned to Byzantium" (**Cinamus**, 67.11-20; **Cinnamus**, tr. **Brand**, 58-59.12).

#### 151-152. Νικόλαος Γυμνός (second half, XII c.)

a. National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 30428. Found in the region of Merichleri. Formerly in the collection of D. Dimitrov from Pernik. D. 20-22 (?) 3 mm. Incomplete imprint and a bulla in a poor state of preservation.

Unpublished.

b. Private collection (St. Bilik from Sofia). Comes from the Plovdiv region. D. 19-19 (15) 3 mm. W. 8.80 g. A well-preserved specimen.

Ed. **Билик**, *Фамилни имена*, № 15.

Both specimens were struck in the same *boulloterion*.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription: ... || Ω-Ρ-Γ' : [Ο ἄ(γιος) Γε]ώργ(ιος).

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΝΙΚΟΛΑΩ | ΤΩΓΥΜΝ | - Ω -

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Νικολάω τῷ Γυμνῷ

Νικόλαος Γυμνός is unknown from the narrative sources.

The name of the family Γυμνός derives from the adjective "nude" (see **Moritz**, *Zunamen*, II, 21, 149). Its ancestor was Νικηφόρος, born in Calabria, who obtained his sobriquet Γυμνός because he was not ashamed of himself roaming naked in the mountains. Later he moved to Thessalonike and helped Athanasios the Athos in his activities for founding of the monastery during the second half of the Xth c. (see **Помяловский**, И. *Житие Афанасия Афонского*, СПб., 1895, 69.30-70.9; **Petit**, L. *La vie de Saint Athanase l'Athonite*. - *Analecta Bollandiana*, XXV, 1906, p. 57. 3-20; **Noret**, J. *Vitae duae antiquae sancti Athanasii Antoniae*. - *Corpus Christianorum, Seria graeca*. Turnhout, 1982, Vita A, p. 77; Vita B, p. 177.

In Skylitzes Continuatus it is reported that one of the companions-in-arms of the usurper Nikephoros Basilakes was a certain Γυμνός (see **Skylitzes**, *Continuatus*, 182.25; 183.26).

The following representatives of this family are attested in the XIth c.:

1. Ἀθανάσιος Γυμνός μάγιστρος – according to his unpublished specimen from DO. 58. 106. 1152., from the end of the XIth c.,

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans.

Rev. ΣΦΡΑΓ | ΜΑΓΙΣΤΡ | ΓΥΜΝΟC|ΑΘΝΑCΙΟ|-V-

2. Ἰωάννης Γυμνός – a private person from the end of the XI c., according to two specimens from DO. 55. 1. 3892 and the Hermitage (M-10491, see **Šandrovskaja-Seibt**, no. 92).

Obv. The Virgin standing holding a medallion of Christ before her breast.

Rev. ἸΩCΦΡΑ | ΓΗCΜΑ | Τ8ΓΥΜΝ8 | ΤΟΔΕ

3. Μαρία θυγατρὸς τοῦ Θεοδώρου πρωτοσπαθαρίου τοῦ Γυμνοῦ is attested in the document of the monastery Esphigmenou from the year 1095 (see *Actes Esphigmenou*, no. 5, p. 58.1.)

4. Πέτρος Γυμνός is attested by seven groups of seals from the third quarter of the XIth c. as:

a. πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ κριτὴς Σελευκείας, according to a seal from Wien-MK, no. 264, see **Wassiliou, Seibt**, no. 205.

b. ἀσκηρῆτης καὶ κριτὴς Σελευκείας, Ποδανδοῦ καὶ Ταρσός, according to a lead seal from the Auction Gorny & Mosch 118 (14-15. 10. 2002), no. 2590.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin holding Christ on r. arm. .

Rev. -.-| |ΠΕΤΡΩ | ΑCΗΚΡΙΤ'|SKΡΙTHCΕ | ..VK'ΠΟ.| .ΤΑΡC'Τ | ΓΥΜ'

c. πατρίκιος καὶ κριτὴς, according to two lead seals from the collection Orghidan, no. 311 and an unpublished specimen in the Zacos collection, III, no. 1454.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin holding Christ on r. arm. Circular inscription: ΡΟΗΘΕΙΤΩCΩΔ8ΛΩ.

Rev. -.-:-|ΠΕΤΡΩ | ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΩ | ΚΑΙΚΡΙΤΗ | ΤΩΓΥΜΝ'

d. πατρίκιος, ἀνθύπατος καὶ κριτὴς τῶν Θρακησίων (see **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**,

DOS, 3, no. 2.26 < DO. 55. 1. 3043 and 3044>; **Koltsida-Makre**, no. 19);

e. βέστης, according to two lead seals from Athens, see **Koltsida-Makre**, no. 169 and unpublished from the Hermitage (M-1834), see **Wassiliou-Seibt**, p. 196, n. 160no. 193);

f. βέστης καὶ κριτὴς Λυκανδοῦ, according to a lead seal from Wien-MK, no. 271, see **Wassiliou-Seibt**, no. 193);

g. βέστης καὶ κατεπάνω Μελιτινῆς (see **McGeer-Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, DOS, 4, no. 68.4 < Fogg, A. M. no. 238>.)

5. N., [ΙΩ or MX] Γυμνός, a private person from the second half of the XIth c. according to his unpublished bulla from the Zacos collection, III, no. 1492/2.

*Obv.* Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand).

*Rev.* .KERO | .ΕΙΤΩ | .Δ8ΛΩ | .ΤΩΓΥ | .ΝΩ

The dating of the seal of Νικόλαος Γυμνός is generally in the second half of the XIth c., thus rendering it possible to seek a certain connection with the aforementioned individuals.

### 153-154. Ἰωάννης Δαβατηνός β' πριμικήριος καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος (X/XI c.)

a. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 21557a. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 23-25 (22.5) 2.8 mm. W. 7.39 g. Good imprint with fragments broken; slightly corroded.

*Ed.* Ъорданов, Преслав № 17.

b. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 23759. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 11-24 (22.5) 2 mm. Good imprint; only a half is preserved.

*Ed.* Ъорданов, Преслав № 18.

*Both specimens were struck in the same boulloterion.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Inscription of four lines:

+ KERO | HΘEITΩ | CΩΔ8ΛΩ | ΙΩΑΝΗ | -✕-

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

+ RACI | ΛΙΚ'ΠΡΙΜΙΚ' | ΣΕΠΙΤ8ΚΟΙ | Τ'ΤΩΔΑΡΑ | ΤΗΝΩ

+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Ἰωάννῃ βασιλικῷ πριμικ(ηρίῳ) (καὶ) ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτ(ῶνος) τῷ Δαβατηνῷ

A bulla of the following description is kept in the collection of DO (58.106.3198):

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion of Christ before her.

*Rev.* ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΙΩΑ'ΣΠΑ | ΘΑΡ'ΣΕΠΙΤ | ΧΓΚΛ.ΤΩ | ΔΑΡ. | Τ..

A bulla of the following description is preserved in the Zacos collection, III, no. 1476:

*Obv.* Poorly preserved image of the Virgin ? and remains of a circular inscription:

+ ΘΚΕΡΟΗΘ...

*Rev.* ..ΩΑΝ' | .ΚΗΤ8ΘΕ | .ΦΥΛΑΚΤ8 | ..ΤΟΝΔΑ | ΡΑΤΙ.

The question arises whether they could refer to the same person.

### 155. Μαρία Δαλασσινή πρωτοπροέδρισα (second half, XI c.)

Historical Museum, Shumen, no. 14820. Find-spot: uncertain, generally from southern Bulgaria. D. 24-25 (20) 4 mm, 8.72 g.. Once a superb imprint, of which now two portions are cut.

*Unpublished.*

*Parallels:* Further three specimens are known preserved in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (DO. 58. 106. 1136 and 55. 1. 4546) and in Zacos Collection, III. They were struck in the same boulloterion as ours. On them, see **Cheyne**, Dalassenoi, 100-101, no.18.

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion on her breast. Sigla:  $\overline{M}$  ||  $\overline{\Theta}$  : M(ήτηρ) Θ(εοῦ).

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

+ ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | .ΑΡΙΑΑτ | .ΟΕΔΡΙC | ..ΔΑΛ. | CINH

+ Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) [M]αρία (πρω)τ(ο)[πρ]οεδρίσ(ση) [τῇ] Δαλ[α]σ(σ)ινῇ

Other two specimens, on which only the name Maria Dalassena is written out, are preserved in the collections: Shaw 1288 (no. 1120) and DO. 55. 1. 4545 (on them, see **Cheyne**, Dalassenoi, 100-101, no. 18).

Maria is unknown among the XIth-century representatives of the Dalassenoi.

### 156. Ἀδριανός Δαλασηνός (XI c.)

Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia, no. 132. In the inventory book, it is noted that it comes from Selymbria. D. 22-23 (?) 3 mm. Incomplete imprint in a poor state of preservation.

*Unpublished.*

*Parallels:* Konstantopoulos, no. 618; **Stavrakos**, no. 54. It is struck in the same boulloterion.

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion of Christ before her.

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

<+> | .... | ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟ. | ΤΟΝΔΑΛ. | CINON

[+Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) ] Ἀδριανό[ν] τὸν Δαλ[α]σινόν

Two Adrianos are differentiated in the prosopographical study of the Dalassenoi:

Ἀδριανός Δαλασηνός (1). Son of Theophylaktos Dalassenos, born between 990 and 995. In 1038/1039, he was sent by John Orphanotrophos into exile together with his father and uncle. He has been identified with the doux of Antioch from Eustathios Boilas' testament of 1059 (**Cheyne**, Dalassenoi, no. 7).

Ἀδριανός Δαλασηνός (2). He is attested as a private person solely by seals, which fall into three groups:

a. that presented above:

b. according to two specimens from Shaw 1289 (no. 1119) and DO. 55.1.2995:

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin as above.

*Rev.* + | ΚΕΡΟΗΘ | .ΔΡΙΑΝΩ | .ΩΔΑΛΑ | CHNΩ

c. according to a bulla from DO. 58. 106. 1849:

*Obv.* The Virgin standing between two military saints.

*Rev.* | ΚΕΠΙC | ΠΑΝΑΓΝΕC | ΔΥΑΧΗΜΑΡ' | .ΩΝCΟΝΑΔΡΙ | .ΝΟΝΑΛΑC | .ΝΟΝΟΙ | .ΕΘΗΝ

They are connected to a representative of the Dalassenoi family unknown from the other sources (see **Cheyne**, Dalassenoi, no. 24).

### 157. Κωνσταντῖνος Δαλασηνός πατρίκιος (1050s-1060s)

National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 24131. Find-spot: uncertain. D.21-25 (22) 2 mm. Incomplete imprint. Parts of the depiction and some letters are out of the blank. A bulla in a good state of preservation.

*Unpublished.*

*Parallels:* Two specimens struck with the same pair of dies (DO. 55.1.2994 and 58.106.2409) are kept in the Dumbarton Oaks collection (on them, see **Cheyne**, Dalassenoi, no. 13). Two other unpublished specimens are preserved in the Zacos collection (Zacos, III, no. 1474).

*Obv.* St. Demetrios standing frontally, holding a spear (r. hand), his l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground. Vertical inscription: ..... || .-.-M-I-T-P-I' : [Ο ἄ(γιος) Δη]μίτρι(ος)

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

. | ΚΕΡΟ.. | ΤΩCΩΔ8Λ' | ΚΩΝ ΠΡΙΠΩ | ΔΑΛΑCΗ | -ΝΩ -  
[+]**Κ**(ύρι)ε βο[ήθ(ει)] τῷ σῷ δούλ(ω) Κων(σταντίνω) π(ατ)ρι(κίω) τῷ  
Δαλασσηνῷ

For more information on the XIth-century individuals bearing these names, see no. 158-160 here.

### 158-160. Κωνσταντῖνος Δαλασσηνὸς πρόεδρος καὶ δουξ (third quarter of the XI c.)

a. National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 23715. Find-spot: northeastern Bulgaria, probably Silistra. D. 13.5-22 (?) 3 mm. Half of what was once a good imprint.

*Unpublished.*

b. Private collection (Asen Hadzhikostov, Stara Zagora). Find-spot: the stronghold near the village of Kalugerovo, Haskovo region. D. 22-27(?)3 mm. Once a good imprint, now in a poor state of preservation. Parts broken. About two third of the whole bulla is preserved.

*Unpublished.*

c. Private collection (a collector from Haskovo). I obtained a copy through D. Aladzhov. Find-spot: the stronghold near Dimitrovgrad. D. 26-27 (?)? mm. Well-centered and well-executed imprint. The bulla itself is in a good state of preservation.

*Unpublished.*

*The three specimens come from the same boulloterion.*

*Parallels:* Sode, Berlin, II, no. 372.

*Obv.* St. Demetrios standing frontally, holding a spear (r. hand), his l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground. Vertical inscription:..... || Δ-MH-TP-I-Ω : [Ο ἄ(γιος) Δη]μήτριω(ς).

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

a) . . . . . | . Ω . . . . . | ΚΩΝ . . . . . | ΔΡΩ . . . . . | ΚΙΤ . . . . . | C . . .  
b) . . . . . | . ΩCΩΔ8Λ | . ΩΝΠΙΡΟΕ | . ΡΩΚΑΙΔ8 | . ΙΤΩΔΑΛΑ | CHNΩ  
c) + ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8 . | ΚΩΝΠΙΡΟΕ | ΔΡΩΚΑΙΔ8 | ΚΙΤΩΔΑΛΑ | CHNΩ  
+ **Κ**(ύρι)ε βο[ήθ(ει)] τῷ σῷ δούλ(ω) Κων(σταντίνω) προέδρω καὶ δουκὶ τῷ  
Δαλασσηνῷ

This is the latest XIth-century seal bearing the name Κωνσταντῖνος Δαλασσηνὸς found in Bulgaria. According to the already established practice, we need to present a summary of the narrative sources and the data from seals regarding this name.

In this connection, we are facilitated by the existence of a prosopographical study on the family Δαλασσηνὸς (**Cheyne**, Dalassenoi, 75-117). According to the narrative sources, two dignitaries bearing this name lived in the period under discussion, while according to the sphragistic data, there is a third one too.

(1) Κωνσταντῖνος Δαλασσηνὸς (**Cheyne**, Dalassenoi, no. 3):

Son of Damianos Dalassenos. After his father's defeat at Apameia in 998, he was taken

prisoner and was imprisoned in Egypt until 1008. We are ignorant of his career between 1008 and 1024, but he should have occupied a high military post, since in 1024 he succeeded his father's position of katepano of Antiocheia. At the end of Constantine VIII's reign (1025-1028), πατρίκιος Κωνσταντῖνος Δαλασσηνὸς lived in his own estate in the Armeniakon theme, from where he was summoned by the emperor as a possible successor to the throne. Meanwhile, however, the group favoring the candidacy of patrikios Romanos Argyros prevailed and Constantine Dalassenos received a counterorder to return to his estate.

Constantine Dalassenos in his capacity as katepano participated in the military expedition against the Arabs lead by Emperor Romanos III Argyros (1028-1034) at Aleppo in 1030. As it is known, the campaign ended in failure and Mathew of Edessa explains that with the plot of some officers against the emperor. Some investigators tend to accept this implication aimed at Constantine Dalassenos. He became much popular when Michael IV (1034-1041) ascended the throne. In the view of many, he was a true rival to the emperor. This is the reason why the emperor's retinue and in particular John Orphanotrophos did their best to draw him to the capital and put him under control. After prolonged negotiations and compromises regarding enticing promises and guarantees, in the long run Constantine Dalassenos arrived at Constantinople, where he was elevated to the rank of the anthypatoi, honored with many gifts and accommodated in a special palace. As could be expected, there followed intrigues and machinations on the part of John Orphanotrophos resulting at Constantine Dalassenos' banishment to the island of Plati in the Sea of Marmora in 1039, who, after an unsuccessful attempt to escape, was shut in a tower in the capital in the company of his future son-in-law and emperor Constantine Doukas.

He was released during the short reign of Michael V (1041-1042), and after the Easter events of 1042, the idea was conceived of marrying him to Zoe and making him emperor. However, her followers and she herself preferred the weak-willed Constantine Monomachos to the power-loving Constantine Dalassenos. After 1042, he was already a venerable old man and retired from active participation in the life of the Empire.

(2) Κωνσταντῖνος Δαλασσηνὸς (**Cheyne**, Dalassenoi, no.19):

Various sources mention the name of one of the military commanders of the emperor, Κωνσταντῖνος Δαλασσηνὸς, presumably the son of the above, during the years of Alexios I Komnenos' reign (1081-1118). According to Anna Komnene, before 1091, he was a governor of Sinope. In April the same year, in the battle against the Pechenegs at the foot of Levunium, Κωνσταντῖνος Δαλασσηνὸς was in command of the left wing of the Byzantine army. In the early 1092, he was dispatched against the incursive emir of Smyrna Tzachas and successfully repulsed his attacks. According to Anna Komnene, for his victories, he was promoted "thalassokrator"[a literary term, meaning doux of the fleet]. In the following year 1093, Tzachas threatened the Empire again and Constantine Dalassenos was again sent against him. Soon after that, however, Tzachas was beheaded by the sultan Kilij Arslan during a banquet and he was no more object of attention to the chroniclers, thus information on his rival Constantine Dalassenos is probably lacking on this reason.

Two groups of seals bearing the name of Κωνσταντῖνος Δαλασσηνὸς are documented in the sigillographic literature. With the one he is patrikios (see our identical specimen no.157), and with the other he is protokouropalates (dated to the late XIth c. and associated with no. 2, see **Cheyne**, Dalassenoi, p, 103, pl. V.37). The seal from the first group, according to the author of the prosopographic study on the Dalassenoi, is chronologically remote from the time of Constantine Dalassenos no. 1 and with a different iconographic subject from Constantine Dalassenos no. 2. Thus the author assumes the existence of a third group,



intermediate between the distinguished above (see **Cheyne**, Dalassenoi, no. 13).

Having resented the data of a third group of seals unknown in the literature, one could easily associate himself with this opinion and accept that the bullae found in Bulgaria belonged to this third unknown Constantine Dalassenos at a later stage of his career.

I know of more than six groups of seals bearing the name of Constantine Dalassenos, almost all of which have different iconographic subjects:

1. Preserved in the Athens Numismatic Museum, see **Konstantopoulos**, no. 651; **Stavrakos**, no. 56.

*Obv.* Bust of a military saint (St. George).

*Rev.* KER'Θ' | KΩNA'CTIA | .ΩΔΑ | ΛΑ

2. According to an unpublished specimen in Zacos, III, no 1474/8.

*Obv.* Bust of St. Nicholas.

*Rev.* + KER'Θ' | TΩCΩΔ8 | Λ' KΩN. Ω | ΔΑΛΑC | -NO-

3. According to a specimen offered at the Auction Munz zentrum, 76, Koln, LOT 1390, no. 59.

*Obv.* St. Theodore standing, represented as a warrior.

*Rev.* + KΩN ΠPI | S KAT'ANTIN O ΔΛACHN

4. According to the information from our specimens nos.

*Obv.* St. Demetrios standing, represented as a warrior.

*Rev. a)* + KEROHΘ' | TΩCΩΔ8Λ' | KΩNΠPI | TΩ | ΔΑΛACH | -NΩ-

*Rev. b)* + KER'Θ' | TΩCΩΔ8Λ' | KΩNΠPOE | ΔPΩKAIAΔ8 | KITΩΔΑΛΑ | CHNΩ

5. According to a bulla in the Fogg A. M., no. 541, see **Cheyne**, Dalassenoi, pl. V.37).

*Obv.* St. Theodore standing, represented as a warrior.

*Rev.* + KEROH. | EI KΩNA' | K8PΩΠAΛ' | THTOΔAΛ | ACINO

6. According to an unpublished specimen in Zacos, III, no 1428/29-6.

*Obv.* St. Michael standing.

*Rev.* ΓPA | ΦACCΦPA | .ZΩΔAΛA | .N8KΩN | .TANTI | NΩ

The dating of these seven groups of seals is to the mid-XIth c. down to its end. Did they belong to different individuals?

None of the above groups could be identified with no. 1 due to chronological differences. After 1034 he was anthypatos.

Is it possible that all seven groups of seals are associated with Constantine Dalassenos no. 2? It is hardly likely!

We cannot however overlook the coincidence of the following circumstances:

a) that bullae of Constantine Dalassenos in his capacity as patrikios and later as proedros and doux were found in modern Bulgaria, specifically in the Haskovo region;

b) that the activities of Constantine Dalassenos (2) were connected with the Bulgarian lands, and the battle of 1091, in which he took active part, occurred in the area of the find-spot of his two bullae in his capacity as proedros and doux.

#### 161. Γεώργιος Δεκανός κουροπαλάτης (XI/XII c.)

National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 27787. Found on the sea coast in the town of Sozopol. D. 20-21 (20?)

3 mm. A well-centered and successful imprint, but some parts of the depiction and text are out of the blank.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* St. George standing frontally, holding a spear (r. hand), his l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground. Vertical inscription: ..... || ΓΕ-ΩΡ-ΓΙ-Ο' : [Γ'Ο ἄ(γιος)] Γεώργιο(ς).

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

СΦΡΑΓ | ΓΕΩΡΟΓΙΩ | Κ8ΡΟΠAΛA. | HT8ΔEKA. | OV

Σφραγ(ίς) Γεωρογίω κουροπαλά[τ]η τοῦ Δεκα[ν]οῦ

The owner of the seal affixed to the correspondence to Sozopol is a certain Γεώργιος Δεκανός κουροπαλάτης. Who was he?

The dating of the bulla, according to its overall characteristics, representations and text, is generally to the late XIth c.

A person by the same name is reported several times in the Alexiad:

According to Anna Komnene's account, in the year 1091 or between 1094 and 1096 (a certain difference in the time of this event is observed. In most studies the year 1091 has been accepted, while Gautier, *Alexiade*, IV, p. 35 relates the events to the period between 1094 and 1096), some representatives of the capital nobility, among which George, the son of Dekanos (Γεώργιον δὲ τὸν τοῦ Δεκανοῦ), Eustathios Kamytzes and Michael epikernios, tried to organize Gregory Gabras' escape from the capital to his father in Trebizond. However, the plot was discovered and "George, the son of Dekanos, he dispatched with letters to Leo Nicerita, who was at that time Duke of Paradounavon, ostensibly to help him in protecting the Danube area, but in fact he was sent so that Nicerites might keep an eye on him..." (*Alexiade*, II, 155.6-11).

The same George Dekanos was dispatched in 1111-1112 at the head of an army against the rebellious governor of Acrunus, Michael from Amastrida (see *Alexiade*, III, 156.19-23 and here no.32).

The name of George, the son of Dekanos, was last reported in the Typikon of Pantokrator monastery, written by Emperor John II Komnenos in 1137. Among the deceased mentioned by the emperor, the name of George, the son of Dekanos, is listed in the 35<sup>th</sup> place (see **Gautier**, Typikon Pantocrator, p. 45.252). Unknown are the exact time and circumstances of the death of George, the son of Dekanos, but the fact that he was mentioned by the emperor places him in the imperial family circle.

Several groups of bullae with the name of George Dekanos are also known:

With two specimens, struck with the same pair of dies but different from ours, preserved in the collection of the Hermitage (M-8310 и M-8340), he is presented with the title κουροπαλάτης (see **Шандровская**, Деятели Алексиады, 42-43, табл. II.3).

With another group of bullae, attested on a single specimen, he is already πρωτονωβελίσσιμος (see **Шандровская**, Деятели Алексиады, с. 43, табл. II.4).

With a third group of seals, the text is metrical and no title and position are inscribed. On them, see below.

Probably a bulla discovered in Noviodunum, which is not in a very good state of preservation, belonged to the same dignitary, see **Barnea**, Nordul Dobrogei, 103-104.

*Obv.* Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

*Rev.* KER'Θ' | ΓΕΩΡΓ'Ο | CTPATIG | TΩ... |...Ω

If it belongs to the same person, it should reflect an earlier stage in his career.

Not taking into account the uncertainty with this last group, the closeness between the other four groups of seals, not only in names and iconographic subject, but also in the chronological continuity, is obvious.

The publisher of the bullae from the Hermitage (**Шандровская**, Деятели Алексиады,

43-44) identifies their owner with George Dekanos from the Alexiade, which is acceptable.

The questions I examine below are in connection to the dating of the groups of bullae and the titles inscribed on them, as well as to whom in Sozopol the correspondence of the kouropalates George Dekanos was sent.

With the one group of seals George Dekanos is kouropalates, and with the other he is protonobelissimos. Obviously, they refer to different stages of his career. It could be assumed that he was promoted directly from kouropalates to protonobelissimos, skipping protokouropalates and nobelissimos (for some special merit), or that he passed successively through all these rungs of hierarchy. However, in both cases they apply to different periods of his life. In the one case, it required a shorter period of time, while in the other it took more time.

Taking into consideration the fact that the titles of the rest of the brothers-in-arms of Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118) ca. 1091 were of the kouropalates rank (the doux of Paristrion Leo Nikerites mentioned above was also of that rank; on him, see **Seibt**, *Bleisiegel*, p. 226 and no. 523-524 here), it could be assumed that George Dekanos must have possessed this title at that time.

It is difficult to say when he was granted the title of protonobelissimos. It was probably at the zenith of his career. Because if he had been introduced to the rank of Sebastoi (a title intended mainly for members of the imperial family), this fact would have undoubtedly been mentioned in the Typikon of the Pantocrator monastery, as was the case with his associate of 1091 Eustathios Kamytzes.

The above commentary on George Dekanos' time and titles calls for further information, which is not yet available. But for the purpose of our investigation, the positive fact that he held the title of kouropalates after 1091 and that his correspondence was received in Sozopol at that time would suffice to some extent.

To whom in Sozopol and on what occasion could this correspondence have been sent?

We shall address these questions later, but here we will present information on his relatives and associates, who might have been the recipients of his correspondence.

It was already mentioned that between 1091 and 1096, George Dekanos was sent to the theme Paristrion to be under Nikerites' supervision.

Who was George Dekanos and what do we know about his family?

The etymology of his family name comes from the Latin translation of an office in the church administration or lower courtiers, or still possible junior commanders (see **Guilland**, *Recherches*, II, 89-91).

There are not many available names of representatives of this family, if of course they all belong to the same family:

1. Νικηφόρος ὁ τοῦ Δεκανός. Anna Komnene reports in the Alexiad that, in November 1107, for him see here below.

2. Νικηφόρος Δεκανός κουροπαλάτης καὶ ἀναγραφεὺς Νίσου, according to his bulla affixed to his correspondence to Sozopol, which was received simultaneously with that of the kouropalates George Dekanos (on him, see here no. 163-164).

3. Πανθήριος Δεκανός πρωτοσπαθάριος, πραιπόσιτος καὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος, known by his seal, which could be dated generally to the second half of the XIth c., particularly the 1060s/1070s (see **Лихачев**, *Богоматери*, c. 25.5, табл. VII. 5).

4. Παῦλος Δεκανός, according to an unpublished bulla in the collection of DO. 55. 1. 3840.

*Obv.* Bust of St. Paul and the inscription: ο-Π-Α- || Α-Ο-С

*Rev.* ΓΡΑΦΑΣ | СΦΡΑΓΙΖΩ | ΠΑΥΛΟ | Τ8ΔΕΚ | Ν8.

5. Δεκανός was, according to Kinnamos, the name of one of the spearmen of Emperor John II Komnenos (1118-1143) (see **Cinnamus**, 6. 18-20; **Cinnamus**, tr. **Brand**, p. 15).

We cannot determine with certainty the possible relations between the above-listed representatives of the Dekanos family. Nevertheless, some conjectures could be made.

Πανθήριος Δεκανός πρωτοσπαθάριος, πραιπόσιτος καὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος was a court official and he was probably an eunuch. Whether he was of a different generation or an older brother of Γεώργιον καὶ Νικηφόρον τὸν τοῦ Δεκανοῦ is an open question. The last two were contemporaries, and the way Anna Komnene presents them makes it clear that they were brothers. Both were representatives of the capital nobility, involved in certain intrigues and sent to the province with certain missions or definite tasks. It is a fact however that George's correspondence, who at the time must have been in exile in Paristrion, and Nikephoros' one, who was anagrapheus and doux of Nish at the time, were received in Sozopol in the last years of the XIth c. Whom in Sozopol would they have written to, when there was no department there they were obliged to write to? The answer to this question is that their correspondence must have been addressed to some relation or associate of theirs. One of the conspirators, the senator John Solomon, was at the time in exile in Sozopol. A more convincing answer to this question could be found at the end of this research, where there is a list of all the seals with reference to Sozopol.

## 162. Γεώργιος Δεκανός (XI/XII c.)

Private collection (V. Panteleev from Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 19-20 mm. W. 5.6 g. A well-centered imprint in a good state of preservation.

*Unpublished.*

*Parallels:* Another specimen presumably struck in the same boulloterion is preserved in the collection of the British Museum. Its publisher misread the patronym Γεωργίου τοῦ Τουδεκανοῦ. The suggested dating to the VIIth-IXth c. is likewise unacceptable (see Gray Birch, no. 17937).

*Obv.* St. George standing frontally, holding a spear (r. hand), his l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground. Vertical inscription: Θ-.-Ω || Γ-Ι-Ο-С : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) [Γε]ώ(ρ)γιος.

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

+ СΦΡΑΓ | ΓΕΩΡΓΙ | 8ΤΩΤ8 | ΔΕΚΑΝ

+ Σφραγ(ις) Γεωργίου τῷ τοῦ Δεκαν(οῦ)

## 163-164. Νικηφόρος Δεκανός κουροπαλάτης καὶ ἀναγραφεὺς Νίσου (XI-XII c.)

a. National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 27705. Find-spot: Sozopol. D. 17-17.5 (?) 2.5 mm. Incomplete imprint because the blank was smaller than the diameter of the die or equal to it. A badly preserved specimen. Corroded. All this makes the complete reading of the text difficult.

*Ed.* **Йорданов**, И. Новооткрит моливдовул на Никифор Декан - куропалат, дук и анаграф на Ниш от колекцията на НИМ-София. - *ГНИМ*, 9, 1994, 75-79; **Jordanov**, G. *Names*, no. 55.1a.

b. Private collection (Vurban Vurbanov from Elhovo). Delivered to the National Historical Museum, Sofia, by the police. The principal group of seals from this collection originate from the stronghold near the village of Melnitsa, district of Elhovo. D. 18-20 mm. Weak imprint, but well preserved.

*Ed.* **Jordanov**, Melnitsa, no. 45; **Jordanov**, G. *Names*, no. 55.1b.

*The two specimens were struck in the same boulloterion.*

*Parallels:* Another specimen struck with the same die is preserved in the Dumbarton Oaks collection (DO. 58. 106. 2577). It was originally published in 1991 (see **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, no. 32.1) even

though the obtained information has been used many times (see, for instance, **Gautier**, *L'Obituaire*, p.257, n. 60).

*Obv.* Inscription of four lines:

- a) +.ΕΡ'Θ' | ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡ' | Κ8ΡΟΠΑ | ΛΑΤΙ
- b) . ΕΡ'Θ' | . . . ΗΦΟΡ' | . 8ΡΟΠΑ | ΛΑΤΙ

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

- a) Δ8Κ . . | ΑΝΑΓΡΑ . | ΝΗC8Τ. | ΔΕΚΑΝ
  - b) Δ8ΚΙ8 | ΑΝΑΓΡΑΦ | ΝΗC8Τ. | ΔΕ . . .
- + [Κ(ύρι)]ε β(οή)θ(ει) Νικηφόρ(ω) κουροπαλάτι δουκί (καί) ἀναγραφ(εῖ)  
Νήσου τ[ῶ] Δεκαν(ῶ)

The owner of the seal affixed to his correspondence to the capital city of Constantinople and Sozopolis, as well as to the stronghold near the village of Melnitsa was one Nikephoros Dekanos, titled kouropalates and anagrapheus of the Nisos theme.

This seal raises many questions, but the following should be answered:

- a) Who was Nikephoros Dekanos?
- b) What was the administrative unit of the Nisos theme like?
- c) Who was the intended recipient of his correspondence to Sozopol?

The combination of the title of kouropalates and the office of doux and anagrapheus enables the seal to be dated to the late XI<sup>th</sup> century or the early XII<sup>th</sup> century, and thus an attempt to identify the owner of the seal as a person known from the narrative sources is possible.

The Byzantine princess and writer Anna Komnene noted that his father, the emperor Alexios I, left the capital city of Constantinople in November 1107 in order to prepare military operations against Bohemond of Tarentum and before that “yet he arranged matters in the palace and the Queen of Cities and appointed as guardians the eunuch Eustathius Cymineanus, the Great Drungaire of the Fleet, and Nicephorus, called the son of Dekanos [Νικηφόρον τὸν τοῦ Δεκανοῦ]. Afterwards he left Byzantium...” (see *Alexiade*, III, 87.9-12, *Alexiad*, tr. Dawes, p. 323).

The report of Anna Komnene does not define the title and office of Nikephoruos Dekanos. Nevertheless, the coincidence between the names and the period, as well as the discovery in Sozopol of a seal which belonged to another representative of the Dekanos family, George as kouropalates (see above no.), who is also reported in the *Alexiad*, give us reason to suggest that the owner of the seal presented here was Nikephoros Dekanos, mentioned in the *Alexiad*.

What positions did Nikephoros Dekanos occupy and what was the administrative unit inscribed on the seals?

The positions of doux (developed from military chief to administrative governor) and anagrapheus (fiscal official), combined on the seal of an identical person, illustrate the trends of the Byzantine administrative structure during the second half of the XI<sup>th</sup> century. At that time every provincial governor enjoyed full power over the military, administrative, fiscal and juridical authorities, i. e. he became in fact the real proxy of the emperor in a particular region.

We commented above on the administrative unit and the time of its establishment. Considering the dating of the seal and the persons who wrote to Sozopol (and this principally was the brother of Nikephoros Dekanos, George), as well as their common recipient, we can generally date the receiving of the correspondence from Nikephoros Dekanos to 1090s. Thus, Nikephoros Dekanos should be a predecessor or successor of the aforementioned doux

of Nisos Niketas.

There is no information about the question in what capacity Nikephoros Dekanos ruled the capital city in November 1107 (perhaps he was an eparchos), but surely he had a higher rank in the hierarchy than that inscribed on his seal from Sozopol. Having in mind the high position of his colleague Eustathius Kymeneianus, we can conclude that Nikephoros Dekanos had the rank of nobelissimos or protonobelissimos (see **Seibt**, *Bleisiegel*, no. 100).

#### 165. Κωνσταντῖνος Δελφινᾶς ? (second half, XI c.)

Private collection (Ivan Yotov from Iambol). Find-spot: unspecified, presumably found in the stronghold near the village of Zlati Voyvoda. D. 14-16 mm. Incomplete imprint which makes the reading difficult, especially line 3, where a patronym, a toponym or some epithet is inscribed.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion of Christ on her breast. Sigla:  $\overline{M} || \overline{\Theta}$  : Μ(ήτηρ) Θ(εοῦ).

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

- + CΩZ | ΠΑΝΑΓΝ | ΔΕΛΦΝΙ |  $\overline{KΩN}$
- + Σώζ(οις), Πάναγν[ε], Δελφιν(ᾶν) Κων(σταντῖνον)

The reading of the patronym is insecure for the lack of some key letters. Besides the suggested family name, the epithet ΔΕΛΦΝΙ = [ἄ]δελφην, equivalent to a spiritual brother, i.e. a monk, is also likely to have been written in line 3. Thus, the seal should have belonged to a cleric.

With uncertainty like this, any possible attempts to search in the narrative sources would be in vain. On the representatives of the Delphinos family in the second half of the XI<sup>th</sup> c., to which period the seal is dated, see Litavrin's analysis (*Кекавмен*, c.527.939).

#### 166. Ν., Δηποταμίτης σπαθάριος καὶ ταξιάρχης (XI c.)

Historical Museum, Shumen, no. 14229. Comes from northeastern Bulgaria (Preslav or Silistra). It was delivered by the middleman N. Georgiev. D. 20-23 (?) 2-3 mm. A badly damaged specimen with portions chipped. The obverse is completely obliterated. The text of the reverse is badly damaged. The letters are discernible when magnified many times.

*Ed.* Йорданов, *Преслав*, № 544.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Completely obliterated surface.

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

- ..... | O..... | CΠΑΘΑΡ | TAXIA | P'T8Δ Η | ΠΟΤΑΜ
- .....σπαθαρί(ω) [(καί)] ταξιάρ(χη) τοῦ Δηποταμ(ίτη)

If the reading of the patronym is correct, it applies to a representative of the Depotamites family.

A bulla of Θεόγνωστος πριμικήριος with the patronym ΔΙΠΩΤ | ΜΙΩΝ is preserved in the collection of the Free University in Berlin (see **Sode**, *Berlin*, no. 387).

A bulla of Μιχαήλ σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος καὶ πριμικήριος τοῦ νοταρίων, from whose patronym only ΔΙΠ.... is preserved, is kept in the collection of ANS Malbot, no. 310 (see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, no. 177).

They could have a connection with our specimen.

### 167. Ῥωμανὸς Διογένης βεστάρχης καὶ κατεπάνω (1050s-1060s)

Historical Museum, Silistra, no. 62. Found in the stronghold near the village of Vetren. D. 26-29 (27) 5 mm. Unsuccessful imprint both because the blank was smaller in diameter than the dies and it was off-centered. The channel opening was not pressed in the boulloterion. The surface of the boulloterion is covered with lead oxides.

Ed. **Йорданов-Атанасов**, Ветрен, № 116.

No exact parallels. Another specimen struck in a different boulloterion is preserved in the unpublished Zacos collection, III, no. 1552. A specimen, offered at the auction Hirrsch, 177, 10-13. 02. 1993, no. 1419, is struck in the same boulloterion.

Obv. Bust of St. Theodore Stratelates holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription: Θ-ΘΕ-Ο-ΔΩ-ΡΟ-С || О-СТ-Р-ТІА-ТІС : Ὁ ἄ(γιος) Θεόδωρος ὁ Στρατιλάτις

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

..... | ΡΩΜΑ.ΩΡΕ. | Τ'ΡΧ'.ΚΑΤ'ΠΑ | Ν'Τ.ΔΙΟ | Γ.ΝΙ

[+Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει)] Ῥωμα[ν]ῶ βε[σ]τάρχ(η) [(καὶ)] κατ(ε)πάν(ω) τ[ῶ]

Διογ[έ]νι

Two other groups of seals are known bearing the names of Romanos Diogenes.

a. Auction Spink 135 (october 1999), no. 283 and the unpublished seal Fogg A. M., no. 1396, dated after 1050:

Obv. Bust of St. Demetrios holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

Rev. + ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8' | ΡΩΜΑΝΩ | ΠΠΙCCTP | Τ'Γ'ΤΩΔ. | ΟΓΕ..

b. Athens Numismatic Museum (see **Konstantopoulos**, no. 622a; **Stavrakos**, no. 64), dating 1060s:

Obv. Bust of St. Theodore Stratelates as above, but without a sobriquet inscribed.

Rev. + ΚΕΡ'Θ' | .ΩΜΑΝΩ | ΠΠΙΑΝΘV | ΠΑΤ'ΡΕCΤ' | CCTPAT'Γ'Τ | ΔΙΟΓΕ | Ν'

It could be assumed that the three groups of seals belong to the same person – Romanos Diogenes. Besides the identical names, there is also a chronological continuity of the titles and positions from the 50s to the 70s of the XIth c.

For the same time, an individual bearing this name and titles is also known.

It refers to the future Emperor Romanos IV Diogenes (1068-1071). It is neither possible nor necessary to trace his entire reign and life. They have been subjects of more general and private investigations. However, we are obliged to trace what is known about him before his ascension, so as to determine the exact period when he held the titles and positions inscribed on his seals, and particularly when, on what occasion and to whom in Vetren he sent his correspondence.

The information of the chroniclers about Romanos Diogenes before his ascension is contradictory, and hence the commentary of the investigators.

The Diogenes family had its origin in Cappadocia. Romanos' father played a considerable role in the final stage of the war of Basil II against Bulgaria. He was Doux of Thessalonike, then of the captured Symrium and in 1026, according to some investigators, he was appointed

governor of Bulgaria. In 1031, he was charged with plotting against Emperor Romanos III Argyros (1028-1034), his hair was cut and he was sent into exile to the Studite monastery. In the following year 1032, he was once again accused of conspiracy and tortured, as a result of which he committed suicide. The last title, with which he is reported, is patrikios (for excerpt information on his life, see in **Mathieu**, M. Les faux Diogenes.- *Byzantion*, 22, 1952, 128-146).

Nothing particular is known about his son Romanos Diogenes until he appeared in the chronicles of Attaleiates, Skylitzes, Zonaras and Kekaumenos. The information on his birthplace is also unclear. According to Psellos it was Constantinople (see **Sathas**, MB, 5, 222-223), while Attaleiates argues that he was born in Cappadocia (**Attaliates**, *Historia*, p. 170.14-16). According to some indirect information, it is assumed that he was born in Belebouzdion during his father's tenure as governor the theme Bulgaria (see **Златарски**, *История*, II, с. 113, б. 2). It is known with certainty however that he was married to a daughter of Alousianos (the second son of the last Bulgarian tzar John Vladislav, see **Златарски**, *История*, II, с. 127), and had a son Constantine by her, married in 1068 to Theodora Komnene, sister of the future emperor Alexios Komnenos.

The information offered by different chroniclers on Romanos Diogenes' career related to the Bulgarian lands prior to his ascension to the throne is the following:

M. *Attaleiates*: "one of the nobles rose in rebellion, namely the vestarches Romanos with the sobriquet Diogenes... When under Emperor Doukas he was put in charge of the government of Serdika, he decided to take the Sauromates as brothers-in-arms... they trusted this man because they had known him since the previous military campaign, when he waged war against them as τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰστρον ἄρχων πόλεων" (see **Attaliates**, *Historia*, 97.8-21).

From the above passage we learn that the vestarches Romanos Diogenes rioted against the emperor; under Emperor Doukas' reign (1059-1067) he was put in charge of the government of Serdika, but it is unclear in what capacity; before that, he had waged war against the Sauromates in his capacity as τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰστρον ἄρχων πόλεων, a standard term with which Katakalon Kekaumenos, Basil Apokapes, Nikephoros Phokas and others are characterized.

J. *Skylitzes*: "...the difficult situation called for an emperor... for the purpose the vestarches Romanos, the son of Constantine Diogenes, was chosen [ὁ βεστάρχης Ῥωμανὸς ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος τοῦ Διογένης υἱός]. Diogenes was appointed doux of Serdika, and since he was patrikios, he asked Emperor Constantine Doukas to grant him the title of vestarches. The emperor ...saw him off...without granting his request. When Diogenes set off and reached Serdika, he met Pechenegs plundering the country and beat them. When he sent the emperor many live captives and the decapitated heads of those killed, he received the title vestarches and a letter from the emperor"(see **Skylitzes**, *Continuates*, 121. 12-23).

K. *Kekaumenos*: "After the emperor died, Romanos Diogenes, a man who remembered friendship, took over the government in his place... Diogenes of the blissful memories was his friend from the time when he was katepano" (*Кекавмен*, 266.7-8).

When juxtaposing this information and taking into consideration the reliability of the various sources of information, the following conclusions could be drawn:

The vestarches Romanos Diogenes was nominated for Emperor. He was patrikios and doux of Serdika. His request for promotion in the title of vestarches, initially turned down, was granted after his victory over the Pechenegs. Prior to his ascension to the throne, Romanos Diogenes was katepano at an unspecified date.

The possible commentary is the following:

a) if we take the text literally, he wished to skip the ranks of anthypatos, vestes, protovestes and only then vestarches;

b) If the promotion was on his initiative, his wish seems immodest;

c) No further sources confirm the existence of the douxdom Serdika before 1067 (perhaps this term too is due to a later reminiscence);

d) We cannot trust Attaleiates' information regarding τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰστρον ἄρχων πόλεων, which is standard and "attached" to the activities of many other military commanders;

e) The previous cases convince us that Kekaumenos' account is trustworthy, and in this particular case, that Romanos Diogenes had been katepano before his ascension to the throne.

How could the data from the seals interweave with the situation?

The titles held by Romanos Diogenes do not indicate omission of hierarchical stages; on the contrary, he is patrikios, anthypatos, vestes and only then vestarches.

Romanos Diogenes' position in the three groups of seals is not connected to a definite military or administrative unit. We are left with the impression that he was at the emperor's disposal, who dispatched him at the head of the tagmata to a necessary region. We should observe here an associated evolutionary development from strategos to katepano.

His bulla in his capacity as βεστάρχης καὶ κατεπάνω, found on the bank of the Danube near the present-day village of Vetren, should reflect a certain mission in this part of the Empire at the head of a tagma with local troops attached to it, where indeed he appears in his capacity as τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰστρον ἄρχων πόλεων.

The following could be ascertained from the comparison between the narrative sources and the sigillographic data:

According to the narrative sources, before 1067 Romanos Diogenes had been (see **Jordanov**, *Paradounavon*, 65-66):

a) ἄρχων τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰστρον πόλεων;

b) πατρίκιος καὶ δοῦξ Σαρδικῆς;

c) βεστάρχης καὶ κατεπάνω;

According to the available seals, he had the following cursus honorum:

a) πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς (1050s);

b) βέστης ἀνθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς (1050s-1060s);

d) βεστάρχης καὶ κατεπάνω (?-1067).

#### 168-169. Δαμιανὸς Δοβρομιρὸς ἀνθύπατος, πατρίκιος καὶ δοῦξ Θράκης καὶ Μεσοποταμίας (971-?)

A.

Archaeological Museum Preslav, no. 20152. D. 28-28 (27) 4.5 mm. W. 21.45 g. Good and complete imprint, but some of the letters, especially on the reverse, are erased.

*Ed. Jordanov, G. Names*, no. 35.14 a.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Inscription of five lines, preceded by an ornament:

—•—|+ΔΑΜΙ|ΑΝΩΑΝ|ΘΥΠΑΤΩ|ΠΑΤΡΗ|ΚΙΩ

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

ΚΕΔΘ|ΗΘΡΑ|..CSME|COTOTA|MHAC

+Δαμιανῶ ἀνθύπάτω πατρηκίω κὲ δου[κ]ῆ Θρά[κη]ς (καὶ) Μεσοποταμίας

B.

Archaeological Museum Preslav, no. 16915. D. 26-28 (22 ?) 2 mm. W. 6.58 g. Incomplete imprint, the final letters are missing and some were later erased.

*Ed. Jordanov, G. Names*, no. 35.14b.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Inscription of five lines:

+ΔΑΜΗ|..Ν'ΑΝΘΥ|..Τ'ΠΑΤΡΙ|ΚΕΔΟΝ|ΚΗ-✕-

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

ΘΡΑΚΗ|..ΕΜΕCΟΠ|ΤΑΜΗΑCΩ|ΔΟΡΡΟΜ|..ΡΟ-

+Δαμη[α]ν(ῶ) ἀνθυ[πά]τ(ω) πατρι[κ(ίω)] κὲ δουκὴ Θράκη[ς] κ]ἔ

Μεσοπ[ο]ταμίας (τ)ῶ Δοβρομ[ι]ρο

#### 170-175. Θεόδωρος Δοβρομιρὸς βεστάρχης (third quarter, XI c.)

a. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 18507. Find-spot: Strategia of Preslav. D. 17-18 (16) 4 mm. W. 7.32 g. Complete and a well-preserved imprint.

*Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 73.*

b. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 20182. Find-spot: Strategia of Preslav. D. 17-18 (16) 3 mm. W. 7.28 g. Good imprint on a low-quality blank.

*Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 74.*

c. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 24529. Find-spot: Strategia of Preslav. Fragment. D. 14-20 mm.

*Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 75.*

d. Historical Museum, Shumen, no. 13507. Find-spot: Pomorie. D. 19-19.5 (16) 3 mm. W. 7.35 g. Good imprint but slightly off center.

*Ed. Йорданов, Анхиало, № 14.*

e. Historical Museum, Shumen, no. 1489. Find-spot: unspecified, presumably Preslav. D. 20-21 mm, W. 7.64 g. *Unpublished.*

f. Private collection. Find-spot: unspecified, presumably Preslav. D. 17-17 mm. Good imprints. *Unpublished.*

g. Private collection (V. Stankov from Batak). Find-spot: stronghold near the village of Melnitza, disc. of Elkhovo. D. 15-19 (15) mm. Good imprints. *Unpublished.*

The seven bullae were struck in the same boulloterion.

*Parallels:* an unpublished bulla struck with the same pair of dies is preserved in the Dumbarton Oaks collection (DO. 55. 1. 3005)

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin holding a medallion of Christ on her breast. Sigla on either side:

MP || ΘΥ: Μ(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ.

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

—+—|ΘΚΕΡ'Θ'|ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟ|ΡΕCΤΑΡΧ'|ΤΩΔΟΡΡΟ|ΜΙΡ'

+Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) Θεοδώρο βεστάρχ(η) τῶ Δοβρομ(ῶ)

For more information on Theodore Dobromir, see nos. 176-182 here.

#### 176-182. Θεόδωρος Δοβρομιρὸς πρωτοπρόεδρος (1070s-1080s)

a. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 18565. Find-spot: Strategia of Preslav. D. 16-17 (15 ?) 4 mm. W. 4.60 g. Incomplete imprint due to slipping of the blank in the boulloterion.

*Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 87.*

b. Historical Museum, Shumen, no. 14 203. Purchased from N. Georgiev and probably from the same find-spot. D. 15-16 (15 ?) 3.5 mm. W. 5.40 g. Incomplete imprint, since the blank was smaller in diameter than the dies.



Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 88.

c. Historical Museum, Shumen, no. 14 827. Find-spot: Preslav ! D. 15-16 mm. W. 4.94 g.

Unpublished.

d. Private collection in the town of Pernik. Find-spot: uncertain, probably comes from Preslav. D.19-19 mm, W. 6.60 g. Complete imprint in a good state of preservation.

Unpublished.

e. Private collection (V. Pantelev from Varna). Find-spot: uncertain D.14-16 mm, W. 5.30 g. Complete imprint in a good state of preservation.

Unpublished.

g-h. Private collection. Find-spot: uncertain D.16-16 mm; 15-17 mm.

Unpublished.

The seven bullae were struck in the same boulloterion.

Parallels: Another unpublished specimen struck with the same pair of dies is preserved in the Hermitage (M-5780).

Obv. Bust of the Virgin holding a medallion of Christ on her breast. Sigla on either side:

MP || ΘV: Μ(ήτηρ) Θ(εο)ῦ.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟ | Α'ΠΡΟΕΔΡ' | ΤΩΔΟΡΡ | ΜΙΡ'

+ Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) Θεοδώρο (πρωτο)προέδρ(ω) τῷ Δοβρ(ο)μῖρ(ῳ)

In the above publication, a survey has been made of the representatives of this family, obviously connected by origin with the Slavic peoples. An attempt has also been made at identifying the owner of the seals with Dobromir from the chronicles, who in 1078 declared revolt in the vicinity of Mesembria. In this connection, the finding of a bulla of the same Theodore Dobromir (on him see nos. 170-175 here) in his capacity as vestarches in the region of Pomorie (10 km away from Mesembria) is not a matter of chance.

To supplement the information in the above publication, I wish to add the data from a seal in the collection of the museum in Antioch (Cheynet, Antioche, no. 26):

Obv. Bust of the Virgin with both hands open before her breast. No medallion depicted.

Sigla: MP || ΘV.

Rev. —•— | +ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΔΩΡΙΜΙΡ' | ΣΠΑΘΑΡ' | -ΚΑΝΔΔ | —•—

Its dating is generally to the XIth c., with a possible more precise dating toward the middle of the same century. His connection with the remaining Dobromirs cannot be determined. It is also not very clear whether it is a homonym or patronym. If we assume the former, which is quite possible, it will be difficult to find any direct link with the members of the Dobromir family already presented. It could be assumed that it is a certain Dobromir with no relation to the Bulgarian nobility of 1001 and 1018. A connection between him and the Dobromir of 1079 could possibly be found, but it would rule out the hypothesis suggested by me of his identification with Theodore Dobromir. It is not unlikely, taking into consideration the Slavic origin of this name, that it refers to an unknown Dobromir, whose seal reflects an earlier stage in his career.

### 183. Ξένη Δοκειανή σεβαστή (XII c.)

Historical Museum, Nova Zagora. Found in the course of excavations of the medieval settlement on the mound near the village of Diadovo, Nova Zagora region. D.23.5-24 (over 25) 3 mm. Incomplete imprint not only because of the smaller blank but also because of off-centering.

Ed. Йорданов, Нова Загора, № 1; Йорданов, Севастия, № 34.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion of Christ on her breast.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

..... | ..ΕΙΞΕ.. | .ΕΡΑΨΗΤ. | ΔΟΚΕΙΑΝΗ |

[+Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθ]ει Ξέ[νη σ]εβαστῇ τ[ῇ] Δοκειάνῃ

What is certain from this text is that the seal belonged to a sebastē from the Dokeianoī, and that its dating is generally to the first half of the XIIth c.

The above publication draws on information on the representatives of the Dokeianoī family of the XIth-XIIth centuries as to search for a connection with the assumed Xene Dokeiane. No certain answer is possible due to the incomplete text of the seal and the scarcity in written sources.

The following assumptions have been made: Xene Dokeiane could be:

a) wife of the sebastos Isaakios Dokeianos, born 1109 and died 1127, about whom no more is known, except that their wedding was in 1125;

b) his sister, the sebastē Irene Dokeiane (1110-1143), provided she became nun under the name of Xene.

### 184-186. Βάρδας Δοξάνθυπατος-πατρίκιος (X/XI c.)

a. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 17588. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 22-26 (20.5) 2 mm. W. 6.20 g. Specimen in a good state of preservation, but incomplete imprint.

Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 324.

b. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 18062. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 22-25 (20.5) 2 mm. W. 5. 32 g. Well-preserved specimen, but incomplete imprint.

Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 325.

c. National Historical Museum, Sofia. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 16-27 (20.5) 2 mm. Half preserved. Incomplete imprint.

Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 326.

The three specimens were struck in the same boulloterion.

No parallels known.

Obv. Patriarchal cross on three steps. On either side, a fleuron up to the first bar. Crosslets of four dots in the quarters. Circular inscription : .....ΤΩCΩΔΟΝΑ'

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ΡΑΡΔ | ΑΑΝΘ. | Π'ΠΙΑΤ. | Κ'ΤΔΟ | ΞΗ

[+Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει)] τῷ σῷ δοῦλ(ω) Βάρδα ἀνθ[υ]π(άτω) πατ[ρ(ι)]κ(ίω) τ(ῷ) Δόξῃ

What is new in the reading and interpretation of this seal is that in line 3 instead of the conjunction S and the title ΔΟΝΕ, reading of the definite article T' and the patronym ΔΟΞΗ has been suggested. This correction was predetermined by a number of reasons:

1) under careful inspection it can be seen that the second letter in line 3 is not S but a deformed T;

2) I do not know of any other seal dated to the end of the Xth c. and bearing the position of doux without a toponym.

If the new reading is confirmed by a better preserved specimen, we should assume that the owner of the seal Bardas Dox possessed the title ἀνθύπατος-πατρίκιος.

For the name Δοξ, see Moritz, Zunamen, II, 21; Георгиев, П. Кой е Тудор черноризец

Доксов ?- Старобългарска литература, 20, 1987, 92-93; it is also assumed that it comes from the East, which is in harmony with the homonym Bardas.

### 187. Ν., Δοξαπάτρος XI-XII c.

Private collection (St. Bilik from Sofia). Find-spot: the land of the village of Hadjidimovo, Haskovo region. D. 23-25 (24) 3 mm. W. 9.68 g. Incomplete imprint, but an excellent state of preservation. Some letters and parts of the dies were left out of the blank. All that renders the overall reading of this undoubtedly interesting text difficult. Ideas for the proposed reading were suggested to me by A. Wassiliou from Vienna, for which I am very grateful.

Unpublished.

No parallels known

Obv. Bust of St. John Chrysostom blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand). Vertical inscription in two columns: Θ- ΙΩ-Ο || Χ-ΤΟ-Μ' : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) 'Ιω(άννης) ὁ Χρ(υσό)στομ(ος)

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

+ | ΤΩΔΟ.. | ΠΑΤΡΙΤΩΦΝ | ΛΑΚΙΤΩΝΝΟΜΩΝ | C..ΚΡΙΝΕΘΥΤΑ |  
...ΙΟΥΧΡΥΣΟ | .Ν<sup>ϥ</sup>Ι..

Τῷ Δο[ξα]πάτρι τῷ φύλακι τῶν νόμων σ[ύγκ]ρινε θύτα [Κυρ]ίου Χρυσο[ῦ]ν  
στ[όμα]

With the uncertainty in the reading, any attempts at identification of the owner of the seal are useless. The family Doxapatros is very popular in the XIth-XIIth centuries. See **Каждан**, *Соч. состав*, с. 93.61; **Stavrakos**, no.66. For the relation between the owner of our seal and Gregory Doxapatres judge, known from his seal preserved in the Hermitage (M-8191), see **Šandrovskaja-Seibt**, no. 73.

### 188. Ἄννα Δούκαινα (XII c.)

In a private collection (V. Panteleev from Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. D.23-24 (22) 3 mm, W. 5.6 g. Strong and complete imprint in a poor state of preservation.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion on her chest. Sigla: ΜΡ || ΘΥ : Μ(ήτη)ρ  
Θ(εο)ῦ.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

ANNAN | ΜΕΤΗΝΔΟΝ | ΚΑΙΝΑΠΑ | ΝΑΓΝ'ΚΕ | ΠΟΙC  
Ἄνναν με τὴν Δούκαινα, Πάναγνε, σκέποις

There are a lot of Byzantine female aristocrats bearing these names. The data do not allow any identification. With the view of future investigations, I include the seals of female aristocrats from the XIIth c. bearing the same names documented by me at Dumbarton Oaks:

1. DO. 58. 106. 1975; 58. 106. 2317; 58. 106. 5224; 55. 1. 4590; 55. 1. 4550; Fogg, A. M. no. 957.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion.

Rev. + ΘΚΕΡΟ | ΗΘΕΙΑΝΝΗ | CΕRACTH | ΤΗΔ8ΚΕ | -NH-

2. DO. 58. 106. 202; 58. 106. 3987; 58. 106. 4792; 58. 106. 5246.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion.

Rev. + ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΑΝΝΗCΕΡ' | CΤΗΤΗΔ8 | ΚΑΙΝΗ

3. DO. 58. 106. 4880.

Obv. The Virgin standing holding Christ in r. arm.

Rev. ΑΝΝΗC | ..RACTHC | ..ΦΡΑΓΙC | .ΗCΔΟΒ | ΚΑΙΝΗC

4. Fogg, A. M. no. 750. The letters bear characteristic engraving with the accents also inscribed.

Obv. The Virgin seated on a high-backed throne, holding a medallion of Christ.

Rev. ΑΝΝΑ | ΝΑΝΑCΑ | ΤΗΝΔ8ΚΕ | ΝΑΝΜΕCΚΕ | ΠΟΙC

### 189. Εὐφροσύνη Δούκαινα (?-1185)

Archaeological Museum, Plovdiv. Found in 1991 in the course of excavations of the medieval town. D. 32-33 (29) 3 mm. Superb imprint in a superb state of preservation.

Ed. **Jordanov**, Plovdiv, no. 14.

Parallels: **Zacos**, *Seals*, I, no. 2744 (now in DO. 58. 106. 4442); **Шандровская**, *Благовещения*, 61-63. They were struck in different boulloteria.

Obv. The Annunciation. The Virgin standing at r. in front of a throne, with nimbus, himation and maphorion, holding a spindle (l. hand). Her head is turned slightly to l. toward the archangel (at l.), nimbate and winged, half-turned l. and descending toward the Virgin. Between them, an inscription of vertical lines: ΧΑΙ | ΡΕ | Τ | ΙC | Μ | Ο | C: 'Ο Χαιρετισμός

Rev. The hand of God in a gesture of blessing behind a segment of sky is represented in the field above an inscription of five lines:

+ ΕΥΦΡΟCΥΝ | ΝΗΝΔ8ΚΑΙ | ΝΑΝΑΓ'ΝΗΜΕ | CΚΕΠΟΙC  
+ Εὐφροσύνην Δούκαιναν, Ἀγνή, με σκέπ[οι]ς

Ephrosyne Doukaina is daughter of the sebastos Andronikos Doukas Kamateros. In 1169, she was married to Alexios Angelos Komnenos, the future emperor, and had three daughters: Irene, born 1170, Anna, born 1171, and Eudocia, born 1172.

In 1185, after the ascension of Isaakios II Angelos (1185-1195), Alexios and Euphrosyne were introduced to the rank of sebastokrators. And after the ascension of Alexios III himself in 1195, she was empress and augusta.

Unlike her cowardly husband, she was a brave and clever woman. After Alexios III's dethronement in 1203, she was arrested, but several months later, during the assault on Constantinople by the Latins, she managed to escape together with her son-in-law Alexios V "Mourtzouphlos" (the night of 12<sup>th</sup> April, 1204), and they went to Alexios III in Mosynopolis. Later she accompanied her husband as a fugitive around various towns and fortresses, and eventually settled in Arta of Epeiros, where she died in ca. 1211 (see **Polemis**, *Doukai*, no. 101; **Barzos**, *Komnenoi*, no. 180).

Three groups of seals by Euphrosyne Doukaina are known: our bulla is in the first one; in the second, she is sebastokrator (**Zacos**, *Seals*, I, no. 2746), and in the third, she is a pious Augusta (**Zacos**, *Seals*, I, no. 111; **Шандровская**, *Сфрагистика*, № 1020). They have the

following dating: ? - 1185; 1185-1195; 1195-?.

In the Dumbarton Oaks collection there is an unpublished badly preserve lead seal which probably belong to the same Euphrosyne Doukaina (DO. 58. 106. 5261).

*Obv.* Completely obliterated surface.

*Rev.* ..... | CVNHCERA | CTHHΔ8 | KAINA

[+ Εὐφρο]σύνη σεβαστή ἡ Δούκαινα

If the assumption made is correct, this seal should reflect the period before Isaakios Angelos' enthronement, when she and her husband Alexios were only Sebastoi.

According to convention, after her marriage Euphrosyne retained her family name well, since it had nobler and more ancient origin than that of her husband, until his brother's ascension.

The finding of the bulla in Philippopolis as well before 1185 poses the question: to whom did she write? Probably to a relative of hers or to her husband, provided he was there on business. She could have possibly written to the local prelate. It is not unlikely that she had some real estate in this region and had to send her orders in this connection. She is known to have possessed large land properties in southern Thessaly.

#### 190. Μαρία Δούκαινα σεβαστή (XII c.)

Private collection (V. Stankov from Batak). Find-spot: uncertain. D.32-34 (25) 4 mm. Complete and well preserved imprint.

*Unpublished.*

*Parallels:* **Laurent**, *Bulles metriques*, no. 698; **Cheyne**, *Zacos*, III, no. 78; Hirsch, *Sale* 194 (19-22 February 1997), no. 695; unpublished in DO. 47. 2. 1143=Shaw 1297 (no. 1143).

*Obv.* Inscription of three lines:

— + — | CΦΡΑ | ΓΙCCE | RA<sup>ϥ</sup>HC

*Rev.* Inscription of three lines:

MARIAC | THCΔOV | KAINIC

+Σφραγὶς σεβαστῆς Μαρίας τῆς Δουκαίνης

Several princesses had this name. From this period the most likely owner of the seal would be Maria, the wife of Alexios Kontostephanos (see here no. 353-354).

#### 191. Πατρίκια Δούκαινα (XI c.)

Archaeological Institute, Shumen, no. 431. Found in the course of excavations of the Inner city of Pliska by the Bulgarian-Soviet expedition in 1977-1978. D. 21-23 (20) 3 mm. A good imprint, but the letters have a rather strange paleography closer to the minuscule writing. All this makes the reading difficult and problematic.

*Ed.* Йорданов, Плиска, № 14.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Inscription of four lines:

ΘΚΕRo | ΗΘΙΗ | CΙΑOV | ΛHC

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

ΠΑΤ | ΡΗKVAc | Δ8KE | NIC

Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθ(ε)ι τῇ σι δοῦλης Πατρικύας Δουκένις

#### 192-195. Ἀνδρόνικος Δούκας πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς τῆς μεγάλης Πραισθλάβας or Πραισθλάβιτζας (1030s-1040s)

a. Preslav, no. 22909. Find-spot: strategia of Preslav. D.22-23 (22) 3 mm. W. 9.90 g. Incomplete and weak imprint. A small portion of the blank is broken.

*Ed.* Йорданов, Преслав, № 303; **Jordanov**, *G. Names*, no. 63.2a

b. Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia, no. 88. Found in Pliska during Archaeological excavations in 1930 under the supervision of K. Myatev. D. 25-25 mm; field 22 mm; thickness 2.8 mm. Incomplete imprint. The initial letters of almost all lines of the text on the reverse are out of the blank. Well-preserved bulla.

*Ed.* Йорданов, Плиска, № 1; **Jordanov**, *G. Names*, no. 63.2b.

c. Archaeological Museum, Preslav, no. 28079. Found in the warehouse of the Archaeological excavations in the southwestern corner of the inner city of Preslav in May 1991. A fragment (about a quarter of an originally good imprint). D. 14-20 (of the seal itself over 20) mm.

*Ed.* **Jordanov**, *G. Names*, no. 63.2c.

d. Private collection (N. Nikolov, Razgrad). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 22-25 mm; field 22 mm; thickness 3 mm. Incomplete imprint. The initial letters of almost all lines of the text on the reverse are out of the blank. Well-preserved bulla.

*Ed.* **Jordanov**, *G. Names*, no. 63.2d.

*All four specimens were struck with the same die.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of St. Theodore holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription in two columns: Θ-ΘΕ-. || Δ - ... : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Θε[ό]δ[ωρ(ος)].

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

a) | .ΝΑΡΟΝ | . CΠΑΘ' | CΤΡΑΤΙΓ' | . . CMΠΡ . | . . ΛΑΡ'Ω | . 8K'

b) | .ΝΑΡΟΝ | Α'CΠΑΘ' | CΤΡΑΤΙΓ' | T. CMΠΡΕ | CΘΛΑΡ' . | Δ8K'

c) | . . . . . | . . . . . | . . . . . ΤΙΓ' | . . . . ΠΡΕ | . . . . Ρ'Ω | . . . '

d) | .ΝΑΡΟ . | Δ'CΠΑΘ' . | CΤΡΑΤ . . | THCMΠ . . | . ΘΛΑΡ' . | Δ8 .

a-d: [Ἀ]νδρόν(ικος) (πρωτο)σπαθ(άριος) (καὶ) στρατιγ(ὸς) τῆς μ(ε)γ(άλ)ης

Πρεσθλάβ(ας) ὡ Δούκ(ας)

In our preceding publication, we presented an analysis of the person of this dignitary and the son of the caesar John Doukas, Andronikos, was preferred among the known representatives of the Doukas from the XI<sup>th</sup> century during an earlier period of his career.

Now, in the light of new evidence about Preslav and Preslavitza, an earlier dating is possible and it could be related to Andronikos Doukas, the father of the future emperor Constantine X (see **Polemis**, *Doukai*, no. 11). The common patron, St. Theodore, depicted on the seals of the office holders of Preslavitza, has to be also reconsidered (see **Jordanov**, *G. Names*, nos. 63.1, 63.5, 63.9). One of the generals who took part in the campaign of Roman III Argyros in Syria during 1020, named ibn Doukas, is reported by the eastern chroniclers (see **Felix**, *Islam*, p. 86, A. 132).

#### 196A. Ἀνδρόνικος Δούκας σεβαστὸς (second half of the XII c.)

Private collection (V. Stankov from Batak). Find-spot: Pomorie (ancient Anchialos). D. 31-33 mm. A good and well-preserved imprint.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* St. George of Kouperiotes, standing frontally, holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground. Inscription in two columns: O-AΓ'-Γ-Ε-ΩΡ-ΓΙ-Ος||O-K8-ΠΕ-ΡΙ-Ω-T-Hs : 'Ο ἅγιος Γεώργιος ὁ Κουπεριώτης

*Rev.* Inscription of seven lines:

CΕΡΑϠΟΝ | ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΝ | Δ8ΚΩΝΕΚΓΕ | Ν8CΓΕΩΡΓΙΕ | CΚΕΠΟΙΜΕ | ΜΑΡΤΥΡΩ | Κ.ΕΟC

Σεβαστὸν Ἀνδρόνικον Δουκῶν ἐκ γένους Γεώργιε, σκέποι(ς) με μαρτύρῳ(ν) κλέος

Several representatives of this family are known from the second half of the XIIth c. to which period the seal is generally dated (see **Polemys**, Δουκai, nos. 39;104). On the depiction of St. George of Kouperiotes, see here the seal of Constantine Kladon, no. 318.

### 196. Ἀνδρόνικος Δούκας σεβαστὸς (XII/XIII c.)

Private collection (Emil Kossev from Shumen). He informed us that it was found somewhere in southeastern Bulgaria (Topolovgrad region?). Later it was determined that the seals in this collection originate from the stronghold near the village of Melnitsa, Elhovo region. I documented it before it was sold anyone. D. 21-44 (31) 3.5 mm. Once a superb imprint of which only a portion smaller than a half has reached us. The completion of the text is difficult at this stage. Above I offer a variant completion of lines 2 and 3. What we still need to find is some unpublished parallel or a better preserved specimen.

*Ed.* Йорданов, Севаст, № 5

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Part of a standing figure of a military saint with the nimbus, mail and sword (r. hand) visible. Remains of an inscription: O-A-Γ-I-O-C || .....

*Rev.* Inscription of seven lines:

....ΚΛΕ | .....ΦVN |.....Δ8ΚΩΝ | .....CΕΡΑ |.....ΝΔΡΟΝΙ | ....ΘΛΗΤΑ |...ΠΟΙC  
[Εὐ]κλε[οῦς γε] φύν[τα τῶν] Δουκῶν [ἐκ γένους] σεβα[στὸν Ἀ]νδρόνι[κον,  
ἄ]θλητά, [σκέ]ποις

The seals bearing the name of Andronikos Doukas documented by me from the Dumbarton Oaks Collection are the following:

a. 58. 106. 2857; 58. 106. 2866.

*Obv.* The Virgin standing holding Christ on her r. arm.

*Rev.* .ΡΑΓΙC | ΓΡΑΦΩΝ. | .ΔΡΟΝΙΚ. | .Δ8Κ..

b. Shaw 1300 (no. 1135), see Laurent, Bulles metriques, no.108.

*Obv.* Bust of St. Michael holding a scepter (r. hand) and a globus (l. hand).

*Rev.* .ΟVΚΑΝ | .ΕΡΑCΤΟΝ | .ΝΔΡΟΝΙ | ..ΝΜΕCΚ. | ΠΕ

### 197. ᾿Αοινος Δούκας σεβαστὸς (XII c.)

National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 30446. Formerly in a private collection (Dimitar Dimitrov from Pernik).

Found in the stronghold between the town of Radnevo and the village of Znamenosets. An enormous blank, 33 mm. in diameter, and a poorly preserved anonymous were discovered in the same find-spot. D.14.5- 26.5 mm. Half of a once good specimen, which makes the reading of the text difficult.

*Ed.* Йорданов, Севаст, № 1.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion of Christ before her.

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

ΑοΙΝ8.. | ΡΑCΤ... | ΦΡΑΓ... | Δ8Κ.

᾿Αοινου [σε]βαστ[οῦ σ]φραγ[ις τ(οῦ)] Δού[κα]

Because of the fragmentary state of the bulla and the unusual name of its owner I am only tentative in my reading. The name ᾿Αοινος though rare, is nevertheless known. However, no representative of the Doukas family bearing that proper name is known.

A bulla which may be related to ours is stored in the collection of DO. 58. 106. 2044.

*Obv.* St. Nicholas standing, blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand).

*Rev.* CΚΕΠΟΙC | ΑΟΙΝΟΝ | ΜΙΧΑΗΛΜV | ΡΟΡΑV | ΤΑ:-

### 198. Γεώργιος Δούκας σεβαστὸς (XII/XIII c.)

Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia, no. 127. Found on the land of the village of Ahmatovo, Plovdiv region. D. 33-34 (30) 4 mm. The imprint was well-centered but the side letters of the reverse are not printed. It seems a portion from the bulla has been chipped.

*Ed.* Jordanov, Plovdiv, no. 8; Йорданов, Севаст, № 10.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Inscription of four lines:

+ | .ΦΡΑΓΙC | CΕΡΑΕϠΟV | Τ8 Δ8ΚΑΓΕ | ΩΡΓΙΟV | --

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

ΔΙΕVΛΑ | ..ΙΑΝ8ΦΕ | ΡΕΙΘ.ΙΟVС | ΤVΠΙΟVС | --

+ [Σ]φραγίς σεβαστοῦ τοῦ Δούκα Γεωργίου  
δι' εὐλά[βε]ιαν οὐ φέρει θ(ε)ίους τύπους

The owner of the seal affixed to the correspondence to a recipient unknown to us, the sebastos George Doukas, is unknown from other sources. The dating of the seal is to the end of the XIIth or the beginning of the XIIIth c.

### 199. Γρηγόριος Δούκας (XI/XII c.)

Private collection (G. Gulabov from, Sofia). Offered for purchase to the National Historical Museum, Sofia. A cast of the original. The original or the better cast was offered in 1988 at the auctions Hirsch (Munich) 158, Nr.779 and Münz Zentrum (Cologne) 65, Nr. 1875). Uncertain find-spot, but in any case the original comes from Bulgaria. D.26.5-31.5. Incomplete imprint. Some letters or parts of them are out of the blank.

*Unpublished.*

*Parallels:* Hermitage (M-8005), see Лихачев, Моливдовулы, LXII.6; Sode, Berlin, II, no. 347; Museum of Manisa, no. 7340, see Cheynet, Manisa, p. 265, no. 4.

*Obv.* Bust of St. Theodore holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription:

Θ- Θ-ΕΟ || Δ-Ω-ΡΟ' : 'Ο ἅγιος Θεόδωρο(ς).

*Rev.* Inscription of seven lines:

+ CON | ΓΡΙΓΟΡΙΟΝ | ΟΙΚΕΤΗΝCΩ | CONΛΟΓ'ΤΟΝ | Δ8ΚΑΛΙΤΑΙC |  
ΜΑΡΤΥΡ'ΘΕ | ΟΔΩΡ8

+ Σὸν Γριγόριον οἰκέτην σῶσον, Λόγ(ε), τὸν Δοῦκα λιταῖς μάρτυρ(ος) Θεοδώρου

In the publication of the original or the better-quality cast (see **Kulick, A.** Gregorios Dukas, ein bisher unbekannter Byzantiner des 11. Jahrhunderts.- *GN* [Geldgesch. Nachrichten], 130, March 1989, p. 93), the conclusion has been drawn that this was a representative of the Doukas family unknown from any other sources.

In the bibliographical reference, W. Seibt does not rule out the possibility that the position δοῦκα was written instead of the family name Δοῦκα (see *SBS*, 3, p. 159).

An unpublished lead seal of the same person, but struck in a different boulloterion is preserved in Fogg, A. M. No. 708.

*Obv.* Bust of St. Theodore as above. Vertical inscription: Θ- ΘΕ-Ο-ΔΩ || ...

*Rev.* +|CΟΓΓΡΗ | ΓΟΡΙΟΝΟΙ | ΚΕΤΗΝCΩ | CONΛΟΓΕΤΟΝ | .8ΚΑΛΙΤΑΙC |  
ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟC | ΘΕΟΔΩΡ.

## 200. Ἰωάννης Δούκας σεβαστὸς (1090s).

National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 25316. Found on the sea coast in Sozopol. D. 21-23 (?) 2.5 mm.

Incomplete imprint. Only very small sections of the depiction of both saints and still smaller sections of the letters are printed. Nevertheless, this is the whole bulla once affixed to its owner's correspondence to Sozopol, where the whole seal was perhaps well-known and the correspondence was taken without reservation.

*Ed.* Йорданов, *Севастии*, № 17.

*Parallels:* An unpublished bulla struck in the same pair of dies is preserved in Fogg A. M. no. 1926. On its basis, we can do the completion and reading of our specimen. Two other specimens of the same type are also known, but their texts are incomplete, thus their reading was difficult. They were struck in a different boulloterion or a different pair of dies. (The one is from the study of antique numismatics in Vienna, no. 16 and the other is from the private collection of Mr. O'Hara from London, no. 68. Their publisher **Seibt**, *Bleisiegel*, no. 39 has combined the preserved inscriptions but they still were insufficient to read the whole inscription.)

*Obv.* Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Inscription within two borders of dots: .CΕΠΤ ..... = [+] Σεπτ[ῆ ζυνωρίς τῶν σοφῶν ἀνθηφόρ(ων)]

*Rev.* Bust of St. Demetrios holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Only the r. half and part of the inscription containing his name are preserved ...|| TP-I. Around the depiction, inscription between two borders of dots:  
..... ΤΕΔΟΝΚ ..... =[+σκέποι] τε Δούκ[αν σεβαστὸν Ἰω(άννην)]

The Dumbarton Oaks collection contains a lead seal (Fogg, A. M., no. 1092) close to the one presented above:

*Obv.* Two standing saints (Sts. Nicholas and Prokopios ?) raising their hands up towards Christ in the center. Circular inscription : .CΦΡΑΓΙCΜΑΔ8ΚΟCΙΩΑΝΝ...

*Rev.* Two standing saints (St. Demetrios and St. George) raising hands up towards the Virgin in the center. Circular inscription: ΚΑΙΠΟΡΦΥΡΑΝΘ8CΕVCΕΡ8C....

The Dumbarton Oaks collection contains another unpublished lead seal ((DO. 58. 106. 2382) which perhaps is connected with the presented one:

*Obv.* Bust of St. Demetrios holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription:  
Θ-ΔΗ-ΜΗ || T-ΠΙ-ΟC

*Rev.* + ΚΕΡ'Θ'|ΤΩCΩΔ8Λ'| ἸΩΚ8ΡΟΑΠΙΑ | ΛΑΤΗΤΩ | Δ8ΚΑ

The owner of the seal affixed to a correspondence received in Sozopolis is the sebastos John from the Doukas family. It was one of the ruling families almost until the decline of the Empire, and many of its representatives were named John.

The dating of the present bulla is generally to the late XIth or the early XIIth c., from which time only one sebastos with the name John Doukas is known (information on his life, excerpted from various sources, see in **Polemis**, *Doukai*, no. 25).

John Doukas was the second son of Andronikos Doukas and grandson of the caesar John Doukas, who on his part was brother of Emperor Constantine X Doukas (1059-1067). His mother was Maria, daughter of the son of the last Bulgarian tzar John Vladislav, Trajan. Anna Komnene says about her: " for the latter [Maria] was descended from one of the first families of Bulgaria and was so attractive by reason of the beauty and grace of limbs and features that she was considered the most beautiful of all the woman then living (*Alexiade*, I, 80.26-31; *Alexiad*, tr. *Dawes*, p. 56).

Andronikos Doukas and Maria, John Vladislav's granddaughter, had two sons, Michael and John, and three daughters, Irene, married to the future Emperor Alexios I Komnenos, Anna, married to George Palaiologos, and Theodora, who became a nun at an early age.

John Doukas was born ca. 1064, but still young he took active part in important events of the Empire. He participated actively in Alexios Komnenos' coup d'etat along with his grandfather, and in spite of his youth, as Anna Komnene emphasizes, he acted wisely and decisively.

In 1085, he was appointed doux of Dyrrachium and, according to Anna Komnene, spent eleven years there taking many of the fortresses under Bolkan's government and managing to capture Bodinus (see *Alexiade*, II, 115.7-20).

It seems that Anna Komnene was not right in her calculations, because in 1091 John Doukas was summoned to the capital by the emperor and appointed grand doux of the fleet, and dispatched against the Seljuk Tzachas, who had already conquered the Mitylene islands and Chios (see *Alexiade*, II, 115-116). After eliminating this threat, there was the revolt on Crete led by a certain Karykes. John Doukas, according to Anna Komnene, stayed only a few days in the capital and was dispatched to suppress this riot, and also that of the rebellious doux of Cyprus. Soon he regained the emperor's authority in this part of the Empire (see *Alexiade*, II, 162.11-18).

He was one of the participants in the Blachernae Synod of 1094. His name was placed immediately after that of the emperor's brother Adrian and that of his elder brother, the sebastos and protostrator Micheal Doukas. John Doukas was in his capacity as σεβαστὸς καὶ μέγας δούξ (see **Gautier**, *Blachernes*, p. 217.7).

In 1097, John Doukas had an important role in defending the imperial interests in Asia Minor in connection to the First Crusade (see *Alexiade*, III, 24-25).

It seems that his military career ended at the turn of the century, since his name was no longer mentioned among those of the serving military commanders. Some investigators are inclined to assume that he was also involved in the riot of the Anemas brothers (see **Seibt**, *Bleisiegel*, p.137).

In 1110/1118, when the empress Eirene Komnene wrote the Typikon of the monastery Kecharitomene, John Doukas was alive but had embraced monastic life with the name of Antonios (see *PG.*, 127, col. 1096B; **Polemis**, *Doukai*, p. 69).

The last mention of his name, already as a deceased, is in the typikon of the Pantokrator, where he is referred to as τοῦ ἐτέρου θείου τοῦ μεγάλου δουκός (see **Gautier**, *Typikon*



Pantocrator, p. 43.234; 239.22; 254.22).

A few letters of Theophylaktos of Ohrid are addressed to the sebastos John Doukas (see **Theophylakte d'Achrida**, *Lettres*, nos. 8, 17, 23, 26). They are dated to the period 1091/1092. This dating and their content, connected with bringing settlements of Pelagonia into the archbishop's possession, gave grounds for V. Zlatarski to assume that John Doukas was at that time governor of the theme Bulgaria. This assumption does not find corroboration in the existing sources. Most of the investigators are likely to assume that the correspondence of archbishop Theophylaktos of Ohrid to the sebastos John Doukas was sent during his stay in Dyrrachion or later, when he was *megas doux* and using his influence could have been of service to the archbishop (see **Polemis**, *Doukai*, p. 70).

Of course, our aim is not tracing John Doukas' biography, but rather trying to determine at what particular point of it he sent his correspondence to Sozopol, and to whom it was addressed.

First of all, we need to date his seal. The title sebastos has a key role in this line. Most of the investigators tend to assume that he was introduced to this rank after 1091/1092, since he was reported with this title at that time at the earliest (see **Polemis**, *Doukai*, p. 69). Others however are likely to accept that it happened in 1085 or 1081, at Alexios I Komnenos' ascension (see **Seibt**, *Bleisiegel*, p. 137).

I lean toward the former viewpoint, not only because in 1081 John Doukas was rather young, but because at the time (ca. 1094) one of the emperor's close associates and brother-in-law, George Palaiologos, was also introduced to this rank.

Even if we accept the possibility that John Doukas was introduced to the rank of sebastoi as early as the 80s of the XIth c., until 1091 he was *doux* of Dyrrachion followed by *megas doux* of the fleet. These positions would have by all means been inscribed on his seals of that time. Thus it is more likely that his seal affixed to the correspondence to Sozopol stems from the period after 1097, when he retired from active military service (whether voluntarily or under compulsion is already a different matter).

The purpose of the information hitherto presented is to answer or at least to make an assumption on the question: to whom in Sozopol was the correspondence of the sebastos John Doukas addressed? No certain answer is possible, but the following facts are perhaps not accidental:

a) a seal of the kouropalates George Dekanos, also mentioned in the Typikon of Pantokrator, was found in Sozopol;

b) the metropolitan bishop of Chalcedon, Leo (on him see *Alexiade*, II, 11-13; **Skoulatos**, *Personnages*, no. 112), was in exile in Sozopol in the period 1085/86-1094/95 and there was an exchange of correspondence between him and sebastos John Doukas' mother, the Bulgarian Maria (on her see **Grumel**, *Regestes*, no. 957; **Gautier**, Typikon Pantocrator, p. 248.6). Probably in this letter the prelate of Chalcedon requested something which was within sebastos John Doukas' powers to provide, and his letter to Sozopol might have been precisely in reply to this request.

## 201. Κωνσταντῖνος Δούκας σεβαστὸς (XII/XIII c.)

Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia, no. 144. Find-spot: uncertain. I have documented its photocopy in Vienna. It appears to be in a poor state of preservation. Its letters are corroded and indistinct.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Севастии*, № 22.

Parallels: **Konstantopoulos**, no. 429d; **Stavrakos**, no. 70 (struck in the same boulloterion and in the same

state of preservation); **Zacos**, III, no. 1770 (struck in a different boulloterion or a different pair of dies, in a superb state of preservation).

Obv. St. George on horseback r., holding a spear on shoulder (r. hand) and the lead (l. hand). On either side of his head, an inscription of horizontal lines: Θ-Γ-Ε-Ω || Γ.-.. : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Γεώργ[ιος].

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

+|.ΦΡΑΓΙCMA | .ΟΥΚΑCΕΡΑϣ8 | ΚΩΝϣANTIN8 | ΟΝΠΕΡΑΘΛΗΤΑ |  
ΕΚΠΙACHCΡΛΑ | ...ΡVOV  
[Σ]φράγισμα [Δ]ούκα σεβαστοῦ Κωνσταντίνου ὄνπερ, ἀθλητᾶ, ἐκ πάσης  
βλά[βης] ῥύου

His identification with a particular member of the Doukas family is difficult due to the existence of a large number bearing this proper name and title. The dating of the bulla is to the XIIth-XIIIth centuries.

## 202. Κωνσταντῖνος Ν., ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς μεγάλης εταιρείας (XI c.)

Private collection. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 24-24 mm. Incomplete imprint which renders the reading of the patronym difficult. In addition to the suggested completion, it is also possible that the family Doukas is concerned.

Unpublished.

No parallels known

Obv. Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a round shield (l. hand). Traces of a vertical inscription in two columns: Θ-ΓΕ-ΟΡ || ... : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Γεόργ[ιος].

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΚΩΝCΤΑΝ | ..ΕΠΙΤ'ΜΕ | ..Ρ'ΤΟΔ. | - ..ΚΑ -  
Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Κωνσταν(τίνω) [τῷ] ἐπὶ τ(ῆς) μ(ε)γ(άλ)ης ἐ[τε]ρ(ί)ας το  
Δ(ε)[ρ]μο[κ]α(ίτη) or Δ[ού]κα or some thing else.

## 203. Λέων Δούκας πρόεδρος (third quarter, XI c.)

Historical Museum, Pernik, no. 353. Found in the stronghold near the town, 14.06.1968. sq. VI/281, depth - 0.20-0.40, D.21-21 (18) 5 mm. A good imprint and a bulla in a good state of preservation.

Ed. **Юркова**, *Перник*, II, 120-121, табл. II.6.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Niketas holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription: Θ-NI-KH || T-A-C : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Νικήτας.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΛΕΟΝΤΙ | ΠΡΟΕΔΡ' | ΤΩΔ8Κ | - Α -  
+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Λέοντι προέδρ(ω) τῷ Δούκα

Among the numerous representatives of the Doukas family, none is known bearing this name. In fact the name Leo Doukas, a priest who lived in Calabria, is attested in a local document dating from 1115/1126 (see **Polemī**, *Doukai*, p. 190, no. 216). There is a little likelihood for the owner of the seal to be identified with this Leo.

#### 204-206. Νικηφόρος Δούκας σεβαστός (XII c.)

a. Archaeological Museum, Plovdiv, no. 2441. Found by a citizen of the town and delivered in the museum in 1942. D. 29-29 (30) 3 mm. W. 17.75 g. Blank smaller than diameter of the dies.

Ed. **Jordanov**, Plovdiv, no. 31; **Йорданов**, Севастия, № 31.

b. Archaeological Museum, Plovdiv, no. 5447. D. 26-28 mm. W. 12.28 g. Well-centered but unsuccessful imprint. Indistinct letters. The identification is based on the other two specimens.

Ed. **Jordanov**, Plovdiv, no. 32; **Йорданов**, Севастия, № 32.

c. National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 30073. Find-spot: the stronghold near the village of Dobri Dol, Plovdiv region. D. 31-31 (30) 3.5 mm. Superb imprint and a seal in fine condition.

Ed. **Jordanov**, Plovdiv, no. 33; **Йорданов**, Севастия, № 33; **Jordanov**, Dobri Dol, no. 20.

The three specimens were struck in the same boulloterion.

Parallels : unpublished lead seal from DO. 58. 106. 1658.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion of Christ on her breast. Sigla:  $\overline{\text{MP}} \parallel \overline{\text{ΘV}}$  : Μ(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ.

Rev. Inscription of seven lines.

.+. | CΦΡΑΓΙC | CΕΡΑϣ'8ΝΙΚΗ| ΦΟΡ8Τ8Δ8ΚΑ | ΡΙΖΑΝΓΕΝΟVC |

ΕΧΟΝΤΟCΕΚ | ΡΑCΙΑΕ | ΩΝ

+Σφραγὶς σεβαστοῦ Νικηφόρου τοῦ Δούκα ρίζαν γένους ἔχοντος ἐκ βασιλέων

In the Dumbarton Oaks collections, there are two specimens (DO. 55. 1. 4027 and Shaw, no. 1142) with the same iconography and text, but from different boulloteria.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans as above.

Rev. +CΦΡΑ | ΓΙC CΕΡΑϣ'8 | ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡ8Τ8 | Δ8ΚΑΡΙΖΑΝ | ..NOVCΕΧΟΝ | .ΟCΕΚΡΑCΙ | ΛΕΩΝ

In the collection of the Athens Numismatic Museum (see **Konstantopoulos**, no. 496b; **Stavrakos**, no. 77) and Dumbarton Oaks (DO. 58. 106. 507; 58. 106. 1346 and 58. 106. 1347) there are four lead seals with the exact by the same text on both sides.

Again in the DO. 58. 106. 2278 are kept the bulla of the same person but with a different text:

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans as above.

Rev. +| CΦΡΑΓΙC | CΕΡΑϣ'.. | ΝΙΚΗΦ... | Τ8Δ8ΚΑ

In the prosopographical study on the family Doukai, there are two persons identified bearing this personal name: the first was born around 1240, died ca. 1290 and was governor of Epirus with the rank of despotes (see **Polemī**, *Doukai*, no. 49). The second was also despotes, but lived in the XIVth c. (see **Polemī**, *Doukai*, no. 57).

The present seal can be generally dated to the XIIth c., and its owner cannot be identified with the above-indicated persons bearing the name Nikephoros. We must therefore search for some other representative of the Doukas family from the XIIth c. also a member of the imperial family.

The literature contains another group of seals with a text analogous to our case here, the only difference being the first name, which is John. Their owner can be identified as the son of Andronikos Doukas and Maria the granddaughter of the Bulgarian ruler tzar John Vladislav,

nephew of Emperor Constantine X Duka (1059-1067) and brother-in-law of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos, who deservedly wrote the following on his seals: ρίζαν γένους ἔχοντος ἐκ βασιλέων. (see **Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, 428-429; **Laurent**, *Bulles metriques*, no. 440).

It cannot be ruled out that this John Doukas may have had a brother (unknown to us) with the same position in the imperial court hierarchy. It is not particularly surprising to find three lead seals belonging to a representative of the Doukas family from the end of the XIth or the beginning of the XIIth c. in the region of Philippopolis. In the Alexiad and other sources, we can find convincing evidence that the emperor, accompanied by his relations and friends, paid frequent visits to Philippopolis. In that connection, it is possible that sebastos Nikephoros Doukas did indeed write to a relative or friend who was together with the emperor in the area of Plovdiv and the stronghold near Dobri Dol, Plovdiv region.

#### 207. Ἰωάννης Δουκίτζης πατρίκιος (1050s-1060s)

Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 2386. Found in the course of field work in Preslav, Pod Manastira locality in the Outer city. D. 23-25 (22?) 3 mm. W. 9.90 g. Good imprint, covered with white patina; a fragment broken.

Ed. **Маслев**, Печати, 455-456; **Тотев**, Новооткрити печати, с. 290, № 3; **Йорданов**, Преслав, № 78.

No parallels known.

Obv. The Virgin standing on a souppedion, her arm extended upward toward the Manus Dei that should appear in the upper left side of the field. Sigla: MP || .. : Μ(ήτη)ρ [Θ(εο)ῦ].

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

- + - | .ΚΕΡ. | ΗΘΕΠΩ | ΠΡΙΤΩΔ8 | ΚΙΤΖΙ | - ο -

+ [Θ(εοτό)] κε β[ο]ήθει Ἰω(άννη) π(ατ)ρι(κίω) τῷ Δουκίτζι

In my research cited above, I conducted a critical review of the previous publications. The dating of the bulla was corrected within the period 1050s-1060s. The assumption already made on the identification of the owner of the seal with John Doukitzes, katepano of Edessa, known from Eustathios Boilas' testament, dated 1059, was not ruled out (see **Polemī**, *Doukai*, no. 13, pp. 35, 207; **Lemerle**, *Cinq*, p. 40, n. 6).

Now I add the recent information that could apply to this dignitary: an unpublished bulla of the following description is preserved in the Dumbarton Oaks collection (DO. 58. 106. 2530):

Obv. Bust of the Virgin holding Christ on r. arm.

Rev. .ΚΕΡ'Θ' | .ΩΑ'CΠΑ | Θ'Ρ'ΕΠΗΤ | ΜΑΓΛΑΡ | ΤΟ Δ8Κ | -Ts-

= [Θ(εοτό)] κε β(οή)θ(ει) [Ἰ]ω(άννη) (πρωτο)σπαθαρίω ἐπὶ τ(οῦ) μαγλαβ(ίου) το Δουκ(ί)τζ(η)

A seal of the following description is also preserved in Dumbarton Oaks, but this time in the Fogg collection no. 845:

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans holding a medallion of Christ before her.

Rev. ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ἸΩΝΠΙΑΤΩ | SCTPATHΓ. | .ΑCΤΟΠΙ. | .ΩΔ8Κ. | TZ

= Θ(εοτό) κε β(οή)θ(ει) Ἰω(άννη) ὑπάτω (καὶ) στρατηγ[ῶ Κ]αστορί[α τ]ῷ Δουκ[ί]τζ(η)

His patronym is not very well preserved, which makes its publishers somewhat uncertain as to its reading (see **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 1, no. 23, 1).

If we accept that these are the seals of the same John Doukitzes, they reflect an earlier stage in his career.

Close in dating to the seal from Preslav is that of Michael Doukitze's in Zacos' unpublished collection with family names (Zacos, III, no. 1458):

*Obv.* Bust of St. Michael with ruler's insignia.

*Rev.* + ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8' | ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΠΡ' | ΑΝΘΝΠΙΑΤΩ | SCTPATHΓΩ | .ΩΔ8ΚΙ | TZ  
= +Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δού(λω) Μιχαήλ π(ατ)ρι(κίω) ἀνθυπάτω (καὶ)  
στρατηγῷ [τ]ῷ Δουκίτζ(η)

Probably the same Michael Doukitzes was the owner of another unpublished seal, whose negative is kept in the photo-archive in Vienna.

*Obv.* Bust of archangel Michael with ruler's insignia.

*Rev.* + | ΛΟΓ8C | CΦΡΑΓΙΖ | ΕΔΟΚΙΤ' | ΠΡ' | ΚΙ | 8

## 208. Δραζιμυρ ? πρωτοσπαθάριος-ὑπάτος καὶ ἄνθρωπος or πρωτονοτάριος τοῦ κουροπαλάτου καὶ δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως (1057-1067)

Private collection (Pavlin Stoinov from Trojan). Find-spot: near the road station Preasidium Montemno in the Balkan. D. 30-30 (?) 2-3 mm. The imprint is complete (with the exception of some peripheral letters) and it is well preserved.

*Ed. Jordanov, G. Names*, no. 26. 8; *Стойнов, П. - Минало*, 3, 2003, 14-18

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* St. George standing, holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand on a round shield resting on the ground. Vertical inscription in two columns: .ΓΕ-ΩΡ ΠΙ-Ο' || Ο.ΛΑΠΕ-ΛΙ-Τ'

*Rev.* Inscription of seven lines followed by an ornament:

? | +ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΔΡΑΖΙΜΗΡ | Α'CΠΑΘ'ΝΠΙΑΤ | SANO'T8K8. | ΠΑΛΑΤ'ΣΔΟΜ |  
CΤΗΚΟΤΗC | ΔVCEOC | -✕-  
+Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Δραζιμυρ (πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίω) ὑπάτ(ω) (καὶ) ἀνθ(ρώπω)  
τοῦ κου[ρ(ο)]παλάτ(ου) (καὶ) δομεστήκο τῆς Δύσεος

I have not seen the original copy but the seal is rather unusual.

First of all, I am not aware of such an epithet of St. George: Ο.ΛΑΠΕ-ΛΙ-Τ'. The letters are not sufficiently clear to provide any reading.

The personal name of the owner of the seal is also unusual. The first letter in it is not well preserved but probably refers to Δραζιμυρ, i.e. a Slavonic or Bulgarian name which so far has not been attested in such an early period.

The office of this Δραζιμυρ is not clear either. It consists of the following letters: SANO. In fact, the third letter is crucial. It could be O but Θ as well. If the first reading is accepted, Δραζιμυρ is (πρωτο)νοτ(άριος) of the kouropalates and domestikos of the western schools. I am not aware that the kouropalatoi had protonotarioi. Therefore I suggest that it refers to ἄνθρωπος of the kouropalates who was at the same time domestikos of the western schools. Such a kouropalates and domestikos of the western school is known - John Komnenos, brother of emperor Isaac Komnenos (1057-1059). His seals are also known (see **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 1, no 1.18.). It is quite acceptable that a domestikos of the western schools who was brother of the emperor should have his own ἄνθρωπος. Interesting is the coincidence between the seal represented here and the one of John Komnenos. Both their reverses feature St. George.

## 209. Μιχαήλ Δρύμις πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ τοποτηρητής τῶν ἐλαδικῶν, ἐξκουβίτων (XI c.)

National Archaeological Museum, Sofia, no. 93. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 19-21 mm. Incomplete imprint and badly preserved bulla. Its upper part is holed.

*Ed. Jordanov, G. Names*, no. 27.1.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of St. Theodore holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription in two columns: Θ-ΘΕ-Ο || ... : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Θεό[δωρ(ος)].

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

ΜΙΧΑΗΛ | .CΠΑΘ'ΣΤΟ | ..ΤΕΡ'Τ'ΤΟ. | ΕΛΑΔΙΚ' ΕΞ | Κ8RITΩΝΟ | ΔΡVMIC  
Μιχαήλ [(πρωτο)]σπαθ(άριος) (καὶ) το[πο]τερ(ητής) τὸ[v] ἐλαδικ(ῶν)  
ἐξκουβίτων ὁ Δρύμις

Michael Drymis is unknown from the narrative sources.

The XI<sup>th</sup> century knows the following representatives of this family:

1. N. Δρύμις who lived in the mid-XI<sup>th</sup> century. The letters of Michael Psellos leave the impression that he was an aristocrat and maybe a land owner (see **Psellos**, *S. M.* 2, no.42, p. 69.17).

2. Λέων Δρύμις is evidenced only by his seals which form the following cursus honorum (see **Йорданов, Леон Дрим**, 145-149):

a. σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος καὶ στρατιγός (1030s), according to his unpublished lead seal kept in Vienna (MK, no. 383, see **Wassiliou, Seibt**, no. 292);

b. πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατιγός (1040s), according to one lead seals kept at IFEB (no. 164, see **Cheyne**, Saint George, p. 117);

c. πρωτοσπαθάριος ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοτρικλίνου καὶ στρατιγός (1040s-1050s), according to his unpublished lead seal from collection of L. Zarnitz, no. 153.

*Obv.* .... | . ΘΕΙΤ Ω | CΩΔ8Λ | ΛΕΩΝ | -T-

*Rev.* Α'CΠΑΘΑ | Ρ'ΣΕΠΙΤ'Χ | SCTPAT | Γ'Τ'ΔΡ' | Μ'

d. ἀνθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ κατεπάνω Δρίστρας (1050-?), according to his lead seal from Auction Münz Zentrum, Cologne, 100 (08-10. 09. 1999), Lot 818, S.62, no. 105 (only *Rev.*).

e. βέστης καὶ κατεπάνω Βουλγαρίας (1050s-1060s), according to his lead seal from Vienna (MK, no. 194), see **Mordtmann**, *Europe*, p.145, no. 4 ; **Laurent**, *Bulletin*, I, 611-614; **Wassilou, Seibt**, no. 278.

f. private person (second half of the XI<sup>th</sup> c.), according to an unpublished lead seal from DO. 58. 106. 4848.

*Obv.* Bust of St. Michael holding a scepter (r. hand) and a globus (l. hand).

*Rev.* ΚΕΡ'Θ' | .ΩCΩΔ | ΛΕΟΝΤΙ | ΤΟΔΡV | ΜΗ

## 210. Θεόδωρος Εἰρινικός (second half, XI c.)

Private collection (Jh. Biulbiulev, Harmanli). Find-spot: Silistra. It was offered for purchase at the Historical Museum, Stara Zagora, from where I obtained the cast. D. 19-21 (17) 2 mm. Incomplete and indistinct imprint.

*Unpublished.*

Obv. Bust of a military saint [St. Theodore], holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

. ΚΕ. | .ΩCΩΔ | .ΕΟΔΩΡ | Τ8ΕΡΙΝ | ΚΙ8

[+]**Κ**(ύρι)ε **β**(οή)θει **τ**ῷ **σ**ῷ **δ**(ούλ)ω **θ**(εοδ)ώρ(ω) τοῦ **Ε**(ι)ρινικοῦ

Among the representatives of the family Εἰρινικός, who lived mainly at the end of the XIIth and the beginning of the XIIIth centuries, some with the same homonym are also known:

1. Θεόδωρος Εἰρινικός σεβαστὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου, who has placed his signature under Alexios III Komnenos' charter, dated November 1197 (MM, VI, p. 139.9-10; *Actes Patmos*, I, no. 11, p. 107.60;111.13). Niketas Choniates used to emphasize on his rhetorical skills (**Choniates**, 492.54). He was in correspondence with Michael Choniates (**Choniates**, M. *Epistule*, nos. 63 and 75).

2. Θεόδωρος Εἰρινικός ὑπατος τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ λευίτης, according to three lead seals preserved in the collection Stamulles (see **Konstantopoulos**, *Stamulles*, no. 116; **Laurent**, *Bulles metr.*, no. 545), the Hermitage (M-10087, see **Šandrovskaia-Seibt**, no. 79) and DO. 55. 1. 4065. According to its latest publisher (**Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, no. 1180), he could be identified with the future patriarch of Nicaea.

3. Θεόδωρος Εἰρινικός, a private person from the end of the XIIth c., according to his unpublished seals in the collection of DO. 55. 1. 3011 and 55. 1. 3012.

Obv. St. Theodore Tiron standing frontally, holding a spear (r. hand), his l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground. Vertical inscription: O-A-Γ-I-O-C || ΘΕΟ- ΔΩΡΟ-ΟΤΗ

Rev. +|ΑΓΙΕΘΕ | ΟΔΩΡΕΟΗ | ΘΕΙΜΟΙΤΩCΩ | ΔΟΝ ΩΘΕΟ | ΔΩΡΩΤΩ<sup>4</sup> | ΡΗΝΙΚΩ | --

The main problem is whether it is possible to identify the owner of the seal from Silistra with some of the persons mentioned. In spite of the great temptation, our seal should not be dated later than the beginning of the XIIth c.

## 211. Ἰωάννης Ἐλεσβαάμ ἀνθύπατος, πατρίκιος καὶ κριτὴς Δρουγουβιτείας, (1050s-1060s).

Private collection (V. Pantaleev from Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 28-30 (28) 3 mm, W. 21.8 g. Complete imprint in a poor state of preservation.

Unpublished.

Parallels: **Лихачев**, *Богоматери*, c. 27, tabl. VII.12

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion of Christ before her.

Rev. Inscription of seven lines:

+ **ΚΕ**Ρ'Θ' | **ΤΩ**CΩΔ8Α' | **ΙΩΠΡΙ** | **ΑΝΘ**Ν | **ΠΑΤ**'**SKPITH** | **ΔΡ8Γ8RIT**' | **ΕΛΕCRA** | -AM -

+**Κ**(ύρι)ε **β**(οή)θει **τ**ῷ **σ**ῷ **δ**(ούλ)ω Ἰω(άν)νη **π**(ατ)ρι(κί)ω ἀνθυπάτ(ω) καὶ κριτῇ Δρουγουβιτείας **τ**ῷ Ἐλεσβαάμ

The Dumbarton Oaks collection contains a bulla (DO. 58. 106. 2869) of the same individual, issued when he was vestes, judge of the Velum of Thrace and Macedonias (see

**Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 1, no 43.8).

It reflects a later stage in the career of this dignitary. His patronym associates his origin with the Abisinian court.

## 212. Ἀργυρὸς Ἐλικιότης (second half, XI c.)

Private collection (Slavei Petrov, Haskovo). Found in Blesna stronghold near the present-day Dimitrovgrad. D.18-18 (16) 3.5 mm. A well-centered but incomplete imprint. Some of the letters did not print or are obliterated, which makes the reading of the whole seal difficult. The patronym is problematic. Its first letter is missing, if we assume that it is a standard text. The possible variants are many, so we do not present them here. If a better imprint should appear, it will solve this problem.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Theodore holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription:

Θ-ΘΕ-Ο || Δ-Ω-ΡΟ' : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Θεόδωρος.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ | **ΘΚΕ**Ρ'Θ' | **ΤΩ**CΩΔ8' | **ΑΡΓ**ΥΡΩ | **ΤΟΕ**ΛΙ | **ΚΟΤΙ**

+ **Θ**(εοτό)κε **β**(οή)θει **τ**ῷ **σ**ῷ **δ**(ούλ)ω Ἀργυρῷ το Ἐλικ(ι)ότι

## 213-213a. Βασίλειος Ἐξαβούλιτης (second half, XI c.)

a. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 22188. From the Strategia of Preslav. D. 18-20 (16) 3 mm. W. 8.60 g. Complete and a well-preserved specimen, but some letters are slightly effaced.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 401.

b. In a private collection (V. Panteleev, Varna). Find-spot: Preslav ? D. 24-22(17) mm. W. 13,3 g.

Well-centered but illegible imprint.

Unpublished..

Both specimens were struck in the same boulloterion.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. John the Baptist, blessing with his r. hand in front of his chest. Vertical inscription: Θ-I-Ω || A-N : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Ἰωάν(νης).

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+ **RACI** | **ΛΕΙΩ**ΤΩ | **ΕΞΑ**Ρ8 | **ΛΙΤΗ**

+ **Κ**(ύρι)ε **β**(οή)θει Βασιλείω τῷ Ἐξαβούλιτη

## 214. Μιχαήλ Ἐξαμιλίτης πρωτοσπαθάριος (XI c.)

Private collection. Offered for purchase at the National Historical Museum, Sofia, through the police. D. 20-24 mm. Incomplete imprint which makes the overall reading difficult.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion of Christ before her.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

**MIXAH.** | **Α**'**CΠΑΘ**' | **ΕΞΑ**ΜΙ | **ΛΙΤΗC**

Μιχαήλ[λ] (πρωτο)σπαθ(άριος) [ό]Ἐξαμιλίτης

The etymology of the family name Ἑξαμιλίτης derives from the name of the sixth milestone in Constantinople. A large number of representatives of this family in the civil, capital and provincial administrations are known (see **Каждан**, *Соч. состав.*, c. 193 and especially **Wassiliou**, Hexamilites, 243-261).

Michael Hexamilites is unknown from the narrative sources.

The collections of DO. 58. 106. 5507 and Zacos, III contain a seal of Michael Hexamilites in his capacity as kensor and judge of Paphlagonia, dated to the mid-XIth c., (see **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 4, no. 11.13; **Wassiliou**, Hexamilites, no.11).

Probably it belongs to the same person in a later stage of his career.

The collection of DO. 55.1.3053 contains a seal of a certain Μιχαήλ ὁ τοῦ Ἑξαμιλίτης, dated to the first half of the XI c. (see **Wassiliou**, Hexamilites, no. 5). In this case, it could apply to a nephew of someone from the Hexamilites family.

## 215. Θεοφύλακτος Ἐξουβίτος (XI c.)

Private collection (V. Pantelev from Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 21-23 (22) 4.5 mm. W. 10.00 g. Some letters remained out of the blank.

Unpublished.

*Parallels*: **Oikonomides**, N. Theophylakt Excubitus and his Crowned "Portrait": An Italian Rebel of the Late Xth Century? - *DChAE*, περ. Δ', 12 (1984-1986), 195-202; **Kresten, O. and W. Seibt**. Theophylaktos Exubitos (Kein "Italienischer Rebell des Späten 10. Jahrhunderts", *Sondern Μέγας Διερχόμενός* Unter Kaiser Manuel I. Komnenos) und Seine Siegel. - *JÖB*, 52, 2002, 231-241.

*Obv.* Inscription of four lines:

ΕΚCV | RITV | ΦΡΑΓΙC | -MA-

*Rev.* In center, a profile bust of a beardless man, turned right. He has curly hair and wears a dress probably a chlamys with elaborate drapery. Along a border of dots, circular inscription: Θεοφύλακτος

Ἐκσυβίτου [σ] φράγισμα Θεφίλακτου

There are considerable differences in the interpretation of this group of seals concerning both the dating and the position of the owner. It is due to the unusual iconography (the representation of a male figure in bust) and the inscription containing a mixture of Latin and Greek letters.

## 216. Δημήτριος Ἐπικερνής (XII c.)

Private collection in Haskovo. Found in the stronghold near the village of Shtit, Haskovo region. D. 35-35 (23.5) 4 mm. Complete imprint in a good state of preservation.

*Ed.* **Йорданов, Аладжов**, *Хасковско*, № 11.

*Parallels*: **Zacos**, *Seals*, II, no. 445.

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion of Christ on her breast. Sigla: ΜΡ || ΘΥ:  
Μ(ήτηρ) Θ(εο)ῦ.

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

+ | CΦΡΑΓΙC | ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙ | ΣΤΟΥΕΠΙ | ΚΕΡΝΗ

+ Σφραγίς Δημητρίου τοῦ Ἐπικέρνη

## 217. Λέων Ἐταιρειώτης μάγιστρος (second half, XI c.)

National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 24828. Comes from the stronghold near the village of Zlati Voyvoda, Sliven region. D. 15-16 (13) 4 mm. W. 3.03 g. Off-centered with parts of the inscription out of the blank, especially the last two lines, which makes the reading of the patronym difficult. At least two different patronyms could be restored from the letters available in the last two lines: that suggested above, whose etymology derives from the position ἑταιρειάρχης; CTAI| PIO=Σταιριο(της). Thus, its etymology could be connected with the settlement Stirion. For the seals of the monastery St. Louka of Sterion, see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, V.2, nos. 1261-1263, 1942.

*Ed.* **Jordanov**, Zlati Voyvoda, no. 16.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription:  
O-A-ΠΙ-O || Γ-Ε-Ω-Ρ-Γ' : Ὁ ἅγιος Γεώργιος(ος).

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΛΕΟΝΤΙ | ΜΑΓΙCΤΡ' | ΤΩΕΤΑΙ | ΡΙΟ

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θει Λέοντι μαγίστρ(ω) τῷ Ἐταιριό(τη)

## 218. Ἰωάννης Εὐγενιανός πρωτοσπαθάριος ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοτρίκλινου (XI c.)

Private collection (Stefan Bilik from Sofia). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 23-24 (20) 3.5 mm. W. 16.233 g. The last lines of the text are poorly printed and clipped.

*Ed.* **Билик**, *Фамилни имена*, № 6.

*Parallels*: **Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, p.655, no. 3; Unpublished from Zacos, III, no. 1488.

*Obv.* Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand).

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8' | ἸΩΑ'CΠΑΘ' | ΕΠΙΤ8ΧΓ | ΤΩΕΝΓΕ | ΝΙΑΝΩ

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δού(λω) Ἰω(άννη) (πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίω) ἐπὶ τοῦ χρ(υσοτρι)γ(κλίνου) τῷ Εὐγενιανῷ

John Eugenianos is unknown in the narrative sources. However, his seals are known:

1. An unpublished lead seal of the following description is preserved in the collection of L. Zarnitz (no. 354):

*Obv.* Bust of St. Nicholas as above.

*Rev.* ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ἸΩΑ'CΠΑΘ' | ΕCΜΟΓΡΑ | SK8MEPK' | P'ANTIOX' | ΤΩΕΝΓΕ | ΝΙΑΝΩ

2. An unpublished bulla with the following inscription is preserved in the collection of DO. 55. 1. 3019:

+ ΘΚΕ | ΡΟΗΘ.Ι | ΤΩCΩ.8 | ΛΩ - ἸΩ | ΤΩΕΝΓΕ | ΝΕΙΑ | ΝΩ

It is dated to the second half of the XIth c.

3. In the former collection of Schlumberger (see *Sig.*, p. 655, no. 2) and Zacos, III, no. 1408 of the following description:

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion.

*Rev.* CΦΡΑΓ' | ἸΩΤ8ΕV|ΓΕΝΙΑ|ΝΟV

It is dated to late XIth or the early XIIth century.

It could be assumed that the four groups of seals (the last with some reservation) belong to one and the same dignitary – John Eugenianos. They determine the following cursus



honorum:

- 1) πρωτοσπαθάριος θεσμογραφεὺς καὶ κομμερκιάριος Ἀντιοχείας.
- 2) πρωτοσπαθάριος ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοτρικλίνου.
- 3) as a private person.

For the seals of Romanos Eugenianos, see **Wassiloiu, Seibt**, no. 146.

## 219. N., Εὐγενιώτης (XII-XIII c.).

Private collection (N. Nikolov from Razgrad). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 33-35 (30) 2.5 mm, W. 15.24 g.  
Complete imprint in a very good state of preservation.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* St. John Chrysostomos frontally, blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand).  
Vertical inscription in two columns: Θ- ΙΩ || O-<sup>P</sup>X-MO-C : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Ἰω(άννης) ὁ  
Χρ(υσόστο)μος.

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

+ | ΦΕΡΩΝΥΜΟC | CHNΦVΛAKHN | ΘΕΑΝΜΑΚΑΡ | ΕΥΓΕΝΙΩΤΗ |  
ΠΡΟCΝΕΜΟΙC | ΧΡVСОРРО  
+ Φερώνυμος σὴν φυλακὴν Θε(ί)αν, μάκαρ, Εὐγενιώτη, προσνέμοις χρυσορρό

## 220-221-221a. Μωσέως Εὐλόγιος (XII c.)

a. Private collection in Haskovo. Found in the fortress near Dobri Dol. D. 22-24.5 (20) 2.2 mm. Well-centered but illegible imprint.

*Ed. Jordanov*, Dobri Dol, no. 18.

b. Private collection in Sofia. Same find-spot as the preceding. D.25-25 (20) 3 mm. Superb imprint in excellent condition.

*Ed. Jordanov*, Dobri Dol, no. 19.

Private collection (V. Stankov from Batak, no. 94). Find-spot: the fortress near the village of Melnitza, district of Elhovo. D.25-26 (21) . Complete imprint in a poor state of preservation.

*Unpublished.*

*The three specimens were struck in the same boulloterion.*

*Parallels:* another unpublished specimen, struck in the same boulloterion, is stored in DO. 58. 106. 4042.

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion of Christ on her breast. Sigla:  $\overline{MP}$  ||  $\overline{OV}$ :  
Μ(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ.

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines.

+ | CΦΡΑΓΙC | ΜΑΔΗΜΩ | CΕΩCT8ΕV | ΛΟΓΙ8  
+ Σφράγισμα δὴ Μωσέως τοῦ Εὐλογίου

## 222-223. Μιχαήλ Εὐστράτιος (late XI c.)

a. Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia, no. 131. Found in Selymbria in 1912. D. 22-22 mm. Complete and well-preserved imprint.

*Unpublished.*

b. Historical Museum, Shumen, no. 14857. Find-spot: the stronghold near the village of Vetren, disc. Silistra.  
D. 22-22 mm, W. 5.70 g. Complete and well-preserved imprint.

*Unpublished.*

*Both specimens were struck in the same boulloterion.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* St. Eustratios standing, holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground. Vertical inscription: O-A-ΓΙ-OC || Ε-V-CT-PA-TI : 'Ο ἄγιος Εὐστράτι(ος).

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

+ | CONEV | CTPATIE | ΜΙΧΑΗΛ | Δ8ΛΟΝ | CΚΕΠΟΙC  
+ Σὸν, Εὐστράτιε, Μιχαήλ δοῦλον σκέποις

## 224-225. Μανουήλ Ζηαλας πρόεδρος (1070s-1080s)

a. In a private collection. Find-spot: the stronghold near Dobri Dol. D. 23-24 (20-22) 2.5 mm. Imprint incomplete. Parts of the dies were not imprinted or are illegible. The patronym is the most difficult element to decipher.

*Ed. Jordanov*, Dobri Dol, no. 15.

b. Private collection, same source as the preceding. D. 20--20 mm. Imprint not complete. The blank was smaller than the die. Not imprinted are chiefly the first line and the first two letters of the patronym.

*Ed. Jordanov*, Dobri Dol, no.16.

*Both specimens were struck in the same boulloterion.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of St. Theodore holding a spear (r. hand) and a round shield (l. hand). Inscription in two columns: ....|| Δ-OP.. : ['Ο ἄ(γιος) Θεό]δορ[ος]

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines.

a) . . . . . | . . ΟΕΔΡ8ΜΑ | . 8ΗΛΤΟV | . ΗΑΛΑΗ

b) +CΦΡ.... | ΠΡΟΕΔΡ . . . | Ν8ΗΛΤΟV | ΖΗΑΛΑΗ

+ Σφρ[αγίς] προέδρου Μανουήλ τοῦ Ζηαλαη

With the uncertainty in the reading of the patronym, any attempt at identification is useless.

## 226. Νικόλαος Ζουναρᾶς κριτὴς Θράκης καὶ Μακεδονίας (last quarter, XI c.)

Private collection (V. Panteleev from Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 30-35 (30) ? mm. W. 19.5 g. The depiction of the obverse is completely obliterated and cut. The first letters of all lines on the reverse are missing.

*Ed. Jordanov*, *G. Names*, no. 35D.24.

*Parallels.* **Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, p. 162, no. 1. Now in the Hermitage (M-6044), see **Шандровская**, *Сфрагистика*, 703. In the Hermitage collection there are two other molibdobullae with the same type (M-125; M-10647), see : **Seibt**, *Bleisiegel*, S. 235, n.3.

*Obv.* Completely obliterated surface.

*Rev.* Inscription of seven lines:

+ ΘΚΕΡ'Θ'.ΙΚΟΛΑΩ |.ΡΙΤΗΘΡΑ |.ΙCΚΑΙΜΑ |.ΕΔΟΝΙΑC | ΤΩΖΟV |.ΑΡΑ

+ Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) [N]ικολάω [κ]ριτῇ Θρά[κ]ις καὶ Μα[κ]εδονίας τῷ

Ζουναρᾶ

If we accept that the patronym inscribed on the seal is Zonaras, members of this family named Nicholas are attested both in the narrative and sphragistic sources.

The signature of Νικόλαος Ζωναρᾶς πρωτοβεστάρχης, μέγας χαρτουλάριος, κριτὴς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου is placed on a pitakon of Anna Dalassena of the monastery

Christodoulos on the Patmos peninsula, dated to May 1088 (see *Actes Patmos*, I, no. 49, p. 346.323).

The name perhaps of another Nicholas Zonaras in his capacity as πρωτοασκριτής is attested in 1157 and 1176 (see **Grumel**, *Regestes*, no. 1041; *Actes Patmos*, I, no. 22, p. 221.31).

The following groups of seals with the name of Nicholas Zonaras are known, where he is:

1. μάγιστρος καὶ κριτῆς Θράκης καὶ Μακεδονίας (see **Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, p. 162, no. 2).

2. δρουγγάριος τῆς βίγλης (see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, no. 893).

3. νωβελίσσιμος, according to seals kept at Athens (see **Konstantopoulos**, no. 346; **Stavrakos**, no. 87); the Hermitage (see **Лихачев**, *Богоматери*, ап. 19, табл. 6, no. 12) and unpublished from Fogg, A. M. no. 1270; DO. 58. 106. 1409 and DO. 55. 1. 3442.

4. As a private person, according to an unpublished bulla in the Fogg collection, A. M. no. 1481.

*Obv.* Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand). Vertical inscription:

Θ-NI-K || Λ-AO-C

*Rev.* + KER'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8' | ΝΙΚΟΛΑΩ | ΤΩΖΩΝΑ | -PA-

They all are dated from the last quarter of the XIth c. to the beginning of the XIIth c., and thus could be related to the person of Nicholas Zonaras of 1088. They reflect earlier and later periods of his life.

## 227. Χριστοφόρος Ζωναράς (XI/XII c.)

Archaeological Museum, Plovdiv, no. III 207. Found in the town, on Sevastopol Str., and delivered in the museum by Chavdar Krustev Penchev on 19 March, 1972. D. 22.5-24.5 (19-20) 4.1 mm. Well-centered but weak imprint. A bulla in a very good state of preservation.

*Ed.* **Jordanov**, Plovdiv, no. 38.

*Parallels:* **Laurent**, *Bulles metriques*, no. 717 (Shaw 1310 (no. 1356); **Touratsoglou**, *Ritsos*, 227-228, pl. II; unpublished from DO. 58. 106. 3615. They are struck with the same pair of dies as our specimen.

*Obv.* The Virgin Hodegetria standing, holding Christ on l. arm. Sigla on either side:  $\overline{MP}$  ||  $\overline{\Theta V}$  : Μ(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ.

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

+ | CΩZOI | CAMΩME | ZONAPANX. | ΙΨΟΦΟΡΟΝ

+ Σώζοις Ἄμωμε Ζωναράν Χ[ρ]ιστοφόρον

According to the publisher of the first specimen, the owner of the seal Christophoros Zonaras has to be identified with the protoasekretis Chrisophoros Zonaras, known in the XIIth c. in connection with the advice he gave to his young son Demetrios before the latter took a decisive step in his career (see **Miller**, *Catalogue*, p. 215, fol. 454 r.; **Anders**, *Catalogo*, p. 128.52 (f. 454-457)).

The dating of the seal is difficult, but according to its iconography and ligature writing of C+T=  $\Psi$ , it should be no earlier than the beginning of the XIIth c.

The identification with the protoasekretis made above may not be completely certain, but is not impossible. We do not know the exact time when Christophoros Zonaras was protoasekretis, nor where his son was. But it is a fact that Christophoros Zonaras' seal was affixed to the correspondence received in Plovdiv. Whom it was sent to and when exactly is

hard to determine. In the sphere of conjectures, we could only speculate whether the young Demetrios was not perhaps in the service in Philippopolis.

## 228. Κωνσταντῖνος Θεοδωροκάνος πατρίκιος (1050s-1060s)

Archaeological center, Veliki Preslav, no. 107. Found in the dug-out soil in the course of excavations in the Inner City of Great Preslav, Palace Complex site, Eastern section on 1st August 2003. D. 24-26 (17) 4.5 mm. Once a good imprint; two holes: initially, one at the one end, made for suspension on something (perhaps the document), later holed in the center (an opening of 5-6 mm) and used as a weight of a spindle? The second opening has destroyed the letters of the proper and family name, which renders the reading of the text difficult. The restoration of the text is based on the parallel specimen cited below.

*Unpublished.*

*Parallels:* The Hermitage Collection (M-1799) contains another specimen, perhaps struck in the same boulloterion, see **Шандровская**, *Сфрагистика*, № 1729.

*Obv.* Inscription of four lines:

+ KERO | ΗΘΕΙΤΩ | C..ΛΩ | ...

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

-.- | ANΘV | ΠΑΤ.ΠΙ | ΤΩ... | ΔΟ... | -N'-

+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ[ει] τῷ σ[ῶ] δού[λ]ῳ [Κων(σταντίνω)] ἀνθυπάτ(ω)

[π(ατ)]ρι(κίω) τῷ [Θεο]δο[ροκ(ά)]ν(ω)

The seal is dated after 1050s at the earliest. Known are also other seals bearing the name of Constantine Theodorokanos:

1. A bulla of Constantine Theodorokanos in his capacity as patrikios is preserved in the Athens Numismatic Museum (see **Konstantopoulos**, no. 462; **Stavrakos**, no. 89)

2. Eight specimens bearing the name of Constantine Theodorokanos as a private person were found in Preslav and Silistra and at other places (see no. ).

Skylitzes Continuatus (**Scylitzes Continuatus**, 173.21-22) and the History of Michael Attaleiates report the name of proedros Constantine Theodorokanos, who at the time of Nikephoros Bryennios' revolt acted as his rival, for which Bryennios sent him into exile in some Macedonian towns, where he soon died (**Attaliates**, *Historia*, 247. 11-20; **Attaliates-Martin**, 178-179.25-6).

If we accept that all these data apply to one and the same person, they outline the following cursus honorum of Constantine Theodorokanos:

1. πατρίκιος (1050s-1060s)

2. ἀνθύπατος-πατρίκιος (1060s)

3. πρόεδρος (- 1078)

In this case too, the question about the dating of his seals as a private person also arises: Are they contemporary to the other seals or do they reflect a period, when he did not have any titles?

## 229-236. Κωνσταντῖνος Θεοδωροκάνος (second half, XI c.)

a. National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 15031. Find-spot: Silistra. D. 20-21 (18) 3 mm. A good imprint.

*Ed.* **Йорданов**, *Силистра*, I, № 9.

b. Historical Museum, Shumen, no. 14230. Find-spot: Silistra. D. 25-25 (18) 3 mm. Perhaps once a good imprint but later cut in the form of an even-armed cross and worn as such.

*Ed.* **Йорданов**, *Силистра*, III, № 10.

- c. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 18089. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 20-21 (18) 3 mm. W. 6.30 g. Good imprint but corroded.  
*Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 402.*  
 d. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 13829. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 19-19 (18) 3 mm. W. 7.01 g. Imprint in a poor state of preservation.  
*Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 403.*  
 e. Private collection (Jh. Biulbiulev from Harmanli). Find-spot: Silistra. D. 20-20 (18) 3.1 mm. Well-centered imprints but not of very good quality.  
*Unpublished.*  
 f. Private collection (Jh. Biulbiulev from Harmanli). Find-spot: Silistra. D. 20.5-20.5 (18) 3.1 mm. Well-centered imprints but not of very good quality.  
*Unpublished.*  
 g. Archaeological Museum, Sofia, with out inv. no. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 20-24 mm. Incomplete imprint with broken pieces.  
*Unpublished.*  
 h. In a private collection (V. Pantelev from Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. DO. 20-21 mm. Good and completely preserved imprint.  
*Unpublished.*  
*Parallels: Schlumberger, Sig., p. 707, no. 1; Laurent, Orghidan, no. 471; DO. 55. 1. 3354; Fogg A. M., no. 505, 1377; Schaw, nos. 1113-1114. They all have equal disposition of letters but different extra signs, suggesting that they are struck in at least three different boulloteria.*

*Obv.* Inscription of four lines:

+ ΘΚΕ | ΡΟΗΘΕΙ | ΤΩCΩΔ8 | -ΛΩ-

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

ΚΩΝ | ΤΩΘΕΟ | ΔΩΡΟΚΑ | -ΝΩ-

+ Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Κων(σταντίνῳ) τῷ Θεοδωροκάνῳ

On Constantine Theodorokanos' career, see no. 228 above.

### 237. Θεοφιλοπούλος (XIII c.)

Archaeological Museum, Plovdiv, no. 893. Found in Veliko Turnovo and donated in Plovdiv in 1936 by Dr. Nazlumov. D. 32-33 (28) 4 mm.

*Ed. Йорданов, И. Печат на Теофилопул - първата половина на XIII в., намерен във Велико Търново. - Известия на исторически музей Велико Търново, 14, 1999, 183-187.*

*Parallels:* Two bullae with the same depiction and text are preserved in the collection of Zacos, III, no. 1398/99-4; 1626/a. The first one is a superb imprint, struck in the same boulloterion as ours. Recently the same specimen was offered at an auction in London (**Cheyne**t, Zacos, III, no. 92).

*Obv.* St. Nikephoros standing facing, wearing a chain-mail and holding a spear on shoulder (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription: O ..... | ΚV-ΦΩ-ΡΟ-. : 'Ο [ἄγιος Νικυφόρο[ς]

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

+ | CΦΡΑΓΙC | ΜΑΓΡΑΦΩΝ | ΤΟΝΘΕΟΦΙΛ. | ΠΟΝΛΟΝ.

+ Σφράγισμα γραφῶν τοῦ Θεοφιλ[ο]πούλου[+]

Bullae with the same text and a slightly different lettering than the above, but with a different depiction of the obverse, are preserved in the collections of DO. 58. 106. 4311 and Fogg A. M. no. 1350.

*Obv.* St. George standing frontally. He props himself (r. hand) on a long spear and holds a

shield (l. hand), resting on the ground. Vertical inscription: O-A-ΓΙ-O-C || ΓΕ-ΩΡ-ΓΙ-ΟC.

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines, preceded by a decoration:

+ | CΦΡΑΓΙCΜΑ | ΓΡΑΦΩΝ | ΤΟΝΘΕΟΦΙΛΟ | ΠΟΝΛΟ |

Σφράγισμα γραφῶν τοῦ Θεοφιλοπούλου

It is obvious that both groups of seals belong to one and the same person, represented solely by his patronym Θεοφιλοπούλος.

Who is this Θεοφιλοπούλος, what do we know about him and can we explain the finding of his bulla in the Bulgarian capital Turnovo?

In his publication of the Zacos specimen, which is in a superb state of preservation, Cheynet emphasized several conclusions (**Cheyne**t, Zacos, III, no. 92):

1. The dating of the seal is to the first half of the XIIIth c.;

2. The image of St. Nikephoros is extremely rare on Byzantine seals, and with this iconography it is unknown. With our specimen it is not very distinct, but with that in the Zacos collection, the exceptionally fine engraving of the saint's effigy, details of his figure, face and dress are well discernible. Even every separate plate of his chain-mail and the folds of his cloak are represented very distinctly.

3. This iconography of the saint-warrior and the overall appearance of the seal gave grounds for Cheynet to assume that the owner of the seal Theophyloupoulos was one of the few Byzantines who switched to service with the Latins, after the latter had captured Constantinople and established their own empire there.

In this connection, the account of G. Akropolites on the policy of the Latin Emperor Henry of Flanders for involving Greeks in the imperial government deserves attention. See **Akropolites**. *Opera.*, vol.1, 28.12-29.11; **Akropolites** tr. **Macrides**, p.84, XVI).

...Henry, even though a Frank by birth, behaved quite graciously to the Roman inhabitants of Constantinople. He ranked many of them among his magnates, others [he enrolled] his soldiers, while he treated the populace as his own people. When he conquered the Roman towns of Lentiana and Poimanenon (in 1211) and found warlike men who acted in a brave spirit, he welcomed them as a god-send.

... All the rest Henry assembled and drew up into companies, assigning to them officers of their own race. He ordered George Theophyloupoulos to supervise them all and he entrusted them with the defence of the eastern districts (Bithynia).

A connection could be found between George Theophyloupoulos and the owner of the seal from Veliko Turnovo. They are either members of the same family or George Theophyloupoulos himself is the owner of the seal, playing a certain role in the Bulgarian-Latin relationships under Tzar Boril (1207-1218), when a peace treaty between Bulgaria and the Latin Empire was signed.

### 238. Ἰωάννης Ουλακᾱς σπαθαροκανδιδᾱτος (second half, XI c.)

Historical Museum, Iambol, no. II 4552. Found in the stronghold near the village of Zlati Voyvoda, Sliven region. D. 26-28 (22) 3.1 mm. W. 12.85 g. Poorly centered imprint. The imprint of the reverse is both off-centered and double-struck, which makes the reading difficult. The bulla itself is in a poor state of preservation and punctured with corrosion.

*Ed. Jordanov, Zlati Voyvoda, no.15.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand). Vertical inscription:

Θ-.-Κ-Ο || ..... : 'Ο ἄγιος [Νι]κό[λαος].

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

..ΕΡ'Θ' | ..CΠΑ | ...OKAN | ..ΤΩΘΝ | ΛΑΚ Α | - ο -

[+Κ(ύρι)]ε β(οήθει) [Ἰω(άννη)] σπα[θαρ]οκαν[δ(ι)δ(άτω)] τῷ Θυλακᾷ

The owner, whose seal was affixed to the correspondence to the stronghold near the village of Zlati Voyvoda, is Ἰωάννης Θυλακᾷ σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος. He is unknown from other sources.

Two bullae with the same names obverse but with different titles and positions are preserved in the collection of Fogg A. M., nos. 89 and 1224:

1) Ἰωάννης Θυλακᾷ σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος, ἀσηκρήτης καὶ κρητῆς Λικανδοῦ (see **Nesbitt**, *Overstruck Seals*, no. 25; **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 4, no. 53.2)

2) Ἰωάννης Θυλακᾷ βέστης, πατρίκιος ὑπατος καὶ κρητῆς Ὀψικίου – Dated to 1060s-1070s (see **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 3, no. 39.15).

The name of the judge Θυλακᾷ is reported in the acts of Peira (p. 57, XVI. 9). Presumably it is a patronym and it could be assumed that it applies to the same person.

It is obvious however that the three groups of seals belong to the same person and they outline the following cursus honorum:

1. σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος (mid-XI c.)

2. σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος, ἀσηκρήτης καὶ κρητῆς Λικανδοῦ (1050s)

3. βέστης, πατρίκιος ὑπατος καὶ κρητῆς Ὀψικίου (1060s-1070s)

To whom specifically in the stronghold near the village of Zlati Voyvoda and on what occasion Ἰωάννης Θυλακᾷ σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος wrote his letters remains an open question. Probably he wrote to a relative in service here.

### 239. Εἰρήνη Ἰασιτηνὴ (XII c.)

Historical Museum, Iambol, no. 5178. My information was that it comes from an unspecified settlement in the Topolovgrad region. Later it became clear that it refers to the village of Melnitsa, Elhovo region. D. 24-26.5 (19) 3.5 mm. The imprint was once in good condition, but now it is in a poor state of preservation. Corroded and holed in the center. The reconstruction of some sections of the text is problematic.

*Ed.* Йорданов, Тунджа-Марица, № 9. **Jordanov**, Melnitsa, no. 19.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans holding a medallion of Christ on her breast. Sigla:  $\overline{MP}$  ||  $\overline{\Theta V}$ : Μ(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ.

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

ΙΑCITH | Ν.ΝΕΙΡΗ | ΝΗ.ΑΓΝΗ | CΚΕΠΟΙ

Ἰασιτην[ή]ν Εἰρήνη[ν], Ἀγνή, σκέποι(ς)

The seal can be dated generally to the XIIth c. Its owner is Εἰρήνη Ἰασιτηνὴ. She is a representative of the family of Iasitai (on them, see no. 241).

In Marcian Codex 524 (σ. 129, ἀριθ. 113, φ. 46 β), it is reported that protonobelissimos Leo Rogerios, grandson of the sebastos and translator from Latin, married Irene of the family of Iasitai.

For the representatives of the family Rogerios, see no. 597 here.

Of those presented in the inquiry, it is most acceptable that protonobelissimos Leo Rogerios should be grandson of the sebastos Constantine Rogerios. With this construction, the time of his marriage must have been in the mid or the second half of the XIIth c., which does not rule out the possibility of Irene Iasitina from the seal to be identical to the one from the Marcian codex 524. According to the convention in Byzantium, she had kept her family name.

To whom in the stronghold near the present-day village of Melnitsa was the correspondence of Irene Iasitina sent? We can only speculate on this reasonable question. With the previous cases, the receipt of a noble lady's correspondence at a certain place has to do with the presence there of her husband, relatives or relations to the family.

### 240. Μιχαήλ Ἰασίτης μάγιστρος καὶ δοῦξ Ἀντιοχείας (?-1047)

Historical Museum, Iambol, no. 6023. Found near the village of Melnitsa in the Gradishteto locality by Dimitar Neychev from Elhovo in 1992. D. 29-34 mm. Fragment of a triangular shape.

*Ed.* **Jordanov**, Melnitsa, no. 39; **Jordanov**, *G. Names*, no. 6.1.

*Parallels:* **Cheyne**, *Zacos*, III, no. 40; **Cheyne**, *Les ducs d'Antioche*, 53-63.

*Obv.* Bust of St. Demetrios holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

*Rev.* Inscription of eight lines:

..ΕΡ. | ..CΩΔ. | ...ΑΗΛ | ...CTPΩ | ..8Κ'ANT | ..HACT. | .ACITH

[+Κ(ύρι)]ε β(οή)[θ(ε)] τῷ σῷ δ(ούλῳ) Μιχ[αήλ] [μαγ(ί)]στρω [(καὶ) δοук(ι)]

Ἀντ(ι)[οχ]ήας τῷ Ἰασίτῃ

Due to the fragmentary character of the specimen, the complete text cannot be read. It is chiefly connected with one or more toponyms. The reading I present above is influenced largely by the parallel specimen in the collection of Zacos. The same collection also contains another seal similar to the one presented (see Zacos, III, no. 1470):

*Obv.* Bust of St. Demetrios holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

*Rev.* .....|ΜΑΓΙCΤ...|...Τ'ΣΔ...|..CHCΔV...|OCTΩHA|CIT'

= [+ Μιχαήλ] μαγίστ[ρω βέστ]τ(η) (καὶ) δ[ουκ(ι)] πά[σης] Δύ[σε]ος τῷ Ἰασίτ(η)

The IFEB collection preserves a specimen of the following description:

*Obv.* Bust of St. Demetrios as above. Remains of a vertical inscription:....|T-PI-Ω-C

*Rev.* MIX...|CΠΑΘΑ...|ΔΔCCTP...|THΓ'TOH|ACHT'

It is possible to assume that all three groups of seals belong to the same person.

Who was Michael Iasites? His name is mentioned several times in Skylitzes. Information on him can also be found in the chronicle of Aristakes Lastivertzes: it is reported for 1037 that Ἰασίτης was katapano of Ἰβερίας (see **Skylitzes**, 402.7).

After the conquest of Ani, the capital of the Armenian Bagratids in 1045, Μιχαήλ βέστη τῷ Ἰασίτῃ was appointed doux of the city (see **Skylitzes**, 435.1). The name of the same person surfaces again in connection with the invasion by the emir of Dvin Abdul Sevar, called by the Byzantines Aplisfar, but then Michael Iasites was already βεστάρχης (see **Skylitzes**, 437. 37).

The next report on Iasites is in the Balkans and in connected with the rebellion by Leon Tornikios in 1047. After the latter was repulsed and driven from Constantinople, he returned to Arkadioupolis and set up his camp there. He soon laid siege unsuccessfully to Rhaidestos, and returned again to Arkadioupolis. "As soon as the troops of the east had crossed into Thrace from Chrysopolis and Abydus, the Emperor sent them into action against the apostates

with the magistros Michael Iasites (Μιχαήλ μάγιστρον τὸν Ἰασίτην) in command. He concentrated his forces in one body and encamped near the apostates, but did not let the battle commence; ...he treated the prisoners with kindness and discreetly sent a letter to [the apostates] announcing an amnesty of misdeeds and generous distribution of benefits" (see **Skylitzes**, 441.61-69). As a result of this far-sighted action by Michael Iasites, that continued on through the winter of 1047 and 1048, the followers of Leon Tornikios gradually abandoned his camp and defected to the side of the emperor. This is how that rebellion was finally suppressed.

If we assume that the seals presented above belonged to the same person, their texts supplement our knowledge about this general.

In the seal from IFEB, he is spatharokandidatos and strategos. It is clear these were his positions before 1045.

Yet how can we comment on his office in the specimens from the stronghold near the village of Melnitsa and the Zacos collection, III?

According to the publisher of the specimen, that was the position of Michael Iasites after the crushing of the rebellion of Leon Tornikios. This assumption would appear acceptable, but how then can we explain the receipt of communications from him in the Melnitsa stronghold in his capacity as doux of Antioch? It is possible that Skylitzes had the position of Michael Iasites as a duke of Antioch in mind, when he mentioned "the troops of the east". It is well-known that elite units from the eastern provinces were under the command of the doux of Antioch. It is possible to hypothesize that Michael Iasites arrived in the Balkans with that appointment, and in that capacity wrote to the commander of the garrison in the stronghold near the village of Melnitsa.

The third group of seals, if they indeed do relate to him, best reflects his position during the period of the Tornikios rebellion. He had been put in charge of all the armed forces of the Empire for a specific military campaign, i. e. δοῦξ πάσης Δύσεως.

Of course, it is not impossible that he was appointed doux of Antioch, a leading position in the Empire, after the events in the Balkans, and that he wrote to an acquaintance or relative who was in the garrison stationed in the stronghold near the village of Melnitsa.

#### 241. Νικήτας / Νικηφόρος Ἰασίτης πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγός (XI c.)

Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 21656. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 21-23 (23 ?) 2.5 mm. W. 8.05 g. Incomplete imprint, since the blank was smaller in diameter than the dies, which renders the reading of the text difficult.

Ed. **Йорданов, Преслав**, № 372.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Demetrios holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription: .-.-H || M-TP-H' : [ἸΟ ἄ(γιος) Δ]ημ(ή)τρη(ος).

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

.IKH. | A'CPAΘ'. | CTPATIG' | OHACI | -TI-

[N]ική[τ(ας)] / [N]ική[φ(όρος)] (πρωτο)σπαθα(άριος) [(καὶ)] στρατιγ(ός) ὁ Ἰασίτι(ς)

In his review, W. Seibt [BZ, no. 372] suggests a completion of the homonym [N]ική[τ(ας)], with the arguments that seals of Nikephoros Iasites with the iconographic subject of the Virgin are known. This could be an argument but it does not solve completely the dilemma.

The seals of the same Nikephoros in his capacity as strategos of Chersones are without iconographic subject.

The etymology of the name is connected with that of the town of Ἰασός in Karia (see **Amantos, K.** Ἰασίτης-Διασίτης.- *Hellenica*, 3, 1930, 208-209; **Laurent, V.** Σύμμεικτα.- *Hellenica*, 3, 1930, 529-531).

Which representatives of the Isaitai family of the XIth c. are known?

1. Ἀδράλεστος Ἰασίτης, a private person from the second half of the XIth c., attested by two different groups of seals:

a) **Konstantopoulos**, no. 621; **Stavrakos**, no. 92; **Koltsida-Makre**, no. 329 ( **Seibt, W., A-K. Wassiliou**, BZ, 91, 1998, S. 142) and unpublished from Wien MK no. 391; Эрмитаж M-6749; ANS Malbott no. 184 and Zacos, III.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion on her breast.

Rev. ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ' | ΑΔΡΑΛΕ | CΤΩΤΩ | ΙΑCΙΤ

b) an unpublished bulla in the collection of Zacos, III, no. 1472.

Obv. Bust of St. Demetrios holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (r. hand).

Rev. ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ' | ΑΔΡΑΛΕ | ΤΩΙΑCΙ | ΤΗ

2. Θεόδωρος Ἰασίτης, a private person from the third quarter of the XIth c., according to his bullae (see **Панченко**, Каталог, № 323 [M-3144]; **Laurent, Orghidan**, no. 432; unpublished from DO.5.1.3063).

3. Ἰωσήφ Ἰασίτης, amonk and First abbot of Christodoulos monastery on Patmos after 1093 and before 1118 (see **Branouse, E. A.** Πατμιακὰ - Γ. Ὁ καθηγούμενος τῆς Μονῆς Πάτμου Ἰωσήφ Ἰασίτης καὶ ἡ ἀρχαιότερη ἀναγραφὴ χειρογράφων τῆς μονῆς. - Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας.- 4, 1966, 345-352).

4. Κωνσταντῖνος Ἰασίτης.

a. πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων, according to his seal dated to the 1080s-1090s (see **Ebersolt**, C-ple, no. 481; **Laurent, Corpus**, II, no. 253);

b. κουροπαλάτης, according to the record of the Synod of 1094 (see **Gautier**, Blachernes, no. 6). The same was father of Michael Iasites, son-in-law of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos.

c. a private person according to his seal (second half of the XIth c.) from Shaw 1314 (no. 963).

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion on her breast.

Rev. + | ΘΚΕΡΟΗΘ' | ΤΩCΩΔΟΝ | ΛΩΚΩΝCΤΑΝ | ΤΙΝΩΤΩΙ | ΑCΙΤΙ

5. Λέων Ἰασίτης ἀνθύπατος, πατρίκιος, βέστης καὶ στρατηγός (see **Панченко**, Каталог, № 5) ; ἀνθύπατος, πατρίκιος, βέστης καὶ κόμης τοῦ σταύλου (see **Laurent, Corpus**, II, no. 923 and unpublished from Zacos, III, no. 1580); μάγιστρος, βέστης καὶ στρατηγός τῶν Βουκελλαρίων (**McGeer, Nesbitt and Oikonomides**, DOS, 4, 1.32); πρωτοπρόεδρος (**Schlumberger**, Sig., 574-575, no. 18); κουροπαλάτης καὶ δοῦξ τῶν Ἀρμενιάκων (**Schlumberger**, Sig., p. 296, no. 6; **Seibt, Bleisiegel**, p. 140, no. 13).

6. Μιχαήλ Ἰασίτης. It should also apply to different individuals:

a. from the period 1045/1047, on him, see no. 240 here;

b. κουροπαλάτης, according to his bulla from the collection of the Ottoman museum in Istanbul, no. 341 (see **Guilland, Titres**, III, p. 221, no. 288);

c. πρωτοσεβαστοῦπέρτατος, who in 1109 married the third daughter of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos, Eudocia, and was honored with the title of πρωτοσεβαστοῦπέρτατος. Later, however, because of his arrogant behavior toward the empress Irene Doukaina, he was driven out of the Palace, and his wife fell ill and entered nunnery. Presumably their marriage



was dissolved before 1118, since Eudocia is referred to as nun in the typikon of the empress-mother (see **Barzos**, *Kommenoi*, I, 255-257; **Gautier**, Blachernes, no. 27).

7. Νικηφόρος Ἰασίτης

a. σπαθάριος καὶ ταξιάρχης, according to an unpublished bulla from the collection Fogg A.M., no. 1388.

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin holding Christ on r. arm.

*Rev.* + ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΝΙΚΗΦ'CΠ | ΘΑΡ'ΣΤΑΞ | ΑΡΧ'ΤΩΙ | CΙΤ'

b. πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Χερσῶνος – from the first half of the XIth c. (see **Seibt**, *Bleisiegel*, p.140, n. 11; **Соколова**, *Херсона*, № 56-56a).

8. Νικήτας / Νικηφόρος Ἰασίτης πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς (on him see above).

9. Στυλιανὸς Ἰασίτης ? πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ πρωτοασηκρῆτης (on him see below, no. 242).

10. N., Ἰασίτης in 1037 κατεπάνω Ἰβηρίας (see **Skylitzes**, 402.7; **Gautier**, L'Obituaire, no. 11).

11. N. Ἰασίτης κουροπαλάτης, correspondent of M. Psellos (see *SM*, II, no. 6, 708).

12. In Chiliades of John Tzetezes it is reported that the daughter of the sebastos and grand droungarios Constantine Keroularios (nephew of Patriarch Michael Keroularios) married 'Iasites himself' (see **Gautier**, Tzetzes, 209.603). It is difficult to identify him with certainty: no. 4 or no. 11 (**Gautier**, Tzetzes, 217-218).

13. N. Ἰασίτης πρᾶκτωρ, of whom Theophylaktos of Ohrid complains in his letter to the metropolitan bishop of Thessalonike (see Маслев, Проучвания, № 9; **Theophylacte d'Achrida**. *Lettres*, nos. 11, 31, 88, 96, 126).

14. A monastery of Iasites built before 1156 is known in Constantinople. It is hard to say who of all the representatives of this family founded it.

242. Στυλιανὸς Ἰασίτης ? πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ πρωτοασηκρῆτης (XI c.)

Historical Museum, Dobrich, no. I 1320. Find-spot: Silistra. D.19-20 (18) 2.1 mm. W. 4.82 g. A well-centered but, as it seems, a weak imprint, subsequently obliterated. The bulla itself is holed in the center and probably used as a weight (perhaps as a ring of a spindle). Due to the incomplete imprint, the reading of the text, especially the last two lines, is problematic. We assume that the position is inscribed on line 4 and the patronym on line 5. From the two available letters, one of which contains an abbreviation sign T'I..., I have assumed a possible inscription of the family name Ἰ[ασίτ(η)].

*Ed.* Йорданов, Силистра, IV, № 20.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Scarcely discernible outlines of an ornamented Greek cross. The end of the invocation also visible: .....ΟΝΛΩ

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

+ | CTVΛΙ | ΑΝΩΑ'CΠ | ΘΑΡ..K. | Α'ACH... | T'I...

[ +Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δ]ούλῳ Στυλανῶ (πρωτο)σπαθαρχ[ίῳ] κ[ἐ]  
(πρωτο)ασηκρ[ή]τ(η)] τ(ῷ) Ἰ[ασίτ(η)]

The data are insufficient for identification with a person age from the narrative sources. Provided we accept the possibility for the patronym to be Ἰασίτης, this does not settle the matter. I do not know of an individual with the name Stylianos Iasites (for the rest of the representatives of the Iasitai, see no. 241 here).

243A. Κωνσταντῖνος Ἰκανάτος βεστάρχης (third quarter of the XI c.)

Private collection (V. Panteleev, Varna). Find-spot: the fortress near the village of Blesna, district of Haskovo. D. 19-21 (18) mm, W. 5.4 g. Complete imprint in a good state of preservation.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of St. Eustratios facing, holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription: Θ-Ε-Υ || .-Τ-Ρ-Α-Τ-Ι-Ο : Ὁ ἅγιος Εὐ[σ]τράτιος(ς).

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8' | ΚΩΝΡΕ | CΤΑΡΧΗ | ΤΩΙΚΑ | ΝΑ.

Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δού(λῳ) Κων(σταντίνῳ) βεστάρχῃ τῷ Ἰκανά[τῳ]

243. Λέων Ἰκανάτος (late XI c.)

National Historical Museum, Sofia, not in the inventory. I examined it on 13th September 1996. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 23-24.5 (17.5) 2.5 mm. Incomplete imprint in a good state of preservation.

*Unpublished.*

*Parallels:* Further ten or eleven specimens struck in two different boulloteria are preserved in the collections: Athens (**Konstantopoulos**, no. 692a; **Stavrakos**, no. 94); Zarnitz (see **Seibt-Zarnitz**, no. 1.1. 18); MK, 359; DO: 55. 1. 3876; 55. 1. 3877; 55. 1. 3878; 58.106.5658; 58. 106. 4167; 58. 106. 2980; 58. 106. 4852; Fogg A.M., no. 1227; Hermitage (M-3913).

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion of Christ on her breast. Sigla: .. || Θ̅V : [Μ(ήτη)ρ] Θ(εο)ῦ.

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

\* | ΙΚΑΝΑ... | ΛΕΟΝΤ. | ΠΑΡΘΕΝ. | CΚΕΠΟΙ.

+ Ἰκανά[τον] Λέοντ[α], Παρθέν[ε], σκέποι[ς]

The patronym of the owner of the seal derives from the corps of ἰκανάτοι and suggests applying it to people of different families without any direct relationship between them.

A person or persons with these names is known from the narrative sources or seals.

Leo Ikanates in his capacity as πρωτοασηκρῆτης took part in a session of the Synod of October 1144 (see **Grumel**, *Regestes*, nos. 1011-1014).

The name of ἑπαρχος Leo Ikanatos is inscribed on a bronze tessera, dated to the first half of the XIIth c. (see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, no. 1037; *SBS*, 1, p.74, fig. 5).

An unpublished bulla of Leo Ikanatos in his capacity as πρόεδρος καὶ κοιαίστωρ is preserved in the collection Zacos, III, no. 1452/2-3

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin as above.

*Rev.* . | ΛΕΟΝΤΙ | ΠΡΟΕΔΡΩ | ΚΑΙΚΟΙΑΙ | CΤΩΠΙΤΩ | ΙΚΑΝΑ | ΤΩ

We are not sure whether the three groups of seals apply to one and the same person and whether he could be identified with the protoasekretes of 1143/1144.

244. Βάρδας Καζάνης πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς (second half, XI c.)

National Historical Museum, Sofia, no.13614. Found in Silistra. D. 22.5-24 (19) 3 mm. Good imprint and a well-preserved bulla.

Ed. Йорданов, Силистра, I, № 3.  
No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding the book (l. hand). Vertical inscription:  
Θ-NI-K' || Λ-AO-C : 'Ο ἄγιος Νικ(ό)λαος.

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΡΑΡΔΑΑ' | ΣΠΑΘΑΡ'Σ | ΣΤΡΑΤΙΓ | ΩΤΟΚΑ | ΖΑΚΙ

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Βάρδα (πρωτο) σπαθαρ(ίω) (καί) στρατηγῶ το Καζάκι

In the original publication of this bulla the patronym presented a certain problem, the dilemma being Καζάκης or Καζάνης.

A new unpublished bulla in the Dumbarton Oaks collection (DO. 58. 106. 4585) solves the dilemma and supplements the information about this dignitary.

Obv. Bust of St. Nicholas as above. Vertical inscription: Θ-NI-KO || Λ-AO-C

Rev. +CΦΡΑ | ΓΙCΡΑΡ | ΔΑΠΡΙΠ8 | KAZAN | - o -

= +Σφραγίς Βάρδα πατρι(κίω) τοῦ Καζάν(η)

Obviously it refers to same person. The new seal should be dated to the last quarter of the XIth century. It is an evidence of the further career of a Byzantine dignitary, Bardas Kazanes, unknown from other sources.

#### 245. Θεόδωρος Καζάνης βέστης (XI c. third quarter)

Private collection (Kliment Atanasov from Burgas). Find-spot: fortress near the village of Melnitsa, district of Elhovo. D. 16-20 (?) 2.5 mm. Weakly imprinted. The blank was smaller in diameter than the die.

Ed. Jordanov, Melnitsa, no. 23.  
No parallels known.

Obv. St. Theodore standing, holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). No visible inscription.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΘΕΟΔΩΡΩ | ΡΕCΤΙΤ. | KAZANH

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Θεοδώρῳ βέστι τ[ῶ] Καζάνη

The owner of the seal affixed to a communication sent to an unknown addressee in the stronghold near the village of Melnitsa is the vestes Theodore Kazanes. The seal can be dated to the third quarter of the XIth c.

There is a seal preserved in the collection of R. J. Myers (N.Y. March, 1981) with the following description:

Ovb. Bust of St. Michael.

Rev. ΘΕΟΔΩ | ΣΠΑΘ'ΔΔ | ..KAZ | NI

It dates generally to the XIth c.

In the collection IFEB, no. 270, the following seal is preserved:

Obv. St. Theodore Tiron standing frontally with a long beard.

Rev. CΦΡΑ... | CΕΡΑ... | KAZA... | ΟΔΩ. |

It can be dated to the XIIth c.

The chronicle of Nicetas Choniates mentions the name of Theodore Kazanes, a young general during the reign of Alexios III (1195-1203) who commanded force against Turks

(1195-1196, see Choniates, 474.1-4). It is clear he cannot be identical with the owner of the seal recovered in Melnitsa. It is possible to identify the owner of this seal with that from the IFEB collection.

#### 246. Λέων Καζάνης πρωτονωβελίσσιμος (XII c.)

Historical Museum, Dobrich, no. 1278, purchased from Silistra. D. 21-22.5 (over 21) 3.5 mm. W. 6.98 g.  
Incomplete imprint since the blank was smaller or equal to the seal of the dies. The centering was likewise imperfect. The bulla itself is in a very good state of preservation.

Ed. Йорданов, Силистра, IV, № 12.

Parallels: Two bullae struck in the same boulloterion are preserved in the collections of the Hermitage (M-8927, see Лихачев, Богоматери, 141-142, рис.327; Шандровская, Сфрагистика, II, с. 142, № 778) and Dumbarton Oaks (DO. 58. 106. 3202, unpublished).

Obv. The scene of the Crucifixion. Christ crucified on the martyr's cross. Below him the Virgin (at l.) and St. John (at r.).

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

СΦΡΑΓΙC | ΛΕΟΝΤΟCΑ' | ΝΩΡΕΛΛΙC | Μ8Τ8Κ . | ΖΑΝΗ

Σφραγίς Λέοντος (πρωτο)νωβελλισ(ί)μου τοῦ Κ[α]ζάνη

A bulla similar in iconography and text to the above is also preserved in the collection of the Hermitage (M-8940).

Obv. The Crucifixion represented in more detail.

Rev. + ΛΕΩΝ | ΠΡΩΤΟΝΩ | ΡΕΛΙCΙΜΟ' | ΟΚΑΖΑ | ΝΗC

(see Лихачев, Богоматери, 141-142, рис.326; Шандровская, Сфрагистика, II, с. 142, № 777).

A bulla with the same iconographic subject on the Obv. but nevertheless coming from a different matrix and the inscription + ΚΕΡΟΗ | ΘΕΙΑΕΟΝ | ΤΑΤΟΝΚ | .ΖΑΝ' on the Rev. was preserved in G. Schlumberger's collection (see Schlumberger, Sig., p. 666, no. 1, the author has read the patronym ΓΑΖΑΝ).

It is obvious that the three groups of seals belong to one and the same person: the protonobelissimos Leo Kazanes, of whom we can report no information. His name is not attested in the narrative sources.

A court order regarding a complaint of the monastery of Lembiotises with landowners from Mandeia near Smyrna named Kazanes and signed by two katepanoi of Smyrna, Bardas Lebounes and John Galenos, was published in volume four of the Acta at diplomata (MM, IV, 62-63. XVIII).

The use of this document is rendered difficult due to the following circumstances:

a. the year was not written on it, only the indiction, month and date, for which reason it is dated by some investigators to 1133 (Ahrweiler, Smyrne, p. 128), while others date it to 1233 (Dölger, F. Chronologisches und Prosopographisches zur Geschichte des XIII. Jhs.-BZ, 27, 1927, S. 302, A.4).

b. The name of the defendant Nicholas Kazanes is written on the first page of the document and on the next is the name of the 'mentioned Leo Kazanes'. It is not clear whether it is due to erroneous copying of the court order, nor which is the correct name.

The problem is: are there any connection between Leo Kazanes from this document and the owner of the seal presented here ? The dating of the seal is generally to the XIIth c. with

a more probable specification in the second half.

#### 247-249. Ν., Καζάνης (XI c.)

a. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 18545. Find-spot: the strategia of Preslav. D. 20-22 (21?) 3 mm. W. 10.55 g. Incomplete imprint. The first line remained out of the blank.

Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 404.

b. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 17697. Find-spot: the strategia of Preslav. D. 20-22 (21?) 4 mm. W. 10.65 g. Incomplete imprint. Unclear traces visible from the first line. It seems the blank is from the same mould as the above specimen.

Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 405.

c. Historical Museum Shumen, no. 14228. Find-spot: the strategia of Preslav. D. 15-21 (?) 3.5 mm, W. 6.56 g. Half of what was once a good imprint.

Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 406.

The three specimens were struck in the same boulloterion.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand). Vertical inscription:

Θ-N-I || K-O- Λ' : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Νικόλ(αος).

Rev. Inscription of three lines:

..AP. | NOCOKA | ZANHC

[+M]αρ[ι(α)]νός ὁ Καζάνης

In the present publication, as in the previous one, the main problem is the reading of the homonym. The suggested completion, which is only one possibility, was prompted to me by W. Seibt (BZ, S.137).

Because of the uncertainty in the homonym, it would be appropriate to draw on information on the rest of the representatives of this family.

According to Kazhdan, the Kazanes family as well as the Gazanes or Hasanes have a common Arabo-Turkic origin (see **Каждан**, *Соц. состав*, c. 201).

In the XIth century, however, its representatives are attested only by seals:

1. Bardas Kazanes, patrikios with one group of seals and protospatharios and strategos with another, dated to the mid-XIth c. (see no. 244 here).

2. Theodore Kazanes, vestes, dated to the third quarter of the XIth c. (see no. 245 here).

Known in the XIIth c. are the following:

3. Demetrios Kazanes, protokouropalates, known by his unpublished bulla in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (DO. 58. 106. 2969), dated generally to the XIIth c.

Obv. Bust of St. Theodore holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

Rev. + ΚΕ R'Θ' | ΔΗΜΗΤΡ' | Α'Κ8ΡΟΠΑ | ΛΑΤΗΤΩ | KAZAN'

4. Leo Kazanes protonobellissimos, see here no. 246.

5. Theodore Kazanes, a young military commander during the reign of Alexios III Komnenos (1195-1203), (see **Choniates**, 474.1-4).

It is hard to be sure whether all individuals belonged to the same family and whether there was a direct relationship between them.

The dating of the seal of Leo Kazanes incorporates it to nos. 3-5.

#### 250. Μιχαήλ Καινοχωρίτης (second half of XI c.)

Archaeological Institute, Bucharest. Comes from Silistra - Kalarasht region. D.19-21 (16) 2.5 mm. Good

imprint, although the blank is slightly elongated. A bulla in a good state of preservation.

Ed. Barnea, Noi sigillii, no. 21.

No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of three lines:

+ ΚΕΡΟ | ΗΘΕΙΤΩ | CΩΔΟΝ

Rev. Inscription of three lines:

MIXAIA | ΤΩΚΑΙ | ΝΟΧΩΡ'

+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δού(λω) Μιχαήλ τῷ Καινοχωρ(ίτη)

The owner of the seal affixed to his correspondence to Dristra, Μιχαήλ Καινοχωρίτης, is unknown from other sources. A seal of a certain Μιχαήλ Κυνοχωρίτης χρυσοτελής, dated to the late XIth c., is preserved in the collection IFEB, no. 342 (see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, no. 682). The similarity between the toponyms Κυνοχωρίτης and Καινοχωρίτης is evident. And taking into consideration the coincidence in homonyms and lettering on the two groups of seals, it could be assumed that it refers to one and the same person, the dating of the two groups of seals being generally in the second half of the XIth c.

#### 251. Γεώργιος Κακίκης στρατηγός (second half of XI c.)

Private collection. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 25-24 mm. Good but incomplete imprint, which renders difficult the reading of the patronym. The suggested reading is only one possible variant.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. A superb bust of St. Theodore holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription: Θ-ΘΕ-Ω || .... : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Θεώ[δωρος].

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟ | ΣΤΡΑΤΙΓ' | ΤΩΚ... | ΚΗ

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Γεωργίο στρατιγῷ τῷ Κ[ακι]κη or Κ[αζά]κη

A bulla presumably of the same dignitary is preserved in the Zacos collection, III:

Obv. Bust of St. George as above. Vertical inscription: Θ-ΓΕ || ΩΡ-Γ'

Rev. |ΓΕΩΡΓ|Τ8ΡΜΑΡ|Χ'ΟΚΑΚ'| -ΚΗC-

It reflects an earlier period in the career of Γεώργιος Κακίκης. Kazhdan assumes Armenian origin for the family Κακίκης, (see **Каждан**, *Армяне*, 10.4).

#### 252. Ἀνδρόνικος Καματηρὸς σεβαστὸς (second half of XII c.)

National Historical Museum, Sofia, no.13344. Purchased from Nessebar. D. 20-21(20.5) 3 mm. A well-centered imprint but the blank was almost equal to the diameter of the dies, and as a result some letters and part of the image were left out. The bulla itself is in a good state of preservation.

Ed. Йорданов, Севастии, № 6.

Parallels: a specimen with the same iconography and text but struck with a different pair of dies was included in Lihachev's collection (**Лихачев**, *Богоматери*, c. 124, рис. 284, бел. 2). Another unpublished specimen is preserved in the collection Fogg A. M. no 700. The text is the same as with the above specimen, but the archangels are absent in the depiction.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin holding Christ on r. arm. Sigla:  $\overline{MP} \parallel \overline{\Theta V}$ . Bust of an archangel is represented at the l. of the Virgin. Whether there is analogous depiction at her r. is impossible to know, because this part of the depiction is on the border and out of the blank and also a little bit effaced.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

ΘΚΕΡΟ | ΗΘΕΙΑΝΔΡΟ | ΝΙΚΩCΕΡΑC | ΤΩΤΟΚΑΜΑ | ΤΗΡΩ  
Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθει Ἀνδρονίκῳ σεβαστῷ τῷ Καματηρῷ

A person bearing these names is known from various documentary sources (see **Polemis**, *Doukai*, no. 98):

Andronikos Kamateros is the son of Gregory Kamateros and Anna from the Doukai family. His both names are written in various documents that have come down to us, as are on the title of John Tzetzes' letter (**Tzetzes**, *Epistule*, no. 90). In a poem dedicated to Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180) he refers to himself as "Ἀνδρόνικος ἐκ μητρὸς Δούκας ὁ πανσέβαστος Καματηρὸς πατρόθεν μέγας τε δρουγγάριος ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας" (*Marcianos* 524, pp. 44, 48-49, 50-52, 53; Шестакова, Codicus Marciani 524, c. 50). But in a number of documents only one name, Kamateros, is written as well. Probably it is the reason why John Kinnamos calls him a royal relative (**Cinnamus**, 210.17-19; **Cinnamus** tr. **Brand**, p. 60).

According to the analysis of the sources known to us, the following cursus honorum could be suggested:

a) σεβαστὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων (before 1157). He is thus referred to in George Tornikes' letter, dated before 1157 (see **Darrouzes**, *Tornikes*, no. 16, 140-141).

b) σεβαστὸς καὶ ἑπαρχος (between 1157 and 1161). In this capacity he assisted at a session of the Synod on 12 May 1157 (*PG*, 140, col. 177D; **Sakkelion**, p. 316.17-18; **Grumel**, *Regestes*, no. 1041), and in 1161 he was placed at the head of an embassy to Antioch with the purpose to arrange the marriage between Emperor Manuel I Komnenos and Raymond's daughter, Maria (see **Cinnamus**, p. 210.18-19).

c) σεβαστὸς καὶ μέγας δρουγγάριος τῆς βίγλης (between 1161 and 1176). In this capacity he assisted at the synods of: 6 March 1166 (*PG*, 140, col. 253C); 30 January 1170 (**Petit**, *Documents*, p. 479.17-18), and certified a prostagma of Emperor Manuel I regarding the monastery on Patmos, dated 1176 (*Actes Patmos*, I, no. 22.30, p. 221).

Beyond his official career, Andronikos Kamateros was also a well-known literary man, theologian-polemicist, patron of the arts (**Krumbacher**, *Geschichte*, 90-91; **Beck**, *Kirche*, 626-627). He cultivated contacts, was in close relationship and exchanged correspondence with a lot of celebrated writers and theologians of the time. There are extant letters addressed to him by: Gregory Antiochos (**Darrouzes**, *J. Notice sur Gregoire Antiochos* [1160 a 1196].-*REB*, 20, 1962, 61-92; **Каждан**, **А. П.** Жизнь и творчество Григория Антиоха.- *ВВр.*, 16, 1965, 80-83); Gregory Tornikes (**Darrouzes**, *Tornikes*, no. 16, 140-141); John Tzetzes (**Tzetzes**, *Epistule*, nos. 90, 101, 103) and others. Most of them served in the province.

The previous publishers identify the owner of the bulla published by Lihachev as Andronikos Kamateros known from the narrative sources. I could not find any serious objections.

There are two problems in the interpretation of the bulla from Nessebar:

1. Its dating. Andronikos Kamateros was a sebastos during the whole period of time, and it is important for us to know the exact time when his correspondence was received in Messembria. There are several possibilities: before his above-noted positions, after them

or simultaneously with them. With the last possibility, his correspondence must have had a private character, addressed to his fellow theologians resident there.

2. Whom in Messembria did sebastos Andronikos Kamateros write to? If his official position were inscribed on his seal, we would assume that he wrote to an official sojourning there. However, bearing in mind his correspondents, literary men, theologians and writers, most of which occupied various sees in the province, we could assume that Andronikos Kamateros' correspondent was:

- a) the local prelate, who was his fellow man of the pen;
- b) some other man of letters residing temporarily there in service, exile or the like;
- c) some relative; here the possibilities are wide, since he is Kamateros on his father's side and Doukas on his mother's.

Who were the metropolitans of Mesembria for the period 1150s-1170s?

1. John, who assisted at a session of the Synod of February 1147 (**Dolger**, *Regesten*, no. 1315; **Asdracha**, *Thrace*, p. 290);

2. Theodore, who assisted at sessions of the Synod of May 1157 and 2 March 1166 (*PG*, 140, col. 180C; **Sakkelion**, p. 317.12; **Grumel**, *Regestes*, no. 1041);

3. Basil, who assisted at sessions of the Synod of 1170, 1171 and 1173 (**Petit**, *Documents*, 480.11-12; 488.29; **Asdracha**, *Thrace*, 290-291).

As was noted above, the sebastos Andronikos Kamateros has also attended many of the sessions of the Synod, and some of them along with the metropolitans of Mesembria, which is not a proof for exchange of correspondence between them but is likewise not impossible.

### 253. Βασίλειος Καματηρὸς κτημάτηνος (XI c.)

Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia, no. 114. Found in the course of archaeological excavations south of the Little Palace. D.25-26 (24) 4.5 mm. Incomplete imprint. The obverse is poorly preserved. Some of the letters are indistinct or subsequently effaced.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Плиска*, № 8.  
No parallels known.

Obv. Unclear image of a saint.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ KER'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ' | RA..ΛΕΙΩ | ΚΤΗΜΑΤ | Τ'ΚΑΜ.

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δ(ούλῳ) Βα[σι]λείῳ κτηματ(ίνῳ) τ(ῷ) Καμ(α)[τ(ηρῷ)]

Two are the problems in the interpretation of the text of this bulla: the office or title κτηματ(ίνῳ), unknown from other sources, and the patronym Τ'ΚΑΜ. = τ(ῷ) Καμ(α)[τ(ηρῷ)].

An individual or individuals with these names are known from the narrative sources: the one is from the last decades of the XIth c. and the other from the second half of the XIIth c.

In Pliska, where the bulla was recovered, life fell into decay at the end of the XIth century, and in the XIIth century it is not attested at all, so we shall confine our inquiry to Basil Kamateros of the XIth c.

The name of Basil Kamateros μάγιστρος καὶ κριτῆς τοῦ βήλου is written under pittakion of Alexios I Komnenos, registered in the secreton of the logothetes of genikon in April 1088 (*Actes Patmos*, I, no. 48B.219, p. 338).

The name of Basil Kamateros is attested by several groups of seals:

- a. as μάγιστρος καὶ κόμης, attested by a single unpublished bulla in the Dumbarton

Oaks collection (DO. 55. 1. 3072).

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion.

*Rev.* + |RACIAEI|ΩΜΑΓICTP|KOMIT'ΤΩ|KAMATH|P'-

b. without a title and office, i. e. as a private person :

Four groups of seals are known, where he is in this capacity:

a. DO. 58. 106. 1218:

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans.

*Rev.* -+ - |OKAMA|THPOC|ACIAEIO|...ΦON

b. DO. 55. 1. 3946; 58. 106. 1377:

*Obv.* As above.

*Rev.* + OKA| MATHPO'| RACIA'OC| OΓPAΦ

c. DO. 58. 106. 2876:

*Obv.* Circular inscription: +ΘΚΕΡ'Θ'RACIA' and representation of the Virgin as above.

*Rev.* Circular inscription: ΤΩΚΑΜΑΤΗΡΩ and bust of St. Basil.

d. Shaw 1316 (1032):

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion.

*Rev.* .ONK'MA| ..HPONR| ..IAEION| ΜΕΣΚΕ| ΠΙ

If we accept that the owner of the seal from Pliska and the aforementioned individuals are identical, then the data from Pliska reflect an earlier stage of his career, which outlines the following cursus honorum:

a) κτημάτηνος – in the third quarter of the XIth c.

b) μάγιστρος καὶ κόμης - before 1088

c) μάγιστρος καὶ κριτὴς τοῦ βήλου - ca. 1088

To whom in Pliska and on what occasion Basil Kamateros wrote in his capacity as κτημάτηνος is a different question. Its answer is related to the interpretation of this term – whether it is an office or a title. If it is an effective position, he might have written to the local representative of the Byzantine administration in connection to the administration of certain imperial estates there.

If it is a title, his addressee could have been the same: some of the representatives of the Byzantine administration (civil or ecclesiastical) resident there, but his correspondence might have had a private character.

## 254. Ἐπιφάνιος Καματηρὸς (late XI c.)

Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia, no. 140. Find-spot: uncertain. D.16-18(15) 2.5 mm. Good imprint and a bulla in a good state of preservation.

*Ed.* Мухомов, Печати, № 49; **Laurent**, *Bulles metriques*, no. 622.

*Parallels:* More than nine unpublished specimens struck with the same pair of dies are preserved in: DO. 58. 106. 3688; 58. 106. 4441; 58. 106. 4794; Fogg A. M. 428 ; Fogg A. M, no. 441; Shaw 1317 (1033, 1035); B.N.Paris, no. 1205 and Zacos, III, no 1438 - two specimens.

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion of Christ on her breast. Sigla:  $\overline{MP} \parallel \overline{\Theta V}$  : Μ(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ.

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

+ ΕΠΙ | ΦΑΝΙΟ. | ΚΑΜΑΤ. | ΟΓΡΑΦ | - ο -

+ Ἐπιφάνιο[ς] Καματ(η)[ρ(ὸς)] ὁ γράφ(ον)

Several other groups of seals bearing the name of Epiphanius Kamateros are known:

a. spatharokandidatos and tourmarches (see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, p. 564);

b. proedros and eparchos attested by three specimens: in the Athens Numismatic Museum no. 345; the Hermitage (M-8042) and Dumbarton Oaks (DO. 56. 55. 3127; DO. 55.1. 3864); (on them see **Konstantopoulos**, no. 345; **Stavrakos**, no. 102; **Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, no. 1028).

c. with no title or office, with a text similar to ours, but nevertheless different: +Ἐπιφάνιον Καματηρὸν με σκέποις, attested by nine specimens (**Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, p. 629, no. 3; Corinth, no. 2756; DO. 58. 106. 2511 и 58. 106. 4352; DO. 55. 1. 3865; Zacos /III/, no 1420/ 8,9,10,11 ; IFEB, no 352.

In the Vita of St. Meletios written at the beginning of the XIIth c., Epiphanius Kamateros is reported as anthypatos of Hellas and Peloponnesos (see *Vita de St. Meletios*, c. 53.10-11). The term anthypatos, according to investigators, is archaism. St Meletios died on 1st September 1105 and probably the author of his life included information referring to the period prior to that date (see **Ahrweiler**, *Recherches*, p. 76, n. 9-10; **Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, p. 564).

From the data presented above, the following cursus honorum of Epiphanius Kamateros could be proposed:

a) spatharokandidatos and tourmarches (before 1070s.);

b) proedros and eparchos (1070s-1080s);

c) praitor of Hellas and Peloponnese (last years of the XIth c.).

It is difficult to determine the exact period of his life, when he sealed his correspondence with the bulla presented here and also with those of the third group. It was probably at the end of his career (the late XIth and the early XIIth c.).

## 255. Μιχαήλ Καματηρὸς (XII c.)

Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia, no. 192. Found in Pomorie. I obtained a cast of the same through Mr. Karaiotov from Burgas, before the bulla was purchased for the collection of the Archaeological Institute and Museum. D.26-27 (26) 3 mm. Good imprint and a bulla in a good state of preservation.

*Ed.* Йорданов, Анхиало, II.9.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion of Christ on her breast. Sigla:  $\overline{MP} \parallel \overline{\Theta V}$  : Μ(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ.

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

+ | СΦΡΑΓΙΣ | ΜΙΧΑΗΛ | ΚΑΜΑΤΗ | ΡΟΥΠΡΟС | ΓΕΝ8С

+ Σφραγὶς Μιχαήλ Καματηροῦ πρὸς γένους

For more information on the person of Michael Kamateros, see his seal below in his capacity as nobelissimos.

## 256. Μιχαήλ Καματηρὸς νωβελίσσιμος (between 1157 and 1166)

Private collection (V. Panteleev from Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 34-36 (29) 3.9 mm. W. 20.30 g. Complete but poorly-preserved imprint.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*



Obv. Metrical inscription of four lines:

.+. | ΠΡΑΞΕΙC | CΦΡΑΓΙΩ | ΜΙΧΑΗΛΑC | ΕΓΓΡΑΦ8C

Rev. Metrical inscription in four lines:

ΝΩΡΕΛΛΙ | CΙΜΟΝΚΑ | ΜΑΤΗΡΩΝ | ΕΚΓΕΝΟVC | -.-

+ Πράξεις σφραγίζω Μιχαήλ τὰς ἐγγράφους νωβελισίμου Καματηρων ἐκ γένους

Known from seals and some narrative sources is an individual or individuals bearing this name, related to the period XIth-XIIth c.

In my above publication I draw on eight groups of seals with the name of Michael Kamateros:

1. πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ β' νοτάριος, dated to the XIth c., according to two unpublished specimens in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection DO. 55. 1. 3076 (see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, no. 206, where he wrote Leon instead of Michael) and 58. 106. 4107:

Obv. Bust of St. Michael with ruler's insignia.

Rev. ΜΙΧΑΗΛ | Α'CΠΑΘΑΡ' | SRACIAH | KOCNOTA | PHOCOK' | MATEP'

2. πατρίκιος, κριτὴς ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἱπποδρόμου καὶ χαρτουλάριος τῶν εὐαγῶν οἰκῶν, dated to the third quarter of the XIth c. (see **Szemioth-Wasilewski**, *Varsovie*, I, no.10; **Wassiliou**, **Seibt**, no. 83.)

3. πρωτοπρόεδρος, κριτὴς καὶ ἐξισωτὴς τῆς Δύσεως, dated to the last quarter of the XIth c. (see **Mordtmann**, *Dyseos*, no.15; **Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, 516, no. 1; **Ebersolt**, *C-ple*, no. 392 (272)).

4. With no title or position, dated to the late XIth c., according to an unpublished specimen in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection DO. 55. 1. 3075:

Obv. Bust of St. Michael as above.

Rev. .PXI | CTPATIG' | T8..ROHΘ' | ΜΙΧΑΗΛ | ΤΩΚΑΜΑ | ΤΗΡΩ

5. With no title or position, dated to the late XIth c., according to two unpublished specimens in the Zacos Collection, III, no. 1492:

Obv. St. John the Baptist standing.

Rev. +KER'Θ' | ΜΙΧΑΗΛ | ΤΟΚΑΜΑ | ΤΙΡΟ

6. With no title or position, dated to the late XIth c., according to an unpublished specimen from DO. 58. 106. 4451:

Obv. Bust of the Virgin holding a medallion of Christ before her.

Rev. ..ROH | ...ΤΩCΩ | Δ8ΛΩΜxITΩ | KAMATH | ΡΩ

7. With no title or position, dated to the late XIth c. (see **Zhkos**, *Comotine*, p. 174, no. 4).

8. With no title or position, with a metrical text, dated to the XIIth c., according to an unpublished specimen in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection DO. 58. 106. 1672:

Obv. The Virgin orans standing.

Rev. + | TONKAMA | THPONMI | XAHACKE | ΠΟΙΚΚΟΡΗ

9. With no title or position, with a metrical text, dated to the XIIth c., see no. 255 above.

10. πρωτονωβελίσσιμος, dated to the third quarter of the XIIth c. (see **Konstantopoulos**, no. 419a; **Stavrakos**, no. 104; **Laurent**, *Orghidan*, no. 96; unpublished from DO. 58. 106. 3628 and DO. 58. 106. 3050, the last is from a different boulloterion).

11. The Dumbarton Oaks collection contains an unpublished specimen of some Michael Plevres of the family Kamateros, sebastos, protonotarios (DO. 58. 106. 5589):

Obv. + | CΦΡΑΓIC | CERACTOV | ΤΟΝΠΙΡΩ | ΤΟΝΟΤΑ | ΡΙΟΝ

Rev. | ΜΙΧΑΗΛ | ΠΛΕΡΡΗ | KAMATH | ΡΩΝΕΚ | ΓΕΝ8C

In one of Michael Italikos' letters, dated in 1139-1141, addressed to his student Michael Kamateros, the son of Romanos, he rebukes him for neglecting his writing duties in preference to service to the emperor (see **Gautier**, *Italikos*, p. 52.13, no. 22).

In a letter of John Tzetzes, dated to 1140s and addressed to sebastos Theodore Kamateros, there is also mention of his nephew, the philosopher Michael (see **Tzetzes**, *Epistule*, p. 129, 19-20).

At sessions of the Synod of 1157, Michael Kamateros also assisted in his capacity as πρωτοκουροπαλάτης καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων (see *PG.*, 140, col. 180 A; **Sakkellion**, p. 316.22-23), and in 1166 he was already πρωτονωβελίσσιμος καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων καὶ φύλαξ (see *PG.*, 140, col. 253D).

Another Michael, the son of Gregorios Kamateros and Eirene Doukaina (1093/1123), who died young, is known from the first half of the XIIth c. (see **Polemis**, *Doukai*, no. 32, p. 79. n.4. However he must have born the two family names Doukas-Kamateros.

While seals could relate to at least two or three individuals, the data from narrative sources could apply to one person to be identified with the owner of the seal presented here.

When reducing the XIth-century seals and those of no title and position, the following cursus honorum could be proposed on the basis of the available information:

- a) πρωτοκουροπαλάτης καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων (1157)
- b) νωβελίσσιμος (between 1157 and 1166)
- c) πρωτονωβελίσσιμος καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων καὶ φύλαξ (1166)

Seals of other representatives of the family Kamateros (XIth – XIIth c.)

1. Βάρδας Καματηρὸς - a private person from the second half of the XI c., according to an unpublished lead seal from DO. 55. 1. 3071:

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion on her breast.

Rev. + ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8Λ' | ΡΑΡΔΑΤΩ | KAMAT | Ρ

2. Βασίλειος Καματηρὸς :

a. πρωτονωβελίσσιμος (1160s), according to two lead seals from MK 400 (see **Seibt**, *Bleisiegel*, no. 156) and unpublished from Fogg, A. M. no. 398.

Obv. -.- | +CΦΡΑ | ΓICMAΓΡΑ | ΦΩΝΠΡΩΤ | ΝΩΡΕΛICIC | -M8-

Rev. -.- | ΤΟΝΚΑ | ΜΑΤΗΡΟΝ | ΠΡΟCΓΕΝ8C | RACIAEI | -OV-

b. πρωτονωβελίσσιμος καὶ ἑπαρχος (1160s-1170s), according to one specimen from DO.58. 106. 795 (see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, no. 1038).

3. Γρηγόριος Καματηρὸς

a. a private person from the second half of the XIth c., see **Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, 628; **Лихачев**, *Моливдовулы*, 161-162, табл. 68.11; **Шандровская**, **В.** Григорий Каматир и его печать в собрании Государственного Эрмитажа.- *ВВр.*, 16, 1959, 173-182; unpublished from IFEB, no.700; Wien-MK 401; Zacos, III; DO. 58. 106. 1383; DO. 55. 1. 3073-3074; Fogg, A. M. nos. 1496, 3594 and Shaw no. 1318 (1031):

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion on her breast.

Rev. + | ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΓΡΙΓΟΡΙ | ΩΤΩΚΑΜΑ | ΤΗΡΩ

b. πρωτοσπαθάριος ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοτρκλίνου, μυστογράφος, κριτὴς ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἱπποδρόμου καὶ β' νοτάριος τῶν εὐαγῶν οἰκῶν, dated of the XIth c. (unpublished lead seal from Fogg, A. M. no. 159.)

Obv. | ..ΗΓΟΡ. | C ΠΑΘ'Ε | ..T8X. | ..MVCT. | .ΡΑΦ

Rev. .ΠΙΤ8. | ...SR'N. | ...ΩΝΕ.. | Γ'ΟΙΚ'.. | KAM.

c. πρωτοπραίτωρι Πελοπονήσου καὶ Ἑλλάδος (XI-XII c., see *DOS*, 2, no. 8.39, **Stavrakos**, no.101)

4. Εὐστάθιος Καματηρὸς πρωτονωβελίσσιμος (XII c.), according to an unpublished lead seal from Fogg, A. M., no. 2241.

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion on her breast.

*Rev.* + | CΦPAΓ' | ΕΥΨ'ΑΘΙΟΝ | .ΩΡΕΛΙCΙ | Μ8Τ8ΚΑ | Μ.Τ'Ρ'

5. Ἰωάννης Καματηρὸς - a private person (XII c.), according to an unpublished seal from DO. 58. 106. 4478.

*Obv.* The Anastasis. Inscription on both sides: H-ANA-C || TA-CHC

*Rev.* + | CΦPAΓΙ | ΙΩΑΝΝΟΝ | ΤΟΝΚΑΜΑ | ΤΗΡ8

6. Κωνσταντῖνος Καματηρὸς σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος, ἀσηκρίτης β' νοτάριος καὶ κριτὴς Βολεροῦ, Στρυμόνος καὶ Θεσσαλονίκης (1033, see **Oikonomides**, *Dated*, no. 83).

7. Λέων Καματηρὸς

a. a private person from the second half of the XIth c., according to two unpublished lead seals from DO. 58. 106. 3514; DO. 58. 106. 4799.

*Obv.* The Virgin Kyriotissa standing, holding Child (r. arm). Inscription on both sides: H-KH-PI || Ο|Τ|ΗC|Α

*Rev.* + |ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8| ΛΩΛΕΩΝ | ΤΙΤΩΚΑΜ | ΑΤΗΡΩ

8. Νικηφόρος Καματηρὸς πρωτονωβελίσσιμος (1160s-1170s), according to an unpublished lead seal from DO. 58. 106. 5427.

*Obv.* +. | ΓΡΑΦΑC | CΦΡΑΓΙΖΩ | ΠΡΩΤΟΝΩ | ΡΕΛΛΙCΙ | Μ8

*Rev.* Τ8ΚΑΜΑ | ΤΗΡΩΝΕΚ | ΓΕΝ8CΝΙ | ΚΗΦΟΡ8

9. Σταυράκιος Καματηρὸς - a private person from the second half of the XIth c., according to an unpublished lead seal from DO. 58. 106. 1747.

*Obv.* Bust of a young military saint.

*Rev.* ΚΕΡ'Ο | ..Τ'C'Δ8| ..ΤΑΥΡΑΚ. | .ΑΜΑΤ. | -Ρ-

10. Ν., Καματηρὸς - private person from the XII c., according to two unpublished lead seals from DO. 55. 1. 4-46 and Fogg, A. M. no. 971.

*Obv.* Scene of the Dormition of the Virgin. At top: KH-MH || CI-C

*Rev.* + ΤΟΝΚΑ | ΜΑΤΗΡΟΝ | ΜΕΡ ΑΓΝΗΜΕ | CΚΕΠΟΙC

11. Ν., Καματηρὸς - a private person from the XIIth c., according to one monogramical seal from collection Seyrig (no. 303).

12. Ν., Καματηρὸς πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ κριτὴς Χαρσιανοῦ (XIth c.), *DOS*, 4, no. 40.14.

13. Ν., Καματηρὸς ἐξάκτωρ, κριτὴς ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἱπποδρόμου καὶ Καππαδοκίας (XIth c., see *DOS*, 4, no. 43.6)

This survey supplements the information regarding the seals of the family Kamateros from Bulgaria. Presenting the information from the narrative sources on the representatives of this family requires a considerable amount of space, which within the scope of this research is impossible to provide. This has already partially been done in **Laurent**, V. *Un sceau inedit du protonotaire Basile Kamateros.-Byzantion*, 1931, 6, 252-272; **Stadtmuller**, Kamateros, 352-358. The seals documented here could be used as building material for a complete prosopographical study on the family Kamateros, who played an important role in the life of the Empire from the Xth through the XIIIth centuries.

#### 257-258. Κατακαλὼν / Καμένος / Κεκαυμένος ανθύπατος, πατρίκιος καὶ κατεπάνω (1050s-1060s)

a. Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia, no. 121. Found accidentally in Pliska on the terrain south of the Little Palace. D. 29-30 (26?) 3 mm. I have had no chance to work with the original. Incomplete imprint.

The bulla itself is corrugated and as it seems burnt. This renders its reading difficult and mostly the last line of the reverse, where the patronym should be inscribed. I cannot say anything more than its first publisher, except that there is space for one or two letters at the beginning of the line and that the last letter resembles N.

*Ed.* **Маслев**, Печати, № 3; **Йорданов**, Плиска, № 24.

b. Archaeological Museum, Varna, no. VIII 209. According to its former owners, treasure-hunters from Novi Pazar, the bulla comes from Pliska. D. 21.5- 31 (18) 3 mm. Half of a specimen with damaged letters of the text, which does not allow for an overall reading, but nevertheless makes certain corrections in the reading of the specimen already published.

*Unpublished.*

*Both seals are struck with the same pair of dies.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of St. Michael holding a scepter ornamented with three balls (r. hand) and a globus (l. hand).

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

a. ΚΑΤΑΚ . | . ΑΝΘΝΙΑ | Τ ΠΡΙCΚΑ | . ΕΠΑΝ .. | ΚΑΜΝ

b. . ΑΤΑ . . | . 'ΑΝΘ . . . | . ΠΡΙC . . | ΤΕΠ . . . . | Κ . . .

Κατακ[αλ(ών)] ανθύπατ(ος) π(ατ)ρί(κιος) (καὶ) κατεπάν[ω ό] Καμ(έ)ν(ος)

The original publisher of the seal has proposed reading of the patronym as τῷ Καμαπᾶ and has dated the bulla in the Xth-XIth c. without attempting at identification of the owner of the seal presumably due to the uncertainty in the reading.

In his study dedicated to the Armenians in Byzantium, Kazhdan assumes reading of the patronym as ό Καμ(έ)ν and attempts at identifying the owner with Katakalon Kekaumenos known from the narrative sources, a namesake of the well-known writer.

He based his assumption on the fact that the Armenian chronicler Aristakes Lastivertci (ch. XVI, p. 94), who should have been best informed on the Armenian notables, refers to Katakalon Kekaumenos using his sobriquet Kamen= fire.

The above proposal for completion leads me too to the hypothesis that it applies to Katakalon Kekaumenos.

Here in brief is what we know about him (see **Каждан**, *Армяне*, № 8:4; **Savvides**, Kekaumenos, 21-25, no. 3) :

He was born in the town of Kolonea and in 1039 he was appointed protospatharios and commander of the tagma of the Armeniakon theme in the defense of Messina (πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ τοῦ τάγματος ἄρχων τῶν Ἀρμενιакῶν, see **Skylitzes**, 406-407);

In 1042, Emperor Michael V (1041-1042) assigned him the suppression of the popular unrest in the capital Constantinople. In 1043, Κατακαλὼν Κεκαυμένος βέστης καὶ ἄρχων ὧν τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰστρον πόλεων καὶ χωρίων\*, who routed the Russian troops in 1043 on their return from Constantinople near Varna (see **Skylitzes**, 433.27-28).

In 1044-1048, Κατακαλὼν Κεκαυμένος βέστης καὶ δοῦξ Ἀνίον καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας (see **Skylitzes**, 438.62, 448.54-55) along with Aaron fought against the Seljuks.

In 1050, he was promoted to στρατηλάτης τῆς Ἀνατολῆς (see **Skylitzes**, 467, 4-5) and dispatched to wage war against the Pechenegs in northern Bulgaria.

Ca. 1056, he was μάγιστρος καὶ δοῦξ Ἀντιοχείας (see **Skylitzes**, 483.2-3). His seals from Lwow (see **Swiencicky**, Lwow, 434-441, № 10); the Hermitage (M-8231, see **Лихачев**, *Моливодвулы*, с. 85, табл. LXI. 8) and Zacos, III (See **Cheyne**, Zacos, III, no. 41) stem from that time.

In 1057 he was Isaakios Komnenos' adherent, and after the accession of the latter, he was elevated to the rank of *κουροπαλάτης* (see **Skylitzes**, 500.86; **Каждан**, *Армяне*, № 8:4)

There are verses dedicated to his active military career connected to his victory over the nomads (the data are included in Kazhdan's inquiry, *Армяне*, № 8:4)

The idea for identification of the owner of the seal from Pliska with this military commander, whose activities were closely connected to the events on the Bulgarian lands during 1040s, is quite inviting. The depiction of St. Michael on the obverse also testifies in favor of that. We find the same iconography on the seals of: Katakalon Kekaumenos, doux of Antiochos; Kalinik Kekaumenos, monk and kouropalates (**Cheyne**, Saint George, p. 125, fig.22-23), and Michael Kekaumenos, protoproedros (according to an unpublished seal from DO. 55. 1. 300).

*Obv.* Bust of St. Michael with a scepter and a globus.

*Rev.* +K̅ER'Θ' | M̅xΠPO̅C | ΔP'ΤΩΚΕ | KAMENΩ

But the combination between the titles anthypatos and patrikios with the office katepano and mostly the abbreviated writing of ΠP̅I = π(α)τρί(κ)ιος point to dating such seals after the mid-XIth c. Thus we need to overcome some inconsistencies between the text of the seal and the narrative sources. According to the latter, Katakalon Kekaumenos was vestes as early as 1043, and in 1057 he was already kouropalates, having passed previously through vestarches, proedros, protoproedros and magistros, and on the seal, which we essentially date after 1050s, he is still anthypatos and patrikios.

Of course, direct correspondence between data from narrative sources and seals is a rare phenomenon. Chronicles most often reflect a later stage in the career of the particular person. In the case with the title vestes of 1043, it is not hard to assume the combination of patrikios, anthypatos and vestes, common among many Byzantine dignitaries of that time.

Another possibility could also be assumed: the owner of our seals could be identified with Katakalon Kekaumenos, Byzantine military officer who took part in the coop of Nikephoros Diogenes against the throne in 1094 (see *Alexiade*, II, 180.8; 183.29; **Каждан**, *Армяне*, с. 32; **Savvides**, Kekaumenos, 26-27, no. 5)

At this stage it seems to be appropriate to confine ourselves to reading of the text of the seal only, and there the name of Kekaumenos is not inscribed.

## 259. Κωνσταντῖνος Καμύτζης σεβαστὸς (1130s-1140s)

Historical Museum, Blagoevgrad. Found on the land of the village of Valkosel, near Kalet locality, Blagoevgrad region. D. 32-32 (24) ? mm. Good imprint and a well-preserved bulla.

*Ed.* **Кемалов, К., Николов, Д.** Византийски моливдовул от с. Вълкосел, Благоевградско.-МПК, 4, 1966, 14-15 (the photo is in negative); **Йорданов**, Севастия, № 23.

*Parallels:* **Seibt**, *Bleisiegel*, no. 171; **Oikonomides**, *Seals*, p. 4, 2 a-d (DO: 58. 106. 1263; 58. 106. 1777; 58. 106. 3610; Fogg A. M., no 500, 507); **Cheyne**, *Zacos*, III, no. 82. All specimens are struck in the same boulloterion, in spite of some differences in those of Dumbarton Oaks, but which are due to later deformations.

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion of Christ on her breast. Sigla: M̅P || Θ̅V : M(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ.

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

+ Θ̅K̅ER'Θ' | K̅ΩN'ANTI | N̅Ω̅E̅RA'Ω | T̅Ω̅K̅AMV | TZH

+ Θ(εο)τόκε βοήθει Κωνσταντίνω σεβαστῷ τῷ Καμύτζη

The dating proposed in various publications is as follows: Kemalov-Nikolov to the XIth-XIIth c.; Seibt to 1130s-1140s; Oikonomides generally to the XIIth c.

Two other groups of seals bearing the name of Constantine Kamytzes are also known:

1. *Obv.* + MAP | TVCCER. | ..K̅ΩNT | .....MEC. | ..OIC

*Rev.* + ΠI'CTO. | ΛATPINC. | E̅K̅Γ̅EN̅8C. | .AMVTZ | ΩN:

(**Konstantopoulos**, no. 636; **Stavrakos**, no. 106; **Seibt**, *Bleisiegel*, S. 313, n.1)

2. *Obv.* St. George standing holding a spear (r. hand) and resting his l. hand on a shield set on the ground.

*Rev.* + K̅EROH | Θ̅I̅K̅ΩNT | KAMITZH

(according to an unpublished bulla in DO. 58. 106. 1777)

Werner Seibt identifies the owner of the seal presented at the beginning with sebastos Constantine Kamytzes known from an epytaph whose author is considered to be Theodore Prodromos. According to its text (**Theodoros Prodromos**, *Hist. Giedichte*, LXIV), the sebastos Constantine Kamytzes married the porphyrogennete Maria Komnene, daughter of John II's sister (1118-1143) and Constantine Angelos. This marriage, according to some authors, was contracted in 1145 (**Barzos**, *Komnenoi*, K 91, p. 650).

This is the only information on Constantine Kamytzes. More is known about his father.

Regarding the origin of the Kamytzes family, various etymologies have been suggested: According to some, it is connected with the Greek verb καμῖω = blink **Каждан**, *Соц. состав*, с. 186, б. 167). According to others (**Gautier**, *Obituaire*, p. 250), its ancestor was Καμύτζης, a Seljuk in service with Emperor Alexios I (1081-1118).

Which representatives of this family are known?

1. Basil Kamytzes, spatharokandidatos epi tou Chrysotriklinou, attested by his unpublished bulla in the collection Fogg A. M., no. 228, which is dated to the XIth c. If they are of the same family, he could be no. 2's predecessor and possibly his father.

*Obv.* Bust of St. Michael.

*Rev.* + Θ̅K̅ER'Θ' | RACHA'CI | Θ'POKANΔΔ' | CI'T8XΓK | NTKA | MTZ

2. Eustathios Kamytzes, Constantine's father from his marriage with Theodore Gabras' daughter. He had an active military and civil career in the government of Alexios I Komnenos. The events, in which he took part, were often connected with the Bulgarian lands. He ended his career as a sebastos at the early years of the reign of John II (1118-1143) (on him, see **Gautier**, *Blachernes*, no. 42).

3. Anna Kamytzena, sebastē, according to her unpublished bullae in the collections DO. 58. 106. 1814 and Fogg A.M., no 1208.

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans.

*Rev.* ....Π. | ....ΓNE | ...ANCE | ...HNT | KAMH | ZHNAN

It is dated generally to the XIIth c. Her direct relationship with the remaining members of the family is impossible to point out. She could be wife of no. 2 (but why her father's name is not inscribed on her seal?) and respectively mother of Constantine Kamytzes.

4. Manuel Kamytzes Komnenos-Doukas-Angelos (1150-1202), protostrator, the son of Constantine Kamytzes from his marriage to Maria Komnene. He is a direct participant in a number of events from the early years of the restoration of the Bulgarian state under the Asans (on his career and origin, see **Barzos**, *Komnenoi*, K 175, and on the events regarding the Bulgarian lands, in which he took part, see **Златарски**, *История*, III, 117-148).

But let us go back to the data from our bulla. The questions are the following: when and to whom in the fortress near the present-day village of Valkosel, and on what occasion did the sebastos Constantine Kamytzes send his correspondence?

Of the datings proposed in each publication, Seibt's is most acceptable. But still it needs some specification and deciphering, since at least three groups of seals of this person are known.

What are the chronological parameters?

When exactly Constantine Kamytzes was born and when exactly he inherited his father's title sebastos is not known. His marriage to Maria Komnene was in 1145, and the epitaph on the occasion of his death is dated to 1156-1158. Manuel Kamytzes was born in 1150, and his unknown brother or sister in 1152-1155 (**Barzos**, *Komnenoi*, K175-176). Thus by 1155 Constantine Kamytzes had been living occupying the rank of the sebatoi. His kinship with the ruling family however should have somehow been reflected on his seals after his marriage to Maria Komnene. It is logical to accept that his seals with an ordinary text and the title of sebastos reflect his condition from 1118 (his father's death) to 1145. It was at that time when his correspondence was received in the fortress near the present-day village of Valkosel. The answers to the question to whom he wrote are standard: either to the local governor who may have been his relative or for obtaining some kind of favor, or to the governor of his estate, if there was any at all there.

## 260. Καναβούτζης (XI-XII c.)

Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia, no. 133. Find-spot: uncertain. D.31-32 (22) 3 mm. Good imprint but poorly preserved bulla. Cracked and corroded along the channel.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin holding a medallion of Christ before her chest. On either side the sigla:  $\overline{MP} \parallel \overline{\Theta V}$ :  $M(\eta\tau\eta)\rho \Theta(\epsilon\omicron)\tilde{\upsilon}$ .

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

+  $C\Phi P A \mid \Gamma I C \Gamma P A \Phi A C \mid \Pi I C T O V C A \mid T O V K A N N A \mid R O V T \zeta I$

+ Σφραγὶς γραφὰς πιστοῦσα τοῦ Καναβούτζι

An unpublished bulla with the same patronym but with a different text and depiction is preserved in the collection DO (58. 106. 5401):

*Obv.* Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r.hand) and holding a book (l.hand).

*Rev.* +  $C\Phi P A \Gamma \mid \Gamma P A \Phi A C \mid \Pi I C T \delta C A \mid T \delta K A N N A \mid R \delta T \zeta H \mid$

Further unpublished bulla similar to the above but nevertheless different is also preserved in the collection DO (58. 106. 5406):

*Obv.* Bust of St. Nicholas.

*Rev.* +  $C\Phi P A \mid \Gamma I C \Gamma P A \Phi A C \mid \Pi I C T O V C A \mid T O V K A N N A \mid R O V T \zeta H \mid$

Only the patronym Καναβούτζης is written out on the seals. It is a derivative of Καννάβης whose etymology is unclear. Very tentatively, Kazhdan assumes a Slavic origin as well.

In the XIth-XIIth-century narrative source some persons are attested whose names, though with certain reserves, could be related to this family:

1. N., Κανάβης or Καναβα πατρίκιος, reported in the first half of the XIth c. as a donator of his son/brother\*in-law Basil strategos (see Jus, XVI.19).

2. Μιχαήλ Κανάκης or Κανάβης, official in Smyrna in 1133 (**MM**, IV, 62.7-8).

3. Νικόλαος Κάνναβος Rather young, still a teenager, he was proclaimed emperor in 1204 and was imprisoned from Alexios Doukas (**Choniates**, 562.60-62; 564.6-10).

4. Several representatives of the family Καναβούτζης from a later period are known (see *PLP*, nos. 2634, 91939, 93754, etc.).

Known from seals are the following:

1. Βασίλειος Καναβούτζης κτημάτινος from the XIth c., according to an unpublished specimen in DO. 58. 106. 2196:

*Obv.* Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

*Rev.*  $\cdot A C I A E I \cdot \mid \cdot T H M A T \mid T O K A N \cdot \mid R \delta T \zeta$

2. Λέων Καννάβης σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος from the XIth c. (see **Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, p. 630).

3. Νικόλαος Καναβούτζης πρωτοσπαθᾶριος from the XIth c., according to an unpublished specimen in Zacos, III, no. 1594/8:

*Obv.* Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand).

*Rev.*  $\cdot N I \mid K O A \cdot A \cdot C \Pi A \mid \Theta A P \cdot O K A \mid N A R \delta T \mid T \zeta H C \mid - o -$

The dating of the seal is generally to the late XIth or the early XIIth c. We cannot be sure whether it bears any relation to the persons presented above.

## 261-262. Ἰωάννης Καντακουζηνός (XII c.)

a. Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia, no. 124. D. 32-32 (28) 3.5 mm. Incomplete imprint; the first letters of almost all lines are out of the blank. The bulla itself is cracked along the channel.

*Ed.* **Мущмов**, Печати, № 52.

b. Archaeological Museum, Plovdiv, no. 3659. Found on the land of the village of Debar, Parvomai district, in 1956. D. 41-42 (28) 5 mm. Well-centered imprint but not distinct enough. Bulla in a good state of preservation.

*Ed.* **Джамбов**, X. Нов оловен печат на Иван Кантакузин.- *Сб. Д. Дечев*, С., 1958, 343-346; V.L., *BZ*, 52, 1959, 495-496; **Jordanov**, Plovdiv, no 19.

*Both seals are struck with the same pair of dies.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* St. Demetrios standing, holding a spear (r. hand) and resting his l. hand on a shield set on the ground. On either side vertical inscription: O-A-Γ-I-O-C  $\parallel$  Δ -H-M-H-T-P-OC: Ὁ ἅγιος Δημήτριος.

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

+  $I \omega A N N \delta C E \mid K A N T A K O V \zeta H \mid \cdot \delta \Pi O \Theta O C T \nu \Pi O I \mid C \Phi P A \Gamma I \cdot H N T \omega N \mid$

$\Gamma P A \Phi \omega N M V \mid P O R A \nu T A \mid - \cdot -$

Ἰωάννου σε Καντακουζηνοῦ πόθος τυποῖ σφραγιστὴν τῶν γραφῶν Μυροβλύτα

In the original publication, the bulla is only documented without any commentary and with some gaps in the reading. Most of them were filled out in the second publication, but two essential errors were made: according to Dzhambov, John Kantakouzenos is a sebastos and this is the future Emperor John VI (1347-1354). In Laurent's review (*BZ*, 52, 1959, 495-496), the reading of the text was emended. In his view, the technical characteristics of the seal confine it within the chronological limits of the second half of the XIIth c., from which period two representatives of the Kantakouzenoi named John are known: the one, John Kantakouzenos, sebastos and brother-in-law of the sebastokrator Andronikos, was in service with Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180) and died in battle in 1176; the other, John Kantakouzenos, brother-in-law of Emperor Isaakios II (1185-1195), honored with the title of caesar, suffered a disgraceful defeat by the Bulgars in 1186 (on him see below).

"It is difficult to say", father Lauren states, "to whom of them both the seal belonged",



but he favors the former.

In the prosopographical study of the Kantakouzenoi, these hesitations are eliminated and the seal is undoubtedly related to the sebastos John Kantakouzenos (see **Nicol**, *Kantakouzenos*, no. 2). The same is also repeated in the prosopographical study of the Komnenoi (see **Barzos**, *Komnenoi*, 160-161).

Certain supplementary information has been offered by the recently published bulla of John Kantakouzenos as caesar and brother-in-law of the emperor, who should certainly be related to the second dignitary. Not only his titles γάμβρος καὶ καῖσαρ are inscribed on it, but the iconographic subject is also made out: a representation of St. Theodore as a warrior (see no. 263-264 below).

The difficulties in identification of the owner of the present seal are due to the absence of any title or office, as well as to the fact that many of the Kantakouzenoi were named John.

Nevertheless, the iconography and the technical characteristics of the bullae confine our findings within the limits of the XIIth c. and definitely point to identification with the sebastos John Kantakouzenos. But still a further possibility should not be excluded either: In the Alexiad of Anna Komnene the name of Kantakouzenos one of the military commanders of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118), is reported several times. Knowing that Anna Komnene very often reports only the patronym or sobriquet of the personages in the Alexiad, it is not unlikely that this Kantakouzenos was likewise named John.

But let us go back to the identification already made.

John Kantakouzenos is the son of the Kantakouzenos reported in the Alexiade. He is second husband of Maria Komnene, daughter of the sebastokrator Andronikos Komnenos and niece of Emperor Manuel I, whom he married in 1145.

He took active part in the campaign of Emperor Manuel I Komnenos against the Serbians, Hungarians and Pechenegs between 1150-1153 in the course of which he was severely wounded and lost the fingers of his hand (see **Cinnamus**, 109.22-111; **Cinnamus** tr. **Brand**, 87-89; **Nicol**, *Kantakouzenos*, p. 4)

In 1155, he was sent to Belgrade where he defeated a plot of the inhabitants to hand over the city to Hungary

..When this had been reported to the emperor...he felt great anxiety. He dispatched John Kantakouzenos partly to settle the city, which as stated was troubled by thoughts of rebellion, partly to entomb the bodies of the Romans ... Kantakouzenos returned, keeping in chains those people of Belgrade who as stated had attempted a revolution. Then setting out from there he [Manuel I] passed the winter near the city of Beroe... (see **Cinnamus**, 133.1-16; **Cinnamus** tr. **Brand**, 104-105).

John Kantakouzenos' signature in his capacity as πανσέβαστος σεβαστὸς καὶ γάμβρος τοῦ βασιλέως is placed under the Acts of the sessions of the Synod of 12th May 1157, (*PG*, 140, col. 177C; *Sakkelion*, 316. 13-14); March 2, 1166 (*PG*, 140, col. 236 D, 253B); 30th January and 18 February 1170 (*PG*, 140, col. 253B; **Petit**, Documents, p. 479.14-15).

John Kantakouzenos died in September 1176 in a battle at Myriokephalon against the army of sultan Kilij Arslan; the Byzantine army with the emperor at the head was put to flight (see **Choniates**, 185.32-36).

The presented information on the life and activities of John Kantakouzenos, though brief, is necessary in our attempt to determine when and to whom in Bulgaria he sent his correspondence, impressed with the bullae presented here. For the first of them, no information on its findspot is available, but for the second one is known that it was found on the land of the village of Debar, present-day district of the town of Parvomai.

There are many occasions on which John Kantakouzenos could have sent his correspondence to the mentioned region, since his participation in the hostilities of 1150s were very often connected with the Bulgarian lands, from where troops and supplies were recruited. But still more concrete is the account of the winter of 1154/1155, when the emperor spent the winter in Beroe, where John Kantakouzenos returned to him from his successful expedition. They spent the winter there and mustered an army and supplies from all over the country. Perhaps the discovery of the bulla of the same John Kantakouzenos in the village of Debar, at 40 km from the main Byzantine camp, serves as an illustration of the recruiting activities there. Perhaps John Kantakouzenos wrote to the commander of the respective military unit garrisoned there so as to coordinate the future operations, since according to the same **Choniates**, "when spring was approaching, he gathered military forces from everywhere and set out again to the Hungarian country..."

#### 263-264. Ἰωάννης Καντακουζηνὸς γάμβρος καὶ καῖσαρ (1185-1186)

a. Private collection. Found by a treasure-hunter with a metal detector in the stronghold near Dobri dol. D.34-35 (33?) 2.5 mm. It was some time a good imprint but now the bulla is in a bad condition. Open along the line of the channel and bent possibly due to a blow during the "excavation".

Ed. **Jordanov**, Dobri dol, no. 10.

No parallels known.

b. Private collection (N. Nikolov from Razgrad). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 42-45 (34) 3 mm. Large blank. Well-centered but nevertheless incomplete imprint due to slipping of the blank in the boulloterion.

Unpublished.

Parallels: **Zacos**, *Seals*, I, no. 2739; **Oikonomides**, *Dated*, no. 123.

Obv. St. Theodore standing, holding a spear (r. hand) and resting his l. hand on a shield set on the ground. On either side remains of a vertical inscription:

a) O- . . . . C || . . . . Ω-PO-C

b) O-A-ΓΙ-O-C || Θ-Ε-O-ΔΩ-PO-C : 'Ο ἅγιος Θεόδωρος

Rev. Inscription of seven lines.

a) ΓΑΜΡΟΝ | ΚΡΑΤΟΥΝΤΟΣ | ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΝΙΩ | ΑΝΝΗΝΚΑΝΤΑΚ8 |

ΖΗΝΟΝΚΑΙCΑ | ΠΑΜΑΡΤΥC | CΚΕΠΟΙC

b) . . ΜΡΟΝ | . ΡΑΤΟΥΝΤΟΣ | . ΕCΠΟΤΗΝΙ | ΑΝΝΗΝΚΑΝ |

ΤΑΚ8ΖΗΝΟΝ | ΚΑΙCΑΡΑΜΑΡ | . VCCKE | ΠΟΙC

Γάμβρον κρατοῦντος δεσπότην Ἰωάννην Καντακουζηνὸν καίσαρα Μάρτυς σκέποις

John Kantakouzenos married the sister of Isaakios II Angelos in 1185/1186 and was elevated to the rank of caesar. He was appointed commander in the campaign against the Bulgars in 1186, but suffered a humiliating defeat that cost him his dignity of caesar. Our seal can safely be dated to the brief period between the time he became "brother-in-law of the ruling Emperor" and his degradation.

Some twenty other bullae, among which that of John Asen I, originate from the same fortress.

Who was John Kantakouzenos, caesar and brother-in-law of Emperor Isaakios II Angelos, and what do we know about him?

John Kantakouzenos was one of the many victims of the reign of terror of the usurper Andronikos Komnenos and was blinded in 1183 (**Choniates**, 258-259.16-23).

He married Eirine Angelina, daughter of Andronikos Angelos and sister of the Emperors



Isaakios II and Alexios III. After his brother-in-law Isaakios II Angelos came to the throne in 1185, he gave him the rank of Caesar. His name was later mentioned in connection to the war against the Bulgarians.

After announcing the revolt in Turnovo (October 26, 1185 or 1186) and the first successful operations, the reaction of Constantinople followed. John Angelos, the emperor's uncle, was appointed commander-in-chief of the Byzantine army against the rebels, but since he was soon suspected of treachery and usurpation, he was deposed.

Emperor John Kantakouzenos' brother-in-law was appointed in his place. I will continue with the words of the chronicler Niketas Choniates, a contemporary and participant in the events.

"The *kaisar*, John Kantakouzenos, the emperor's brother-in-law who was married to his sister, succeeded to the command of the *sebastokrator*. The man was huge in size and most courageous of heart, and with a booming voice. Although greatly experienced in the art of warfare, he was unsuccessful most of the time, or, rather, all of the time, because of his rashness and arrogance. The light of his eyes had been extinguished by Andronikos, who had heated for him the iron that maims. The barbarians had learned from their recent defeat that to leave the mountains and turn off into the plains was inimical to them. The *kaisar*, mistaking the guardedness of their behavior for cowardice, tracked them down in the manner of huntsmen as he advanced and then set up camp wherever he happened to be at the time without fortifying it with trenches. When the enemy attacked in the night, he barely saved himself, and his troops were sorely afflicted in diverse ways. Those who were caught as they slept were killed, and those who did not have time to strap on their weapons were taken captive; those who were able to escape without their weapons collected around the *kaisar*, only to find him to be more vindictive than the enemy. He ceaselessly insulted and reproached them for being helpless and for utterly betraying him. In an attempt to retrieve the defeat, he donned his armor, leaped on his spirited Arabian stallion, and couched his strong, heavy lance. Pointing his weapon in the direction of the enemy, he exhorted the survivors of his army to follow him, even though he could not see the enemy and had no idea where they were encamped. When the Romans had been put to flight by the barbarians, their standards were captured and the soft tunics and elegant cloaks of the *kaisar* snatched and put on by the companions of Asan and Peter. The victors, with the standards at their head, once more occupied the plains. When Kantakouzenos laid aside his command, Alexios Branas was proclaimed general..." see **Choniates**, 374.1-376.28; **Choniates** tr. **Magoulas**, 206-207.

This episode has proved somewhat perturbing to investigators. In P. Petrov's view, there is clearly some confusion here. Peter had been crowned before that and it is hardly likely that he would have put on the caesar's chlamys. It is possible, according to the same author, that it was in fact one of the brothers who had thrown the caesar's chlamys on his shoulders, thus seeking to achieve a psychological effect in demonstratively underscoring the victory over the Byzantine army.

This contention is corroborated by the seals found in the stronghold near the village of Dobri dol.

A further connection, besides the events presented above, between the caesar John Kantakouzenos and John Asen I also existed. When comparing the depictions on their seals, we find extremely close resemblance between them. Of the known few hundred similar seals featuring St. Theodore we find strikingly exact parallels only between those of John Kantakouzenos and John, basileus ton Bulgaron. This coincidence leads to the conclusion that perhaps John Asen I has found the caesar's boulloterion along with the rest of the signs

and insignia in John Kantakouzenos' tent. John Asen I had ordered that the depiction on the obverse should be copied on his own seal. Thus he not only acquired a superb depiction on the obverse of his seal, but, what is most important, in this way he demonstrated that St. Theodore had deprived John Kantakouzenos of his protection by presenting the victory to John, basileus ton Bulgaron. Indeed, ideology and psychological effect lie at the back of this.

## 265. Γεώργιος Καππαδόκος (XII c.)

Private collection (G. Dzanev from Razgrad). Found in the stronghold near the village of Krassen, Russe region. D. 24.5-26 (23) 3 mm. Good though incomplete imprint. Cut at one end by the nib of an adze or spade at its unearthing.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription:

Θ- Γ-Ε || Ω-Γ.-ΟC : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Γεώργ[ι]ος.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

..ΕΩΡ | .ΓΙ8CΦΡΑ | ..CΜΑΤΟΝ | .ΑΠΠΑΔ. | .ΟΝ

[+Γε]ωρ[γ]ίου σφρά[γ]ισμα τοῦ [Κ]αππαδ[όκ]ου

The owner of the presented seal is George Kapadokos. Its dating is generally to the XIIth c. A person with this name is reported in the typikon of St. Mamas monastery in Constantinople (on the monastery, see Janin, Constantinople, 325-331). Some biographical facts about George Kapadokos are reported in the preface of the typikon. He was appointed to office by Emperor John II Komnenos (1118-1143), while he was still young. After Manuel I Komnenos' (1143-1180) accession to the throne, George Kapadokos was appointed steward of the imperial residence and custodian of the imperial treasure. He died in 1159 in his capacity as a mystikos (see **Magdalino**, *Mystikos*, p. 231).

At the beginning of 1147 the same mystikos George the Cappadocian obtained permission from the Patriarch to renovate the monastery at his own expense, which he did. After his death, his brother Theocharistos the Cappadocian was authorized to advance the monastery's documents through the office of the mystikos of Constantinople (*BMFD*, vol. 3, no. 32, 973-1041).

The coincidence of time and names does not exclude the possibility of George Kapadokos, the owner of the seal from the village of Krassen, Russe region, to be identical with the mystikos, ktetor of the monastery.

## 266. Κωνσταντῖνος Καππαδόκος (XII c.)

Private collection (St. Bilik, Sofia). Fid-spot: uncertain. D. 16-26 (19) 2.5 mm, W. 7.79 g. Half of what was once a good imprint.

Ed. **Билик**, *Фамилни имена*, № 9.

Parallels: **Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, p. 630; **Laurent**, *Bulles metriques*, no. 223; DO. 58. 106. 5731.

Obv. Inscription of four lines:

.ΩΝ | ...ΤΙΝ8 | ..ΡΑΓΙC | ΜΑ

Rev. Inscription of three lines:

ΤΟ. | ΚΑΠ.. | ΔΟΚ.

[+K]ων[σταν]τίνου [σφ]ράγισμα το[ῦ] Καπ[πα]δόκ[ου]

## 267-272. Ἄννα Καραντηνή (XI c.)

a. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 18506. Find-spot: strategia of Preslav. D. 18-20 (17) 4 mm. W. 9.05 g. Good imprint but covered with lead oxides.

Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 407.

b. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 18558. Find-spot: strategia of Preslav. D. 17.5-20 (17) 4 mm. W. 9.35 g. Very good imprint in a superb state of preservation.

Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 408.

c. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 24965. Find-spot: strategia of Preslav. D. 20-20.5 (17) 3 mm. W. 8.80 g. Good imprint in a fairly good state of preservation.

Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 409.

d. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 26713. Find-spot: strategia of Preslav. D. 17-22 (17) 3 mm. W. 6.60 g. Good imprint, struck over another bulla of a larger diameter, of which half is preserved.

Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 410.

e-f. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav. Find-spot: strategia of Preslav. Two halves; one is double struck.

Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 410a-410b.

The six specimens are struck in the same boulloterion.

Parallels: Banescu, Collectia inedite, no 8; DO. 58.106.2464; 58.106.3298; Fogg A. M., no. 2282. They are struck in the same boulloterion as our specimens.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin with both hands open in front of her chest. Sigla:  $\overline{MP} \parallel \overline{\Theta V} : M(\acute{\eta}τη)ρ \Theta(εο)ῦ$ .

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ ΘΚΕ | Ρ'ΤΗCH | Δ'ΑΝΑΚΑ | PANTH | - Ν -

+ Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θει τῇ σῇ δ(ού)λῃ Ἄννη Καραντην(ῇ)

Ana is a representative of the family Karantenos. The etymology of this name is associated with the toponym Karana in Galathea (Morritz, *Zunamen*, 2, S. 39) or with Little Armenia (Lampros, K. *NE*, 9, 1912, p. 411).

To supplement what has already been published here, I wish to add a precise expanded list of all representatives of this family in Byzantium in the XIth c. Almost all previous investigators are likely to regard the family Σαραντηνός as a variation of Καραντηνός. Kazhdan pays attention to the fact that with manuscripts it is quite possible to mistaken K with Σ. This may be true for manuscripts, but regarding sphragistic and epigraphic material these two letters K and Σ are well distinguished. This is the reason for including in the offered list only the representatives of Καραντηνός:

1. Θεόδωρος Καραντηνός πατρίκιος in command of the fleet against the mutineer Bardas Skleros in 977/978 (Skylitzes, 322.94).

2. Θεόδωρος Καραντηνός μάγιστρος, who in the reign of Emperor Basil II (976-1025) put up a church in western Anatoliki dedicated to the Virgin, according to an inscription found on a cornice from the mosque in Kotchash (see J. R. Sitlington Sterrett, *An Epigraphical Journey in Asia Minor*, Boston, 1888, no. 165, p. 174; Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* I, c. 414, № 8). He could be identical with no. 1 above.

3. Κωνσταντῖνος Καραντηνός πατρίκιος καὶ δοῦξ Ἀντιόχειας (1030-1031), see Skylitzes, 377.15; 379.76).

4. Νικηφόρος Καραντηνός πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς Ναυπλίου (1031/1032), see

Skylitzes, 386.60; 387.85; 389.52.

5. Νικηφόρος Καραντηνός δοῦξ Σκοπείων (1071/1072), see Skylitzes, *Continuates*, p. 163.16-17; Banescu, *Duches*, 145-146.

6. Μιχαήλ Καραντηνός βεστάρχης καὶ δοῦξ Κρήτης, according to the data of an inscription, in 1088/89 or 1094 (see Gregoire, *Recueil*, p. 74, no. 226.8; Laurent, V. Le statute de la Crete byzantine avant et apres sa liberation de joug arabe (961).- *Κρητικά χρονικά*, 2, 1961, 394-395, n. 40.15-16; Ahrweiler, Crete, p. 223).

Known from seals dated to the late XIth c. are the following:

1. Βάρδας Καραντηνός:

a. πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς (Laurent, *Orghidan*, no. 334);

b. ὑπατος καὶ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ βασιλεῦς – mid-XIth c., see Schlunberger, *Sig.*, p. 696, no. 2, now kept in the Hermitage (M-6117). I examined an illustration of the same in Vienna: the problem is in the reading of the patronym: whether it is Karantenos or Sarantenos.

Obv. St. Theodore standing, holding a spear (r. hand) and shield (l. hand).

Rev. + ΡΑΡΔΑ|ΠΑΤΩΤΩ|ΑΡΑΝΤΙΝΩ|ΑΝΩΤΩΚΡΑ|ΤΕ88ΑΓ.8Ν|ΜΟΝΡΑC|ΛΕΟC

2. Βασίλειος Καραντηνός – a private person from the late XIth c., according to his unpublished bulla in the collection Zacos, III, no 1428/2a-12:

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion.

Rev. ΚΕΠΙC|ΠΑΝΑΓΝ|ΑCΙΑΗΩΝ|ΟΝΚΑΡΑΝ|ΗΝΩΝ

3. Γεώργιος Καραντηνός, a private person from the XIth c. (see Konstantopoulos, no. 640a).

4. Θεόδωρος Καραντηνός – private person from the XIth-XIIth c., according to his unpublished bulla in the collection Zacos, III, no 1430:

Obv. + ΗCΦΡΑ|ΓΙCΗΔΗΤΟΝ|ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΝ|ΓΡΑΦΕΙ

Rev. ΤΟΝΤΙΝΟ|ΤΟΝΤΟΝΤΟΝ|ΚΑΡΑΝ..|ΝΟΝΛΕΓΩ

5. Ἰωάννης Καραντηνός – private person, according to his bullae (Konstantopoulos, no 640, 640b; Laurent, *Bulles metriques*, no. 570; Stavrakos, no. 111 and an unpublished one in DO. 55. 1. 3883).

6. Κωνσταντῖνος Καραντηνός πρωτοσπαθάριος ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοτρικλίνου καὶ στρατηγὸς Περδολάβας (see nos. 273-278 here).

7. Λέων Καραντηνός νωβελίσσιμος, according to an unpublished bulla in the collection DO. 58. 106. 3285:

Obv. Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

Rev. ..8ΡΕΙΜΕ|ΑΛΟΜΑΡΤVС|ΠΙΤΩΔ8ΛΩ|..PANTINΩΛΕ|..TINΩΡΕΛΛ|...

8. Μιχαήλ Καραντηνός – a private person (see no. 279 here)

9. Νικηφόρος Καραντηνός – a private person from the second half of the XIth c., according to an unpublished bulla in the collection Fogg A. M., no. 2250:

Obv. Bust of a beardless saint.

Rev. ....|-ΑΤΡ'|ΙΚΙΦΟΡ'|ΚΑΡΑ|..ΗΝ'

10. Συμεὼν Καραντηνός δισύπατος and a private person (on him see nos. 280-282 here).

In my previous publications it was ascertained that on the seals of some representatives of this family: Anna, Bardas and Constantine (now George too) a relatively rare iconographic subject depicting the Virgin is represented. It is perhaps not unrelated to the fact that Θεόδωρος Καραντηνός μάγιστρος, who appears to be the earliest to date representative of the family and perhaps its founder, put up a church dedicated to the Virgin housing a patron's icon reproduced on the above seals.

**273-278. Κωνσταντῖνος Καραντηνός πρωτοσπαθάριος ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοτρικλίνου καὶ στρατηγὸς Περδολάβας** (first quarter of the XI<sup>th</sup> century)

a. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 18240. Find-spot: strategia of Preslav. D. 26-30 (23) 4 mm. W. 18.60 g. The dies were slightly loose in the boulloterion; as a result the obverse is slightly blotted.

Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 298; Jordanov, G. Names, no. 63.6a.

b. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 16698. Find-spot: strategia of Preslav. D. 21-26 (23) 4 mm. W. 9.30 g. The dies were slightly loose in the boulloterion; as a result the letters of the obverse were doubled.

Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 299; Jordanov, G. Names, no. 63.6b.

c. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 24600. Find-spot: strategia of Preslav. D. 23.5-25 (23) 3 mm. W. 11.20 g. Unsuccessful imprint on a low-quality blank.

Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 300; Jordanov, G. Names, no. 63.6c.

d. Private collection (N. Georgiev from Shumen). Find-spot: strategia of Preslav. D. 22.5-25 (23) 3 mm. Specimen in a poor state of preservation.

Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 301; Jordanov, G. Names, no. 63.6d.

e. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 18553. Find-spot: strategia of Preslav. D. 22.5-25 (?) 3 mm. Specimen broken in two with fragments missing.

Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 302; Jordanov, G. Names, no. 63.6e.

f. Archaeological Museum, Preslav. Found by Em. Kossev with a metal detector in the autumn of 1989. An attempt at its legalization was made in Markele, near Karnobat. D. 23.5-23.5 (23) 3.5 mm. Good imprint and well-preserved specimen.

Ed. Jordanov, G. Names, no. 63.6 f.

All six specimens are struck with the same die.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin holding a medallion of Christ before her. Sigla:  $\overline{MP} \parallel \overline{\Theta V}$ : Μ(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ. Circular inscription along a border of dots: +ΘΚΕΡΟΗΘΕΙΤΩCΩΔ8Λ'

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

$\overline{K\Omega N} \mid A' C \Pi A \Theta' E \mid \Pi T \chi' S C \mid T P A T I \Gamma O \mid \Pi E P A C R A \mid T \omega K A P' A'$

+ Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλ(ω) Κωνσταντίν(ω) (πρωτο)σπαθ(αρί)ω ἐπὶ τοῦ χρ(υσοτρικλίνου) (καὶ) στρατηγὸ Περδ(ολά)β(α)ς τῷ Καρ(αν)δ(η)νῷ

**279. Μιχαήλ Καραντηνός** (XI-XII c.)

National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 30433. Find-spot: the stronghold near the village of Venchan, Varna region. (In the former collection of D. Dimitrov from Pernik.) D. 24-25 mm. Good imprint but with incomplete text.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. A superb depiction of St. Michael standing frontally. On either side the sigla: A  $\parallel$  M.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

- + -  $\mid$  KAPAN  $\mid$  .HN8MIXA  $\mid$  HΛCΦPAGIC  $\mid$  ΠΕΛΩ

+ Καρ(αν)τ(η)νοῦ Μιχαήλ σφραγίς πέλω

Bullae of an individual bearing the same names but with a different depiction of the obverse are preserved in the collections Orghidan (*Orghidan*, no 437) and Dumbarton Oaks (DO. 58.106 5526). There, instead of St. Michael, a standing figure of St. Nicholas is represented. The text of the reverse is also different: + Καραντηνόν με Μιχαήλ, μάκαρ, σκέποις

The publisher of the first specimen proposes dating in the XII<sup>th</sup> c. The other one is unpublished.

The bulla found in Venchan could generally be dated to the late XI<sup>th</sup> and the early XII<sup>th</sup> c.

Whether they belong to one and the same person is hard to say. Our specimen could more likely be identified with the person of Michael Karantenos, vestarches and doux of Crete in 1088/89 or 1094 (according to the data of its inscription, see Gregoire, *Recueil*, p. 74, no. 226.8; Ahrweiler, Crete, p. 223).

**280-281. Συμεὼν Καραντηνός δισύπατος** (XI c.)

a. National Historical Museum, Sofia, no.24816. Find-spot: the stronghold near the village of Zlati Voyvoda. D.18-20 (17) 2 mm, W. 5.53 r. Good imprint and a well-preserved bulla, despite some indistinct letters.

Ed. Jordanov, Zlati Voyvoda, no. 22.

b. Private collection (Dinko Tanchev from Stara Zagora). Probably it is close in origin with the previous one. D.17-20 (17) 3.5 mm, W.6.00 r. Chipped specimen of what was once a good imprint.

Unpublished.

Both specimens are struck in the same boulloterion.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Symeon turned three quarters l. with nimbus and himation. He holds Christ at r. In the field to the l. of Christ the sigla:  $\overline{IC} \parallel \overline{XC}$ . To the r. of the depiction, remains of a vertical inscription:  $\Theta$ -CV-.... : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Συ[μεὼν]

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

+ KER'Θ'  $\mid$  TΩCΩΔ8Λ'  $\mid$  CVMΕΩΝΔΙ  $\mid$  CVΠΙΑΤ'ΤΩ  $\mid$  KAPAN  $\mid$  THN'

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δούλ(ω) Συμεὼν δισυπάτ(ω) τῷ Καραντην(ῷ)

**282. Συμεὼν Καραντηνός** (XI c.)

Archaeological Museum, Varna. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 16-16 (?) 2 mm. W. 4.19 g. Well-centered but incomplete imprint in a poor state of preservation. Some of the letters are damaged by a sharp object. This renders difficult the reading of the text.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Symeon as above.

Rev. Metrical inscription of five lines:

KAPA.  $\mid$  THNOCV  $\mid$  MEΩNTP  $\mid$  Φ. TA  $\mid$  .TA

+ Καρ(αν)την(ό)ν Συμεὼν γρ(ά)φ(ει) τα[ῦ]τα

Two unpublished bullae with the following description are preserved in the collections of Fogg A. M. no 589 and Vienna (MK 405):

Obv. An equal-arm cross on a base of three steps. In the quarters:  $\overline{IC} \parallel \overline{XC} \parallel NI - KA$ , and around the depiction:

+ CECΦPAGIA ....HΛOITOTΓEΓAMEN.. = 'Ι(σοῦ)ς Χ(ριστὸ)ς νικᾷ. Σε σφραγῖδ[α] μοι δ[η]λοῖ τὸ γεγαμέν[ον].

Rev. + KER'Θ'  $\mid$  TΩCΩΔ8'  $\mid$  CVMΕΩΝ  $\mid$  TOKAPAN  $\mid$  THNO  $\mid$

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δούλ(ω) Συμεὼν το Καραντηνο

Probably this third group of seals also belongs to Symeon Karantenos. With the first one he is represented with his title of dishypatos, and with the other two he is as a private person. Their dating is generally to the second half of the XIth c.

Symeon Karantenos is unknown from the narrative sources.

**283-284. Ἀργυρός Καρατζᾶς κουροπαλάτης (XI c., before 1092).**

a. Private collection. Found in the stronghold near Dobri dol. D. 24-25 mm. Several letters in the second and third lines are obliterated, so that its reading is uncertain.

Ed. **Jordanov**, Dobri dol, no. 5.

b. Historical Museum Shumen, no. 14850. Originates from the land of the village of Popovitsa, Plovdiv region? D. 18-20 (18?) 3 mm, 5.74 g. Incomplete imprint.

Unpublished.

Both specimens are struck in the same boulloterion.

Parallel: At the auction Italo vecchi, on Sept. 4, 1998, another specimen was presented (no. 1319), struck in the same boulloterion. It also has non-imprinted areas, making its reading likewise difficult.

Obv. Bust of Saint Nicholas (?) blessing (r. hand) and holding book (l. hand).

Rev. Inscription of six lines.

a) TONCON | IKETH... | ΦΥΛΑ... | Κ8ΡΟΠΑΛΑΤ' | ΑΡΓΥΡΟΤ | ΚΑΡΑΤ

b) ... | IKETHN.. | ... ΦΥΛΑΤΩΝΜ. | Κ8ΡΟΠΑΛΑΤ' | ΑΡΓΥΡΟΤ | ΚΑΡΑΤ

Τὸν σὸν [ο]ϊκετὴν [Θύτα Θεο]ϋ φυλατ(των) .. κουροπαλάτ(ην) Ἀργυρὸ(ν) Καρατζ(ᾶν)

Certain from the text of the imprint is that its owner was Argyros Karatzas, attested by his seals as protokouropalates and doux of Philippoupolis (see no. 285-286 here). Thus his seal presented here should reflect an earlier stage in his career.

The discovery of bullae from both groups of his seals in the Plovdiv region is an evidence that Argyros Karatzas maintained contact with persons residing in the Philippopolis region for a longer period of his career.

**285-286. Ἀργυρός Καρατζᾶς πρωτοκουροπαλάτης καὶ δοῦξ Φιλιππουπόλεως (1092-1095)**

a. Historical Museum, Pazardjik, no. 505. There is no exact information where the specimen was found. In 1959 Prof. T. Gerassimov made a plaster cast, on which he wrote that the find-spot was Pazardjik. Nowadays the seal is preserved in the exposition of the National Historical Museum, Sofia. D. 24-25 mm; field 23 mm; thickness 3 mm. Whole imprint but badly preserved bulla with broken fragment. The surface is covered with lead oxide.

Ed. **Jordanov**, Plovdiv, no. 6; **Jordanov**, *G. Names*, no. 77.2a.

b. Historical Museum, Stara Zagora, no. 4839. Found in the land of the village of Dobri dol, district of Plovdiv. D. 18-20 mm; field 23 ? mm; thickness 3 mm. Blank too small for die. Some of the letters are badly preserved.

Ed. **Jordanov**, Plovdiv, no. 7; **Jordanov**, *G. Names*, no. 77.2b.

Parallels: **Laurent**, V. Argyros Karatzas protokouropalat si duc de Philippopolis, *Revista istorica*, 29, 1934, 203-210.

Obv. Inscription of five lines:

a) + | ΚΕΡΟΗΘ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8Λ' | ΑΡΓΙΡΟΝ | . 8ΡΟΠΑ | ΛΑΤ'

b) | ΚΕΡΟΗ . | ΤΩCΩΔ8 . | ΑΡΓΙΡΟ . | Κ8ΡΟΠ . | . . .

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

a) ΣΔ8ΚΑ. | ΙΛΙΠ8Π | ΛΕΟCΤΟΝ | ΚΑΡΑ .Α | -Ν-

b) . . . . . | . ΛΙΠ8Π . | . ΕΟCΤΟΝ | . ΑΡΑΤΑ | -Ν-

+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ει) τῷ σῷ δοῦλ(ω) Ἀργιρὸν (πρωτο)κουροπαλάτ(ην) (καὶ) δοῦκα [Φ]ιλιππουπόλεος τὸν Καρατζᾶν

A dignitary with the same name is reported several times in the *Alexiad* (see **Skoulatos**, *Personnages*, no. 17).

His name was mentioned for the first time in the summer of 1087. Before the battle against the Pechenegs near Dristra, Emperor Alexius I Komnenos put some Ouzas and Karatzes in command of τῶν ἐθνικῶ [Οὐζᾶς καὶ Καραδζᾶς] (see *Alexiade*, II, p. 97.14-15).

In 1092, he was entrusted with a delicate mission (Anna Komnene continues with her narrative): "...On his [the emperor] arrival soon after at Philippoupolis, he received a written message from the then Archbishop of Bulgaria who gave him advice about his nephew John, the Sebastocrator Isaac's son, Duke of Dyrrachium... *The emperor undertook emergent measures*: he sent for the officer who was Great Hetaeriarch at that time, Argyrus Karatzes, a Scyth by birth [μέγαν ἐταιρειάρχην Ἀργυρὸν τὸν Καραδζᾶν, Σκύθην] but a man of wisdom, a lover of virtue and truth, and to him he entrusted two letters. One addressed to John, read as follows: 'Having learnt of the hostile movement of barbarians through the passes, I, your emperor, have left the City of Constantinople to ensure the frontiers of the Roman Empire. You are required to come in person to render account of the province under your government... The second, to be delivered to the magistrates of the city of Dyrrachium, ran thus: 'Since we have learnt that Bolkan is again plotting against us, ... we deemed it necessary to summon your duke, the beloved nephew of your emperor. We have therefore sent this envoy who delivers to you this letter and have promoted him to the rank of duke. Do you yourselves receive him and in every way obey his commands'. And, by word of mouth, the emperor ordered to Karatzes to set off for Dyrrachium and to hand over the first letter to John. If he should obey of his free will, he should be sent away with peace and then Karatzes could assume the defense of the region until he could return back. If not, Karatzes should call the leaders of Dyrrachium and they should help him to catch John" (see *Alexiade*, II. 148).

Further on, Anna Komnene wrote that the sebastocrator Isaac arrived in Philippoupolis and their family council reviewed the work of John Komnenos. Since he was not accused of disloyalty, he returned back to Dyrrachion (see *Alexiade*, II. 150-151).

The very fact that Argyros Karatzes was sent to Dyrrachion, and his interference in the affairs of the Komnenoi attests to the confidence of the emperor in him. This is proven not only by the delicacy of his mission but also by the fact that Alexios I Komnenos used to appoint only representatives of the imperial family as rulers of Dyrrachion such as George Palaeologus, John Doukas, John Komnenos, etc.

The name of Argyros Karatzes was reported for the last time in 1095. Then the threat of the Cumans was the topic of the day. The emperor launched an attack against them coming from Adrianoupolis to Scutariion and Agathonike. The Cumans camped out near Abrilevo. Before the battle the emperor sent for the allied leaders Ouzas (a Sarmatian), Karatzes (a Scyth) [καὶ Καραδζᾶν τὸν Σκύθην] and a mongrel called Monastras (see *Alexiade*, II. 204.8).

Most researchers are inclined to assume that Argyros Karatzes was a Pecheneg by birth (see **Gautier**, *Blachernes*, p. 259; **Moravcsik**, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, p. 153), although the only source of information, Anna Komnene, was uncertain about this subject (first, she called him

a Sarmatian together with Ouzas, second, a Scyth, and third, she disassociated him from the Sarmatian Ouzas and asserted his Scythian birth, which does not help us).

Surely the aim of our inquiry is not the birth of Argyrus Karatzes but how to square the information obtained from the bullae presented here with what is known about his person.

Our difficulties are caused not only by the scanty information but also by the uncertain dating of the events, for which Anna Komnene is the main source. This provokes some discrepancies in different studies. According to **Gautier**, *Blachernes*, p. 259, the sending of Argyros Karatzes to Dyrrachion and the events in Philippoupolis all happened in 1094.

The publisher of the first seal assumed that Argyros Karatzes was appointed doux of Philippoupolis after the aforementioned events. In order to answer this question, we have to study the following: the chronology of the events, in which Argyros Karatzas took part; the positions, which he occupied, and to compare all this with the information about the other office-holders of Philippoupolis.

We know neither the title nor the position of Argyros Karatzes in 1087. Probably he was an allied chieftain. In 1092 he was already μέγας ἑταιρειάρχης, i. e. chief of the Imperial Guards. In 1092 the emperor came in Philippoupolis, probably together with his Guards. The Great Hetaireiarches was sent to Dyrrachion undoubtedly as duke. For how long the investigation and the stay of Argyros Karatzes in Dyrrachion continued we do not know but probably only several days. After the investigation ended favorably, John Komnenos returned to Dyrrachion and took up his position anew and, respectively, Argyros Karatzes returned back to the emperor, but in what capacity?

From different sources we know that in March 1092 the protoproedros Bardas Xeros and in late 1094 the kouropalates Constantine Antiochos (**Gautier**, *Blachernes*, no. 24) were great hetaireiarchai (see **Grumel**, *Regestes*, no. 961; **Dölger**, *Regesten*, no. 1168; *PG*, col. 104, 1177A; 119, 761C). Therefore, until the end of 1094 Argyros Karatzes did not regain his former position.

Who are the other known office-holders of Philippoupolis? The protoproedros Gregory Kourkouas is known from an inscription from the church in the village of Batkun dated to 1090-1091 and according to Anna Komnene in 1091 George Mesopotamites was duke of Philippoupolis.

Therefore, if the inscription of Gregory Kourkouas was related to his departure from Philippoupolis, then George Mesopotamites has to be assumed as his lineal successor replaced respectively by Argyros Karatzes. His stay in Philippoupolis could be dated to the period of 1092-1095.

The discovery of two bullae of Ἀργυρὸς Καρατζᾶς πρωτοκουροπαλάτης καὶ δοῦξ Φιλιππουπόλεως in the region of Pazardzik and the present-day village of Dobri dol confirms that his orders were received there in the discharge of his duties. Moreover, these settlements were within the limits of the Philippoupolis theme.

### 287. Ἰωάννης Καριανίτης (late XI c.)

Historical Museum, Iambol, no. 4829. Discovered at some place in southern Bulgaria. D. 14.5-14.6 (?) 3.5 mm.

Incomplete and damaged imprint. The restoration of the text is made on the publications cited below.

Unpublished.

Parallels: One specimen is preserved in the Athens Museum, see **Schlumberger**, *Melanges*, no 20; **Konstantopoulos**, no. 643; **Laurent**, *Bulles metriques*, no. 395. Further two unpublished specimens belong to the collection of DO.55.1.3998 and 55.1.3999. They all come from the same boulloterion as our specimen.

Obv. Bust of St. Demetrios holding a spear on shoulder (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

Vertical inscription: .-Δ-Η || .... : [ἽΟ ἄ(γιος) ] Δη[μήτρ(ιος)].

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

.ΦΡΑΓΙ | .ΩΤΟ. | .ΑΡΙ. | ..Τ.

[Σ]φραγίς [Ἵ]ω(άννη) το[ῦ Κ]αρι[ανί]τ[ου]

According to some authors, the name of this family is connected with the toponym Karia attested in Peloponnes and Phrygia (**Moritz**, *Zunamen*, II, S. 36; Παπαδimitριου, *Рец.*, 2, с. 172). Others believe it is closer to the toponym Kariana (Karian), a settlement in Macedonia, and could be incorporated into the group of Slavic toponyms (see **Займов**, *Й. Заселване на българи и славяни*, С., 1967, с. 137).

Representatives of the family Καριανίτης, as well as such with the homonym Ἰωάννης are known in the literature.

Known for the period of XIth-XIIth c. are the following:

1. Ἰωάννης Καριανίτης, who lived in the reign of Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (1042-1055). He was born in Constantinople. He was of noble birth and still nobler disposition. He took off from himself the secular deeds and went to Jerusalem, where he lived in poverty and cared for those of the same faith. The same was at the head of an embassy to Constantine IX Monomachos to plead for money for the building of the Ascension church (the information on him comes through Guillaume of Tyre, see *PL*, 201, col. 219C-220A).

2. Ἰωάννης Καριανίτης βέστης καὶ β'νοτάριος τοῦ σεκρέτου τῶν οἰκειακῶν certified a pittakion of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos, dated June 1087, in reference to the Christodoulos monastery on Patmos (*Actes Patmos*, I, no. 46, p. 329.A336).

3. Ἰωάννης Καριανίτης πρωτοκουροπαλάτης καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κρίσεων participated in a session of the synod in March 1166 (*PG.*, 140, col. 253D).

Obviously, we deal with three different individuals here.

The known seals bearing the name Ἰωάννης Καριανίτης are the following:

1. an unpublished one in DO. 55. 1. 4047:

Obv. St. Demetrios standing represented as a warrior.

Rev. ΤΟΝ|ΚΑΡΙΑΝΙ|ΤΙΩΜΕ|ΚΕΠ'

2. Unpublished specimens in DO. 58. 106. 1260 and Zacos, III, no 1480/12:

Obv. Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand).

Rev. + ΚΕΡΟ|ΗΘΩΣΩ|ΔΟΝΛΩ|Ω|ΤΩΚΑΡΙΑΝΙΘΗ

3. an unpublished one in DO. 58. 106. 1659:

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans.

Rev. + | ΘΚΕΡΟ|ΗΘΕΠΩ|ΤΟΚΑΡΗ|ΑΝΙΘΗ

It is difficult to determine whether the four groups of seals belonged to one and the same person. It is more likely that they belonged to two or three different individuals, and still more difficult is to relate them to the individuals mentioned above.

### 288. Νικήτας Καρίκης πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ δοῦξ Βουλγαρίας (1080s)

Historical Museum, Haskovo, no. 385. Found in the area of Svilengrad. D. 20. 5-21 mm; field 20 mm; thickness 3.1 mm. A good imprint but on the obverse it is slightly struck off center because of the slipping of the blank. A very well-preserved specimen.

Ed. **Йорданов-Аладжов**, *Хасковско*, I, № 13; **Jordanov**, *G. Names*, no. 19.2.

Parallels: Other four or five specimens struck with the same boulloterion are preserved in the collections of Istanbul and Vienna (MK no. 191; Seibt no. 259) (see **Mordtmann**, *Europe*, p. 35; **Hunger**, *Zehn*, no. 9;



Obv. Metrical inscription of five lines::

+ ΠΡΩ | ΤΟΠΡΟΕ | ΔΡ8ΝΙΚΗ | ΤΑΤ8ΚΑ | ΡΙΚΝ'

Rev. Metrical inscription of five lines:

.ΡΑΦΑΣ | .ΦΡΑΓΙΖ | .8Δ8ΚΟC | .8ΔΓΑΡ' | ΑC

Πρωτοπροέδρου Νικήτα τοῦ Καρικν [γ]ραφᾶς [σ]φραγίζ(ω) [τ]οῦ δουκὸς  
[Β]ουλγαρ(ί)ας

In the O'Hara collection, no. 33 and in DO. 77. 34.43 are preserved two lead seals which could be related to the same person.

Obv. --+KEROH|ΘHTΩCΩΔ|ΛΩΝΙΚΗ|ΤΑΠΡΙ|

Rev. ΚΑΙΔΟ|ΜΕCΤΙΚΩ|ΤΟΝΑ.ΑΝ|ΤΟΝΤΩΚ.|ΡΗΚΗ| --

This seal generally dates to the time after the 1050s-1060s. Is the person in question the same Niketas Karykes in an earlier period of his career? According to this seal, he was δομέστικος τῶν ἀθανάτων, i.e. commander of the elite units of the personal imperial guards called immortals. These corps were formed by John I Tzimiskes (969-976) and later on they were restored by Michael VII (1071-1078) (see **Oikonomides**, *Listes*, 332-333).

If the person in question was Niketas Karykes, this means he was commander of the personal guards of the emperor (Michael VII?), and during a later period (when he was appointed subsequently or skipping the ranks of anthypatos, vestes, vestarches, magistros and proedros), he was honoured with the title of protoproedros and occupied the position of duke of Bulgaria.

There are two possibilities for identifying the person of Niketas Karykes:

a. Niketas dux et pricipem Bulgarorum, well-known from the western chronicles, who met the participants in the First Crusade at Belgrade in 1096 and accompanied them to Adrianoupolis (this is the suggestion of **Златарски**, *История*, II, 224-226; **Banescu**, *Douches*, 149-150);

b. the duke of Crete Καρίκης revolted in 1092-1093. He was killed when the dispatched army repressed the rebellion (see **Skoulatos**, *Personnages*, no.100).

If this information is analyzed, it seems that it is inconsistent. The person of Niketas Karykes cannot be identified as duke of Bulgaria in 1096 because of the following obstacles:

a. not a single western chronicle reports the patronym of Niketas;

b. the title of princeps cannot be equated with the one of protoproedros.

The seal which belonged to the protoproedros and duke of Bulgaria Niketas Karykes dates to the 1080s, according to its inscription and metrical form. This makes possible his identification as the rebel Καρίκης of 1092-1093.

Furthermore, other representatives of this family from the XI<sup>th</sup> century, except someone called Λέων Καρίκης πρωτοσπαθᾶριος, ταγματοφύλαξ καὶ στρατηγὸς Χιοῦ are not known, who had his own seal. Published by **Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, p. 196, no 2, but the patronym is wrongly read. Our correction of the reading is due to W. Seibt.

The Fogg A. M. collection (no. 3223) contains a seal of incomplete text which could also be associated with the family Karykes, if the will is there.

Obv. St. Stephen standing holding a ? center (r. hand) and a book (l. hand).

Rev. + |TONK.. | ..HN<sup>9</sup>Ε.. |NONΠΡ. | ΑΘΑC.. | ΠΟΙ

+ Τὸν Κ[αρηκ]ην Στε[φα]νον πρ[ωτ]αθλ(ι) σ[κέ]ποις

## 289-290. Κωνσταντῖνος Κασιανός πρωτοσπαθᾶριος-ὑπατος καὶ στρατηγὸς (1030s-1050s)

a. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 18555. Find-spot: the strategia of Preslav. D. 29-32 (26) 4 mm. W. 15.85 g. A well-preserved specimen with some damages on the relief. The boulloterion was loose, and as a result there is 8-9 mm dislocation between Obv. and Rev.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 360.

b. Private collection. It has probably "flowed out" from the strategia of Preslav. D. 29-30 mm.

Unpublished.

Both specimens come from the same boulloterion.

No parallels known.

Obv. St. Eustathios standing frontally, holding a spear (r. hand) and resting his l. hand on a shield set on the ground. Vertical inscription: Θ-Ε-V-C || T-A- Θ': 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Εὐστάθ(ιος).

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΚΩΝΑ'CΠΑ | ΘΑΡ'VΠΑΤ' | SCTPAT'Γ' | ΤΟΝΚΑC | ΙΝΟΝ

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Κων(σταντίνω) (πρωτο)σπαθαρι(ίω) ὑπάτ(ω) (καὶ) στρατ(η)γ(ῶ) τὸν Κασι(α)νὸν

In his review, W. Seibt proposes the strategia of Κασιανῶν in the place of the family name Κασιανός (see Seibt, *BZ*, S.136). The only argument is based on the assumption which Oikonomides makes in his review of Zacos II collection regarding the seal of the same Constantine, but in his capacity as patrikios (see **Oikonomides**, *N. REB*, 44, p. 265, in reference to bulla no. 425). Oikonomides' suggestion itself is not well backed with arguments either. He reports the existence of the touruma Κασῆς in De adm., 50.110, which probably turned into a strategia in the XI<sup>th</sup> c. Our seal, which represents Constantine in an earlier stage of his career, does not corroborate Oikonomides' assumption. At this stage of investigation, we should accept that it refers to a patronym.

## 291. Θεόδωρος Κασνίτζης πρωτοσπαθᾶριος καὶ στρατηγὸς (X-XI c.)

Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia, no.129. Find-spot: the strategia of Preslav.D. 23-23 (20?) 3 mm. Incomplete and poorly preserved imprint.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 464.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Theodore holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

..... | .ΕΟ.. | Ρ'Α'CΠΑΘΑ | Ρ'SCTPA | ΤΙΓ'ΤΚ | - Ν'Ζ -

[+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Θ]εο[δῶ]ρ(ω) (πρωτο)σπαθαρι(ίω) (καὶ) στρατιγ(ῶ) τ(ῶ) Κ(α)σν(ί)τζ(η)

In his review, W. Seibt suggests the patronym Κ|-Ν'Ζ to be related with the Bulgarian name Kancho [Κ(α)ν(τ)ζ(ῆς) Κ(α)ν(τ)ζ(ους)] (see Seibt, *BZ*, S. 361). Of course, this remains only an idea at the lack of parallels. As was already noted, correspondence of another representative of the family Κασνίτζης was also received in the Strategia of Preslav, and the patronym Kancho is not at all attested by seals.

The dating of the seal is generally to the last quarter of the XIth c. Its iconography, content and arrangement of the letters is very similar to that of Niketas Kastamonites presented below:

The following groups of seals are known bearing the name of Κωνσταντῖνος Κασταμονίτης:

1. vestes from the third quarter of the XIth c., according to a lead seal in MK 407

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion. Sigla: M || Θ.

*Rev.* Bust of St. Michael holding a scepter (r. hand) and a globus (l. hand). Circular inscription:

+ ΚΩΝΡΕCΤΗΤΩΚΑCΤΑΜΟΝΙΤ'

Κων(σταντίνω) βέστη τῷ Κασταμονίτ(η)

2. protokouropalates from the end of the XIth c., according to an unpublished specimen in DO. 58. 106. 2893.

*Obv.* .ΡΑΦΑ | CΦΡΑΓΙΖ | ΠΡΩΤΟΚ. | ΡΟΠΑΛ. | ΤΟΝ

*Rev.* .... | .ΟΝΙΤΟΝ | .ΟΝΝΟΜΑ | .ΩΝCΤΑΝ | .ΙΝΟΝ

[Γ]ραφά(ς) σφραγίζ(ω) πρωτοκ[ου]ροπαλ[ά]του [Κασταμ]ονίτου [τ]οῦνομα [Κ]ωνσταν[τ]ίνου

3. judge (end of the XI c.), according to an unpublished and badly-preserved specimen from Fogg A. M., 3687.

*Obv.* ΟΝ.... | ΓΙCΕ...ΤΗΝ | ΓΡΑΦΗΝ

*Rev.* ?|ΚΩΝ.ΤΑ. | ΤΙΝ8.ΠΙΤ | Κ....Μ. | ΝΙΤ8

Οῦ [σφρα]γίς εἰμὶ τὴν γραφὴν Κων[σ]τα[ν]τίνου [κ]ριτ(ῆ) Κ[αστα]μ[ο]νίτου

4. private person (second half of the XIIth c.), according to three specimens from Athens (see **Konstantopoulos**, no. 644a; **Stavrakos**, no. 116) and unpublished from DO. 55.1.3905; DO. 55.1.3906.

*Obv.* Bust of the St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand). Vertical inscription: O-A-ΓΙ-O-S || N-I-KO-ΛΑ-O-S

*Rev.* +|ΚΩΝCΤΑΝ | ΤΙΝ8CΦΡΑ | ΓΙCΜΑΚΑCΤΑ | ΜΩΝΙΤΟΝ

Κωνσταντίνου σφράγισμα τοῦ Κασταμονίτου

The name of Constantine Kastamonites, protonobelissimohyperatos and parathalasites is under a document preserved at Patmos and dated to 1188 or 1203 (see **MM**, VI, p. 124, 22-24; *Actes Patmos*, II, no. 60.35-36, p.132). Obviously, two different individuals are concerned, the one lived in the second half of the XIth c., and the other a century later.

It is an interesting fact that seals of three representatives of this family who communicated with various addressees from the mid-XIth century through its end have been discovered from the territory of modern Bulgaria. We can only speculate about their interests in the Bulgarian lands.

For more information on this family, see **Katsaros, B.** 'Ιωάννης Κασταμονίτης. Συμβολή στη μελέτη τοῦ βίου τοῦ έργου καὶ τῆς ἐποχῆ τοῦ, *Θεσσαλονίκη*, 1988, 121-151.

## 299. Νικήτας Κασταμονίτης (late XI c.)

Historical Museum, Varna, no. 2. A cast of the same made in 1945 is kept in the collection of Prof. T. Gerasimov. Undetermined origin. D.14-15 (over 14) 3 mm. Incomplete imprint in a poor state of preservation with a crack along the channel.

*Unpublished.*

*Parallels:* **Laurent**, *Orghidan*, no. 440; Unpublished in: DO. 58. 106. 353 and 58. 106. 3775; Zacos, III, no

1498; the Hermitage (M-10337).

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion. Sigla: M || Θ : Μ(ήτηρ) Θ(εοῦ).

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

.ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΝΙΚΗΤΑ | ΚΑCΤΑ | ΜΟΝΙΤΗ

[+] Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) Νικήτα (τῷ) Κασταμονίτη

The name of Νικήτας Κασταμονίτης is attested in various narrative sources (see **Skoulatos**, *Personnages*, no.155):

In the battle at Dristra in 1087, Νικήτας Κασταμονίτης was placed at the head of the right wing of the army, along with Taticius (*Alexiade*, II, 97.13).

In 1090/1092, he was dispatched at the head of a fleet against the emir of Smyrna Tzachas, who had conquered Mitylene and Chios. The expedition ended in failure (*Alexiade*, III, 69.20).

Νικήτας Κασταμονίτης πρωτοπρόεδρος assisted at the Blachernai Council of the late 1094 (**Gautier**, *Blachernes*, no. 35).

The name of Νικήτας Κασταμονίτης is last reported in reference to the Anemas' conspiracy in 1097-1102/1104 (*Alexiade*, II, 111.5-8).

Further three groups of seals bearing the name of Νικήτας Κασταμονίτης, beyond the one presented here, are also known:

- a) βεστάρχης, according to an unpublished bulla in Shaw 112 (no 1042).

*Obv.* Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l.hand).

*Rev.* CΦΡ. | ΓΙCΝΙΚΙΤ. | ΡΕCΤΑΡΧΗ | Τ8ΚΑCΤΑΜΟ | ΝΙΤ8

- b) κουροπαλάτης, according to an unpublished bulla in DO. 58. 106.1395; Zacos, III, 1606.

*Obv.* Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l.hand).

*Rev.* :+ | .ΕΡΟΗΘ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8Λ' | ΝΙΚΙΤΑΚ8 | ΡΟΠΑΛΑΘΗ | ΤΩΚΑCΤ | ΜΟΝΙΤ | Η

- c) κουροπαλάτης καὶ δοῦξ. According to an unpublished bulla in Zacos, III, 1498.

*Obv.* St. George standing, holding a spear (r. hand) and resting his l. hand on a shield set on the ground.

*Rev.* :+ | ..... | ΙΚΙΤΑ | ..ΡΟΠΑΛΑΘΗ | ΣΔΟΝΚΙΤΩ | ΚΑCΤΑΜΟ | ΝΙΤ'

The identical names, the common iconographic subject and the chronological continuity both in iconography and titulature give us grounds to assume that the three groups of seals belong to one and the same person Νικήτας Κασταμονίτης, who could be identified with Νικήτας Κασταμονίτης from the narrative sources.

The data from seals and narrative sources determine the following cursus honorum of Νικήτας Κασταμονίτης:

- a) βεστάρχης until 1094
- b) πρωτοπρόεδρος ca. 1094
- c) κουροπαλάτης after 1094
- d) κουροπαλάτης or πρωτοκουροπαλάτης καὶ δοῦξ until 1097-1102/1104.

As for the bulla from Varna, it is a different matter. With it he is as a private person and we cannot be sure whether it applies to same person. The protector is different too: the Virgin instead of St. George. This is not an isolated case but a common practice regarding the seals of many military commanders in the reign of Alexios I Komnenos.

The private seal and the change of iconography suggest the idea that it may reflect the last years of the life of Νικήτας Κασταμονίτης, when he had retired from active military

career, which happened under constraint after his participation in the Anemas' conspiracy. Probably he, like the rest, was deprived of dignities, tiles and property and was banished to a monastery or the outskirts of the Empire.

Known by their seals are some ten more representatives of this family. Perhaps of interest is the unpublished bulla of Μαρία Κασταμονίτισσα κουροπαλάτισσα in the collection DO. 58. 106. 1987, dated generally to the late XIth c.

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin facing.

*Rev.* ..... |.HCHΔ8Λ'|.APIAK8PO|.ΑΛΑΤΗCH|.ΗΚΑCTAMO|.ΙΤΗCH

It is not unlikely that she was wife of Νικήτας Κασταμονίτης from the period when he was kouropalates. Beyond the patronym and title, shared is also the iconographic subject from the last group of seals of Νικήτας Κασταμονίτης.

Probably to the same belongs another group of seals in Zacos, III, no 1770:

*Obv.* Representation of the Virgin as above.

*Rev.* + ..... |ΜΑΡΙΑΤΗ|ΚΑCTAMO|ΝΙΤΙCH |

### 300-301. Δημήτριος Κατακαλὼν πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς (1050s)

a. Historical Museum, Russe. Found in the course of excavations of Iatrus near the village of Krivina. D. 21.5-22 (20) 3 mm. A good imprint but weak on one side. The bulla is chipped on one side.

*Ed.* *Iatrus-Krivina*, I, no. 508; *Jordanov*, Sceaux, 92-93.

b. Private collection (Jh. Biulbiulev from Harmanli). Comes from Silistra. It was offered for purchase at the Historical Museum in Stara Zagora where it was documented. D. 27.5-28.5 (20) 3 mm. Unsuccessful imprint. The blank was folded at the striking.

*Unpublished.*

*Both specimens are stuck in the same boulloterion.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of St. Demetrios holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription: Θ-Δ-Η || ..... : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Δη[μήτρ(ιος)].

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

a) + ΚΕΡ'Θ' |.ΗΜΗΤΡ' |. ΠΙSCTP |.ΗΓΟΤΩ | ΚΑΤΑΚ'

b) + ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΔΗΜΗΤΡ' | ΠΡΙSCTP |.ΗΓΟΤΩ |. ΑΤΑΚ' |

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Δημητρ(ίω) π(ατ)ρι(κίω) (καὶ) στρ(α)[τ]ηγὸ τῷ  
Κατακ(αλὼν)

For more information on the person of Demetrios Katakalon, see no. 302-303 below, where presented is a later stage of his career.

### 302-303. Δημήτριος Κατακαλὼν ἀνθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ κατεπάνω Παραδουνάβου (1050s)

a. It is preserved somewhere in Romania. Found in Silistra. D. 23-24 mm; field 20 mm. Originally good imprint but at present badly preserved specimen with a broken upper fragment.

*Ed.* *Banescu*, N. Sceau inedit de Katakalon katepano de Paradounavon.-EO, 35, 1936, 405-408; *Jordanov*, G. *Names*, no. 58.1a..

b. National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 13131. Found in Silistra on the bank of the Danube. D. 21.5-24 mm; field 20 mm; thickness 3 mm. Originally good imprint but struck a bit off-center. Perfectly preserved specimen.

*Ed.* *Йорданов*, Силистра, I, № 8; *Jordanov*, G. *Names*, no. 58.1b.

*The two specimens are struck with the same die.*

*Parallels:* Other three specimens are known struck in the same boulloterion: *Banescu*, N. Sceau de Demetrios Katakalon katepano de Paradounavon.-EO, 39, 1940, 157-160; *Nesbitt-Oikonomides*, DOS, 1, no. 67.1.

*Obv.* Bust of St. Demetrios holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription in two columns: Θ-ΔΗ-Μ' || T-ΠΙ-Ο' : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Δημ(ή)τρι(ος).

*Rev.* Inscription of seven lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'ΡΘ' | ΔΗΜΗΤΡ. | ΑΝΘΥΠ'Τ' ΠΡΙ | SKATEΠΑΝ8 | Τ8ΠΑΡΑΔ'Ρ' |

ΤΟΝΚΑΤ'Κ' | -Λ-

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(ο)ήθ(ει) Δημητρ[ί(ω)] ἀνθυπ(ά)τ(ω) π(ατ)ρι(κίω) (καὶ) κατεπάνου τοῦ Παραδ(ουνά)β(ου) τὸν Κατ(α)κ(α)λ(ών)

Demetrios Katakalon has been attested only by his seals. They outline the following cursus honorum.

a. σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος καὶ τουρμάρχης (1030s-1040s), according to an unpublished lead seal from Dumbarton Oaks (DO. 55. 1. 3091).

*Obv.* Bust of St. Demetrios holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

*Rev.* ..ΕΡ'Θ'|ΔΗΜΗΤΡ'|.ΠΑΘΑΡ'ΚΑΝ|ΔΔ'ΣΤΡΟΜΑΡ|Χ'ΤΟΚΑΤΑ|ΚΑΛΟ

b. πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς (1050s) see here no. 300-301

c. ἀνθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ κατεπάνω Παραδουνάβου (1050s);

d. βέστης ἀνθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ κατεπάνω (1060s), according to a lead seals found at Silistra (see here no. 304).

e. πρόεδρος (1070s), according to the inscription of the church of St. Nicholas in Thessaly (see *Avramea-Feissel*, *Inscriptions*, no. 14, 370-71).

f. πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ δοῦξ (1070s-1080s), according to his lead seals found at Istanbul (see *Avramea-Feissel*, *Inscriptions*, no. 14, p. 371).

Δημήτριος Κατακαλὼν's career was ordinary. He climbed almost all rungs of the hierarchical ladder of ranks from σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος to πρωτοπρόεδρος and of positions from τουρμάρχης to δοῦξ.

His official career involved being in command of the army in the provinces. Judging by the fact that almost all of his lead seals are found in Dristra and other localities in northeastern Bulgaria, and that for some time he was also katepano of Paradounavon, it could be suggested that for quite a long period of time (perhaps over 20 years) his life was connected with the Bulgarian lands.

### 304. Δημήτριος Κατακαλὼν βέστης, ἀνθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ κατεπάνω (1050s-1060s)

Historical Museum, Silistra, no. 57. Found in the course of excavations of the inner fortress wall of the medieval Dristra in 1986. D. 26-27.5 (25) 3.5 mm. Incomplete imprint due to off-centering and slipping of the blank in the boulloterion. Parts of the depiction and inscription are out of the blank.

*Ed.* *Йорданов*, Силистра, III, № 3.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* St. Demetrios standing frontally, holding a spear (r. hand) and resting his l. hand on a shield set on the ground. Vertical inscription:..... || T-PH-O-C : ['Ο ἄ(γιος) Δημήτ]ρηος.

*Rev.* Inscription of seven lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' |.ΙΜΙ... | ΩΠΡΙΑΝ.. | ΠΑΤΩRECTI |.ΚΑΤΕΠΑ | ΝΤΩΚΑΤΑ |ΚΑΛΩ

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) [Δ]ιμι[τρί]ω π(ατ)ρι(κίω) ἀν[θυ]πάτω βέστι [(καὶ)]  
κατεπάν(ω) τῷ Κατακαλῶ(ν)

The owner of the seal is Δημήτριος Κατακαλῶν. According to the seal from Bulgaria, this is to date the latest stage of his career. On his cursus honorum, see no. 302-303 above. Here I will present information on the known representatives of the family Katakalon in Byzantium in the XIth century, attested mostly on seals.

The etymology of the family Katakalon is debated. According to some authors, it is of the group of patronyms derived from positive qualities meaning “magician” “ (*Koukoules, Vios*, VI, p. 485), “tender”, “delicate” (*Moritz, Zunamen*, II, S. 13). Others believe it has a foreign origin and should be connected with the patronym “Kolonía” (Παπαδimitριου, Ρεζ., c. 169). The Maurokatakalous are presumably one of the branches of this family.

Included in the inquiry presented below are those with the proper name Κατακαλῶν or Κατάκαλος :

1. Βασίλειος Κατακαλῶν, a private person, second half of the XIth c., according to an unpublished seal in the collection Zacos, III, no 1486:

*Obv.* Bust of St. Michael.

*Rev.* ΚΕΡ'Θ' | RACH | OKAT | AKAA |

2. Θεοφύλακτος Κατακαλῶν β' πρωτοσπαθάριος, generally from the XIth c., according to a bulla in the collection of the Warsaw Archaeological Museum, see *Szemioth-Wasilewski*, Varsovie, I, no 33.

3. Ἰωάννης Κατακαλῶν:

a. β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ ταγμοφύλαξ, see *Schlumberger, MA*, no 22; Konstantopoulos, no 645 and an unpublished specimen in DO.55.1.3093;

b. κουροπαλάτης, according to the data of an unpublished bulla in the Ottoman Museum in Istanbul, see *Laurent, Corpus*, V, 2, p. 266, no. 1400.

c. as a private person: attested by three groups of seals:

- represented by two unpublished specimens in the collections: Shaw, no.1044 and DO. 58. 106. 2607.

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin with a medallion on her chest.

*Rev.* ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8Λ' | ΙΩΤΩΚΑ | ΤΑΚΑΛ'

- represented by an unpublished specimen in the collection Fogg, no. 949.

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin as above.

*Rev.* + ΚΑΤΑ | ΚΑΛΟΝΑ | ΓΝΗCΚΕΠ' | -ΙΩ-

-represented by two unpublished specimens in the collection DO. 55. 1. 4201 and DO. 55. 1. 4202.

*Obv.* CΦΡΑ | ΓΙCΙΩ | ΑΝΟV

*Rev.* Τ8ΚΑ | ΤΑΚΑ | ΛΟV

They are dated generally to the second half of the XIth c., and some of them possess characteristics typical of the end of that century (it basically refers to the last two groups of seals with a metrical text). But whether they belong to one and the same person is an open question.

4. Κωνσταντῖνος Κατακαλῶν:

a. βέστης, κριτής ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου καὶ Αἰγαίου Πελάγους, according to an unpublished bulla in the collection Zacos, III, no 1604:

*Obv.* + ΚΕΡΟ | ΘΕΙΚΩΝ | ΡΕCΤΚΡΙ | ΤΗΕΠΙΤ8Ι | ΠΙΟΔΡΟ | -Μ-

*Rev.* | ΚΑΙΤ8 | ΑΓΙΑΙΟV | ΠΕΛΑΓΟVC | ΤΩΚΑΤΑ | ΚΑΛΩΝ

b. a private person, attested by two groups of seals:

- an unpublished bulla in the collection Zacos, III, no. 1426.

*Obv.* Bust representation of the Virgin orans.

*Rev.* + ΤΩ | ΚΑΤΑΚΑ | ΛΩΚΩΝ | ..CΚΕ

- an unpublished bulla in the collection DO. 55. 1. 4048.

*Obv.* |+ ΤΟΝΚΑ | ΤΑΚΑΛΟΝΕΚ

*Rev.* :ΚΑΚΩΝ | CΩΤΕΡ | ΡVΟΝ

Their dating is in the last third of the XIth c. This is perhaps the same Constantine Katakalon who during Nikephoros Bryennios' usurpation in 1078 commanded the army of the Turkish contingent, on him see *Bryennios*, 271.16.

If we accept that they are all representatives of the same family and there is a kinship tie between them, it will be an interesting conclusion, that their activity was recorded mainly in the second half of the XIth c. coinciding with that of Δημήτριος Κατακαλῶν.

A question of different matter is whether they appear descendants of the Katakalon family of the IXth-Xth centuries.

### 305. N., Κατακαλῶν ταξιάρχης (XI B.)

Private collection. Insecure origin but perhaps it comes from northeastern Bulgaria (Preslav or Silistra). D.23-23 mm. Incomplete imprint. The first two or three lines are missing, which renders the reading insecure.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand).

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

..... | ΤΑΞΙΑΡ | Χ8ΚΑΤΑ | ΚΑΛΝ

..... ταξιάρχου Κατακαλ(ῶ)ν

### 306. Εὐστάθιος Κατακυνος (?) πρωτοπρόεδρος (last quarter, XI c.)

Private collection (V. Panteleev from Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 19-22 (17) 3 mm. W. 6.50 g. Good imprint. Struck with a sharp object on the obverse, which has pressed the last letters on lines 5 and 6 of the reverse. This renders the deciphering of the patronym difficult.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known*

*Obv.* St. George standing frontally, holding a spear (r. hand), his l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground. Vertical inscription: Θ-Γ-Ε || | Ω-Ρ-Γ' : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Γεώργ(ιος).

*Rev.* Inscription in six lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΕVCTΑΘΙ | ΩΠΡΩΤΟ | ΠΡΟΕΔΡΩ | ΤΩΚΑΤΑ | ΚV..

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Εὐσταθίω πρωτοπροέδρω τῷ Κατακυν[ῶ]

The restoration of the obliterated letters makes the reading uncertain, thus not allowing to search in the narrative sources.

### 307. Ἰωάννης Κεγένης μάγιστρος καὶ ἄρχων Πατζινακίας (1050-1051)

Historical Museum, Silistra, no. 4. Found in Silistra by D. Cholakov. D. 28-30 mm; field 20 mm; thickness 2-5 mm. Incomplete imprint. The blank slipped from the boulloterion.

*Ed. Jordanov, I. Sceau d'archonte de Patzinakia du XIe siecle. - Etudes Balkaniques*, 2, 1992, 79-83; *Йорданов*,

И. Печати на Йоан Кеген, магистър и архонт на Печенегия.-*Нумизматика и сфрагистика*, 1, 1998,96-101. **Jordanov, G. Names**, no. 59.1.

*Parallels: Seibt-Zarnitz*, no. 3.2.9. Struck in the same boulloterion. Because of its importance, we presented above the transcript of the text of this specimen.

*Obv.* Bust of St. John the Baptist bearded, facing; wears a himation; blessing with r. hand, a long cross in l. hand. Inscription in two columns:  $\Theta$ - $\overline{\text{I}\omega}$ || $\text{o}$ - $\overline{\text{P}}$ - $\Delta\text{P}$ - $\text{M}$  : 'O  $\alpha$ (γιος) 'Ιω(άννης) ὁ Πρ(ό)δρ(ο)μ(ος)]

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'. | ΙΩΜΑΓ.. | ΤΡ'ΣΑΡΧ. | Τ'ΠΙΑΤ.. | ΚΙΑΤ.. | -...-

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)[θ(ει)] 'Ιω(άννη) μαγ[ίς]τρ(ω) (καὶ) ἄρχ(ο)[ν]τ(ι) Πατζ(ι)[να] κία(ς) τ[ῶ] Κ(ε)γέν(η)]

Perhaps this is the first sphragistic source directly related to the administration of the ethnic society of the Pechenegs after their settling in the Bulgarian lands. The main problem with the interpretation of this exceptional source was the incompleteness of the imprint because the patronym of the owner consisting of the original name of this chieftain of Pechenegs (but not of a Christian one given to him after Christian conversion) could not be deciphered.

Several proposals were made about filling in of the patronym but they were just guesswork, even though one of them assumed that this person could be Kegenes. We just hoped for the appearance of a new bulla with a more complete imprint. It seems that fortune is favorable because we already have such a complete imprint with a patronym inscribed on it. Recently the Byzantine seals from a private collection in Germany have been published. The seal of our interest was among them as it was struck in the same boulloterion, whose transcript we presented above.

After coping with the problem of the patronym, we can conclude that a Pecheneg person is concerned who was converted and a Christian name John was given to him. Before these events he had the pagan name Kegenes. Therefore we have to present here all the information about this name.

It is limited. The name Kegenes is mentioned in the Synopsis of *Histories* of John Skylitzes retold concisely by John Zonaras, as well as in a letter of Michael Psellos which was sent to the Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (1042-1056).

The following evidence about the person of Kegenes is excerpted from the most detailed source, the English translation of John Skylitzes, (**Skylitzes-Wortley**, 242-243): "Tyrach [Τυράχ], son of Kilter [Κίλτερ], highly distinguished by birth but otherwise unremarkable, a man who preferred to live in peace. But there was another person in that people [the Pechenegs] whose name was Kegenes [Κεγένης], son of Baltzar [Βαλτζαρ], a nobody by birth and practically nameless but extremely effective in battle and in the waging of war."

The chronicler goes on: "Therefore he [Tyrach] dispatched a company with orders to seize and destroy him. But Kegenes got wind of the plan and fled to the marshes of the Borysthenon, escaping death. From his hiding-place there he sent secret messages to his relations and tribe, whereby he was able to divert the affections of his tribe (the Belemarnes) away from the king and also the affections of another tribe, the Pagourmanes. He raised an army and, with two tribes, confronted Tyrach who had eleven... Wandering in the marshes he [Κεγένης] realized that the only way to safety for him and those with him was to take refuge in the Empire of the Romans. So he came to Dorostolon and installed himself with his followers (who numbered about twenty thousand) on a little island in the river to avoid being taken by surprise. Then he reported to the governor of the region, Michael, son of

Anastasius, letting him know who he was, what adventures had befallen him before arriving there, and that he wished to transfer his allegiance to the Emperor... [Michael] passed this message on to the Emperor and was hastily ordered to accept the man and his followers, to provide these with necessary provisions and to send him to Byzantium with every mark of respect. [The Governor] did as he was commanded; Kegenes came to the capital where he was generously and graciously received in audience by the Emperor. [Kegenes] promising to accept baptism himself and to persuade his followers to do likewise, he was raised to the dignity of patrician; he received three of the fortresses standing on the banks of the river of Ister and many acres of land. Finally he was inscribed among the friends and allies of the Romans. Then Euthymios, a devout monk, was sent to administer the sacred bath by the Ister river, giving them all holy baptism."

Some information about the baptismal ceremony concerning Kegenes can be found in the letter mentioned above written by Michael Psellos on behalf of Emperor Monomachos to the already converted Kegenes (see ГИБИ, 6, 122-123): "...When I read your letter, my heart rejoiced about the inexpressible beauty and sharp wit, as well as of the various rhetorical skills. The Sunday after the celebration of the first Apostles was designated a day for the ceremony..." We can only guess how this probably illiterate barbarian managed to impress Michael Psellos with his letter ("with sharp wit and various rhetorical skills"), an intellectual and complete aesthete. We also know from this letter that the holiday of St. Peter and Paul was defined as a day for the baptismal ceremony (June 29<sup>th</sup> 1048). This ceremony ought to be performed by the Patriarch and the emperor himself was chosen to be godfather.

"...Once he [Kegenes] was safe and secured against unexpected attacks he turned his attention to warding off the enemy. He would cross the Danube now with a thousand, now with two thousand men, sometimes more, sometimes less and spring surprise attacks, inflicting serious damage on the Pechenegs who were with Tyrach. Tyrach.... sent a delegation to the Emperor insisting that a great emperor who had treaties with the Pechenegs people should not in the least receive one of their rebels; and if he did receive one, he should certainly prevent him from crossing the river to despoil his allies.

The emperor sent out letters to Michael, the governor of the cities along the river of Ister, and to Kegenes in person [ordering] a strict guard on the banks of the river. Should any powerful force arrive, they were to advise him by letter so that some of the western regular troops could be sent to join with them in preventing the Pechenegs from crossing the river. He also sent a hundred triers with orders to cruise the river and intercept any Pechenegs attempting to traverse the Ister... The autumn was drawing to a close and winter about to begin [of 1048], the sun being in Capricorn, when a very strong wind blew from the north and the river froze to a depth of fifteen cubits. All guard-duties were relaxed and Tyrach seized the opportunity for which he prayed: he crossed the river Ister with all the Pechenegs, eighty hundred thousand in number they say. A letter was sent to the Emperor asking for aid as quickly as possible; before he had read the whole letter, he wrote to the duke of Adrianoupolis, the magistros Constantine Arianites, to take his forces, and also to the governor of Bulgaria, Basil Monachos, to take the Bulgar regiment, to come and join Michael and Kegenes and with them to fight against the Pechenegs. They did as the imperial directive required, bringing all their forces together. Kegenes took [command of] the Roman legions, set up camp in open country and day by day made sudden sorties which greatly harmed the Pechenegs. They were taken ill with stomach trouble because of their insatiable greed as well and they were degraded because the winter exhausted them. As a result of attacks by surprise, Tyrach surrendered together with all his people (**Skylitzes-Wortley**, p.



"...And so Kegenes advised and testified that they ought to kill all grown men and told them a proverb which barbarian though it be, has something in it: One should kill the snake while it is still winter and it cannot move its tail; This advice did not commend itself to the leaders of the Romans; they thought it was barbaric and impious act, unworthy of Roman benevolence. They meant it could be more useful if the Pechenegs were to be settled down in different places and to impose them with taxes. And if the emperor needed troops against the Turks or other foreign tribes, he had to prepare them for war against the enemy. Many words were said but finally the opinion of the Byzantines prevailed. Then Kegenes killed all enemies captured by him, except those he sold, and then he returned to his country. Basil Monachos, the governor of Bulgaria took the tens of thousands of Pechenegs and settled them on the plains of Serdika, Nisos and Eutzapolis [Ovche pole]. They were all well spread out and completely stripped of weapons to guard against uprisings. As for Tyrach and his hundred and forty followers, these were brought to the Emperor who received them benevolently, had them baptized, awarded them highest honors and entertained them in luxury" (Skylitzes-Wortley, p.244).

Following the narrative of Skylitzes, we knew the next events concerning Kegenes: The sultan of the Seljuks prepared for war against the Byzantines. "...Forewarned of this, Monomachos exerted himself to present a warlike resistance with his own forces: he also armed fifteen thousand of the Pechenegs in Constantinople to command them: Soutzoun, Selte, Karaman and Kataleim. These he then showered with gifts, provided them with first-rate weapons and excellent horses then shipped them over to Chrysopolis. He gave them the patrician Constantine Hadrobalanos as a guide to lead them to Iberia. They crossed over [the Bosphorus], mounted their horses and took the road to the east. When they had advanced a few miles they came near to a place Damatrui where they came to a halt and, standing there in the road, held a conference which in their tongue they call a *komenton*". After stormy discussions they came back and crossed over the sea one way or another and returned to their relatives in Triaditza. They sent messages to the Pechenegs who lived in other places and joined them after they armed themselves with available weapons. Soon after that they arrived in Philippopolis and via Haemus they reached the plain of the Danube and camped there along the river called Osmon. Selte alone rested in Lobitzos (Lovech). Meanwhile Arianites straightway organized the Macedonian army and went after them (Skylitzes-Wortley, 244-245)

This chronicle and other ones have reported that the Pechenegs settled in the so-called Hundred Mountains (Stohulmie) north of the Balkan mountains and they became a constant threat for the Empire.

We return to the narrative of John Skylitzes and find out that the Emperor called up Kegenes for a council in the capital city. He recalled immediately and together with his army camped out in the field of Maita. But before meeting the emperor, he became a victim of a plot organised by three Pechenegs who attacked him at night and wounded him by swords though not fatally. "...The body-guards detected them immediately ; they made some feeble resistance and ran off but they were captured when several men together with Baltzar, son of Kegenes, came running at the cries for help. In the morning Baltzar placed his father in a four-wheeled carriage, dragging the conspirators behind the carriage in chains. He dare not do any more than that to them as they were appealing to the Emperor. Then with the whole army on horseback except him and his brother Goulinos on foot, following the carriage drawn by two horses, he came to the Emperor. When they arrived at the Hippodrome they

stopped the carriage there while Baltzar went to the Emperor. When he was introduced to the presence, the Emperor asked him why he did not punished his father's murders right away. "Because they were invoking your name" the other replied, at which the Emperor began to have some very dark suspicions. Quick as a flash he had the prisoners brought before them and put the question to them: Why had they undertaken to kill the Patrician ? "Because he was evilly disposed towards your reign and to the city; he was intending to enter the city at dawn, to slaughter everybody in it, pillage the city and return to the Pechenegs." He ought to have examined these statements to find out the truth but that is not what he did; he put his faith in some irresponsible and inconsistent accusations. Under pretense of getting Kegenes healed and restored he brought him into the capital and confined him in the Elephantinê [prison,] locating his sons each in a different place some distance from him. The rest of the Pechenegues he entertained with food and drink under pretense of being well disposed towards them but in fact doing everything in his power to deprive them of weapons and horses and to hold them in fortresses (Skylitzes-Wortley, 244-245 247).

The Pechenegs people became aware of these actions... when night fell and nobody was suspecting anything, they left the camp and travelled all without stopping. On the third day they crossed the Haemus and were united with the main body of Pechenegs (Skylitzes-Wortley, 244-245).

John Skylitzes and other chroniclers from this time reported the unsuccessful attempts of the Empire to deal with the Pechenegs. After the defeat near Iambol followed by another near the Hundred Hills, the emperor signed a thirty-year peace with the Pechenegs. Together with his people Thyrach they returned to their tribe from Constantinople where he was a hostage. However, the peace was not durable. In 1050 the Byzantines were again defeated under the walls of Adrianoupolis. It was necessary that urgent measures had to be taken on behalf of the Empire.

"Searching to stiffen his resistance to the Pechenegs, the Emperor brought Kegenes out of prison and sent him to them and winning their support for the Emperor... Kegenes set out and dispatched a delegation to the Pechenegs who promised him oaths to do whatever he wanted. Trusting their oaths, he went to them and was promptly murdered and cut up into small pieces" (Skylitzes-Wortley, 250-251).

Thus this chieftain of Pechenegs ended his life.

The main question provoked by the quoted information and the presence of a seal of John Kegenes, a magistros and archon of Patzinakias, is: can we identify the two persons, the one from the chronicle and the second from the seal, as identical?

The text and image of the seal make this possibility very acceptable. On the obverse St. John the Baptist is presented. The Christian and pagan names of this newly converted nomad, archon of Patzinakias, are inscribed on the reverse. All this completely coincides with the evidence concerning Kegenes.

It is necessary to emphasize that the text quoted above from the chronicle shows that Kegenes rather often sent and received messages from the emperor and other dignitaries. The only fact which does not coincide with the information of the chroniclers and the text of the seal is that Kegenes was a patrikios during the period between 1048, when he had been accepted as a friend and ally of the Byzantines, and 1049, the year of his imprisonment. John Kegenes from the seal was a magistros. If Kegenes from the seal and Kegenes from the chronicles were one and the same person, then probably in this rank he was appointed in 1050, when he was the only opportunity for the Byzantines to oppose the Pechenegs by their fellow-countrymen. We also know from the seal that he was not only nominated magistros

but he was appointed archon of Patzinakias as well, i. e. independent ruler of all Pechenegs settled on the territory of the Empire as “friends and allies of the Byzantines”. Probably this was the reason for his atrocious murder. As it was written above, after signing the thirty-year peace treaty between the Pechenegs and the Empire, Tyrach returned to his people in the capacity of supreme chieftain called by the Byzantines “tzar” (basilleus). But by the promotion of Kegenes to the rank of archon of Patzinakias Tyrach was practically dethroned and the Empire directly interfered the internal affairs of the Pechenegs. This was another reason for the brutal murder of Kegenes.

As was outlined above, the first bulla was found in Silistra and hence it affixed the correspondence of John Kegenes, magistros and archon of Patzinakias, to an unknown addressee in Dristra during the period of 1050-1051. Who was this addressee? We do not possess concrete information about the situation in Dristra. Either the city was still in the possession of the Byzantines, or the chieftains of the Pechenegs known from a later period sojourned there. Considering the fact that some seals which belonged to the katepano of Paradunavon (for instance Demetrios Katakalon, Theodore Pegonites at c.) from this time and a little later are known, it could be assumed that Dristra was a Byzantine fort post. Probably Kegenes wrote to the governor of Dristra and it is possible that the latter was still the patrikios Michael, the son of the logothetes Anastasios, whom Kegenes contacted for the first time in 1047. Now, with his letters from 1050-1051 John Kegenes probably coordinated his further actions for neutralizing the enemy. But fortune had predestined him for a different fate, as was written above.

Naturally, at the end of our analysis, we have to assume another possibility that John Kegenes, magistros and archon of Patzinakias, could be one of the sons or grandchildren of Kegenes employed by the Byzantines. It is known that one of the sons of Kegenes was Baltzar (named as his grandfather) and the other one was Goulinos. It is possible that there was a third son or some other descendant of theirs. In Byzantium there was a practice: when a foreigner was employed he founded a new clan and his name, usually the pagan one, became a patronym of his descendants.

### 308. Γεώργιος Κεδρηνός βεστάρχης (third quarter, XI c.)

Historical Museum, Yambol, no.II 3680. Find-spot: the land of the village of Rusokastro, Burgas region. D. 14-16(12)3 mm. Incomplete imprint, slightly off-center.

*Ed.* Йорданов, И. Новооткрит моливдовул на вестарха Георги Кедрин, датиран в последната четвърт на XI в.-ГНМIII, 8, 1993, 302-308.

*Parallels:* Further three specimens struck in the same boulloterion were found in the region of Srem in modern Serbia (see **Maksimovic et Popovic**, no. 29); Noviodunum (see **Schultz, S.** Streufunde aus Isaccea [Noviodunum].- *Pontica*, 11, 1978, p. 102, N 14 (Mitt Abb) and in Cherson. The last is unpublished, preserved in the collection of K. D. Smijchkov from Lugansk (Russia). It was included in Mr. Smijchkov's paper presented at the 18<sup>th</sup> Congress of Byzantine Studies in Moscow, but no publication ensued.

*Obv.* Inscription of four lines:

СФР. | ΓΙCΡ. | CΤΑΡ | ΧΟV

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

.Ε | .PHNOV | ΓΕΩΡΓΙ | ΟV

Σφρ[α]γίς βεστάρχου [Κ]ε[δ]ρηνοῦ Γεωργίου

The owner of the seal affixed to correspondence to Rusokastro, Srem, Noviodunum and Chersones was a certain George Kedrenos, vestarches. The dating of the seal is in the third

quarter of the XIth c.

Who was George Kedrenos?

The narrative sources mention one and the only person bearing these names – the chronicler George Kedrenos, of whom we know only that he lived at the end of the XIth and the beginning of the XIIth centuries and that he was a monk. A little more is known about his creative work. His chronicle, which is a compilation, begins with the creation of the world and ends up down to the year 1057. For the period 811-1057, he literally copied John Skylitzes and since recently this work was known by the name Skylitzes-Kedrenos (see **Krumbacher**, *Literatur*, 365-369; **Moravcsik**, *Byzantinoturcica*, I, 273-274).

What other representatives of the Kedrenos family are known from that time? None are known from the narrative sources. The only information comes from John Kedrenos' seals likewise dated to the second half and the end of the XIth c.:

a. In his capacity as a protokouropalates and doux, according to an unpublished specimen in the DO collection 58. 106. 1864. D. 24-24(20) mm.

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion on her chest.

*Rev.* + ἸΩΑ | Κ8ΡΟΠΙΑ | ΣΔΟVΕο | ΚΑΙΔΡ. | ΝΟC

b. as a private person, according to unpublished specimens in the collections of the Hermitage (M-8078) and DO. 58. 106. 3653.

*Obv.* Bust of St. John Baptist.

*Rev.* + CΦΡΑ | ΓΙCΙΩΑ | Τ8ΚΕΔ | ΡΙΝ8

In this inquiry, I will not include Leo Drymis' seal erroneously read as Leo Kedrenos by N. Mushmov (see **Laurent**, *Bulletin*, I, 611-614).

The coincidence in the dating of the seal of vestarches George Kedrenos and the period when the chronicler George Kedrenos must have had his social career, provided he entered a monastery at the end of his life (late XIth – early XIIth c.), poses the question whether the present seal could possibly cover the chronicler. Although we cannot be sure, a positive answer is quite possible. Despite the coincidence in names and time, the geographical range of this vestarches' correspondence – Rusokastro, Srem, Noviodunum and Chersones – is striking.

For an ordinary vestarches that may seem too much. While it is fairly likely for a chronicler who gathered information and was interested in the places where the events described in his chronicle occurred. Of course, no need to say that it is only a conjecture provoked by the described coincidences.

### 308A. Βασίλειος Κελατσηνιος ἀνθύπατος (mid-XI c.)

Private collection. Find-spot: southern Bulgaria: Kalofer, Sopot? D. 21-22 mm. W. 8.9 g. Good imprint but the reading of the patronym is yet uncertain.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* St. Theodore standing, holding a spear (r. hand), his l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground. Vertical inscription: Θ-Θ-Ε-Ο-Δ-Ω || Ρ-Ο-С

*Rev.* Vertical inscription of five lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΡΑCΙΑΕΙ' | ΑΝΘVΠΙΑΤ' | ΤΩΚΕΛΑ | ΤΖΗΝΙΩ

Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Βασιλεί(ω) ἀνθυπάτ(ω) τῷ Ῥελατσηνίῳ

### 309. Νικήτας Κιναδυνός (late XI c.)

Historical Museum, Silistra, no. 61. Found in the course of excavations of the Southern fortress wall in the medieval town in Silistra on 10th July 1986. D. 18-19.5(10)3.1 mm. Imprint in a perfect state of preservation.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of St. Niketas holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription: Θ-N-I || K-H-T' : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Νικήτ(ας).

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

- + - | ΦVΛΑΤ | ΤΕΜΑΡΤ' | ΚΙΝΑΔVΝΟ | CONNIKH | -TAN-  
+ Φύλαττε μάρτ(υς) Κιναδυνό(ν) σὸν Νικήταν

### 310. Ἰωάννης Κίνναμος (second half of XIth c.)

Historical Museum, Shumen, no. 14539. Find-spot: presumably Preslav, but it strayed from the main group of seals, since it was offered for purchase by E. Kosev. D. 19-21 (17) 3 mm. Once a good imprint. Now the reverse with the text is scratched with a pointed object, but the lines of the inscription are preserved.

*Unpublished.*

*Parallels:* Unpublished in Zacos, Seals, III, no. 1602.

*Obv.* A patriarchal cross on a base of two steps, of which the lower one is smaller. Two floral ornaments resembling cypresses from miniatures arise from base. At either side of the upper arm, a star.

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8' | ἸΩΤΟΚΙ | ΝΑΜΩ  
+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δού(λῳ) Ἰω(άννη) το Κινάμω

Two unpublished bullae are preserved in the Dumbarton Oaks collection (DO. 58. 106. 928 and 58. 106. 4937), on which the name John Kinnamos is also inscribed.

*Obv.* St. Demetrios standing, represented as a warrior. Remains of the vertical inscription: ..... || T-P-I-O-C

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines: CΦPA | ΓICΙΩ | ΤΟVΚΙ | ΝΑΜ8

Its dating is to the late XIth c. and it could have something in common with our specimen, but we could hardly find a connection between them and the writer John Kimannos - a question we will dwell on below.

### 311. Ἰωάννης Κίνναμος (second half, XII c.)

National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 28678. Find-spot: Plovdiv region. D. 36-37 (33) 2.5 mm. Well-centered and well-executed imprint. The bulla itself is also well preserved, but has a deep crack along the channel, and as a result some letters are obliterated.

*Ed. Jordanov*, Plovdiv, no. 20.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* St. Theodore standing facing, with nimbus, short curly hair and military dress. He holds

(r. hand) a sword on shoulder and the l. hand is before chest, raised at the height of the shoulders, with an open palm, in a praying gesture toward the archangel appearing in the upper l. side of the field. The object he presents to the saint is invisible, but supposedly it is the martyr's wreath. Vertical inscription: O-A-Γ-I-O' || Θ-Ε-Ο-ΔΩ-ΡΟ' : 'Ο ἄγιο(ς) Θεόδωρο(ς).

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

. |ΙΩΑΝΝΟV | CΦΡΑΓICMA | ΓΡΑΦΩN | ΚΙΝΝ.Μ8 - - -  
[+]'Ιωάννου σφράγισμα γραφῶν Κινν[ά]μου

Our interest in this seal stems from several directions:

First of all, it is the unusual iconography. It is unfamiliar to me from the other twenty thousand or so already published and as many again unpublished seals, which I have examined in various collections around the world. To that we should add the exquisite style and quality of craftsmanship of the dies and respectively of the imprint.

Its dating, according to the described iconography, paleography and entire appearance, is to the second half of the XIIth c. or its very end.

The name of its owner is John Kinnamos, which immediately draws our attention to the person of the famous Byzantine historian.

But to be able to confirm or deny such an identification, we need to comment on the available information, surveying the representatives of this family in the XIth-XIIth centuries.

The name Kinnamos is earliest attested in Michael Psellos' works, but we cannot be sure whether it is a proper or family name.

According to seals, the following representatives of this family are known:

1. Βασίλειος Κίνναμος, a private person from the late XIth c., according to his bulla in the Shaw collection no. 1329 (1375). On both sides, the inscription: + |ΓΡΑΦΑ. |CΦΡΑΓ. |ΖΩ - \* + \* |.INAM8 |RACIACI |OV (see **Laurent**, *Bulles metriques*, no. 605; *DOP*, 20, 1966, p. 265).

2. Ἰωάννης Κίνναμος, a private person from the second half of the XIth c. (see above).

3. Κωνσταντῖνος Κίνναμος πρόεδρος, the last quarter of the XIth c., according to an unpublished bulla in the Dumbarton Oaks collection (DO. 58. 106. 392) of the following inscription on both sides: + |CΦPA | ΓICIP | ΕΔΡΟ = ΚΗΝΑ | Μ8ΚΩΗ | Ψ'ANTI | Ν8

4. Νικήτας Κίνναμος βέστης (see below)

5. Πέτρος Κίνναμος ἐπισκεπτήτης τῶν β'κτημάτων Μεσανύκτων, first half of the XIth c. (see **Cheyne**, *Episkeptitai*, 109-110)

6. Συμεὼν Κίνναμος, a private person according to an unpublished bulla in the Dumbarton Oaks collection (DO. 58. 106. 2936).

*Obv.* Standing figure of the Virgin turned three quarters.

*Rev.* + |CΦΡΑΓ' |..ΦVΚΕ |..ΜΕΩN |.ΚΙΝΑ | ΜΟV

7. Θεοφάνης ? Κίνναμος, a private person from the second half of the XIIth c., according to an unpublished poorly-preserved bulla in the Zacos collection, III, no. 1446.

*Obv.* Standing figure of the Virgin orans.

*Rev.* ..ΩΦΑ.. |.ΛΑΤΤΕ.. |.ΩΚ'ΝΑΜΩ |.ΡΑΓ'CΕCΕΜΝΗ |.ΑCΓΡΑΦΑCΚΑΙ  
|ΠΡΑΚΤΕΑ

[Θε]οφά[νη] π[η]λατυτε[ρα] τῷ Κ(ι)νάμω [σφ]ραγ(ίς) σεμνή [τ]ὰς γραφὰς καὶ  
πρακτέα

With the exception of the last poorly-preserved bulla, all the rest are dated to the second

half and the end of the XIth c., a period from which none of the representatives of the Kinnamos family are known. An interesting fact is that they are either bearers of titles or private persons. They cannot be of any particular help to us in trying to identify the owner of the Plovdiv bulla.

In the XIIth c., the most eminent representative of the family is the writer John Kinnamos. The data on his person are rather scanty. It is known that he was born ca. 1143 and that he came from a noble family. He was a private secretary of Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180) and a participant in several Manuel's campaigns. He died after 1185. He is the author of a historical work covering the period 1118-1176 and in its larger part dedicated to the reign of Manuel I Komnenos (**Hunger, Literatur**, 1, 409-415; **ODB**, 1130; **Cinamus**, tr. **Brand**, 1-11).

In 1150s-1160s, the emperor's attempts were directed towards neutralizing the thread from Serbs and Hungarians. The emperor himself was at the head of the military expeditions. Perhaps he was also accompanied by his private secretary. In John Kinnamos' *History*, the name Philippopolis is frequently reported as the emperor's base for a particular expedition. In this region, specifically in Beroe, the Byzantine army along with the emperor spent the winter of 1155 (see **Kinnamos**, 133.1-16; **Brand**, 104-105).

The unusual iconography of the seal, its entire appearance and shape attesting for an owner of exquisite taste and capacity for its satisfaction, as well as its dating to the second half of the XIIth c. strongly invite us to identify this John Kinnamos with the historian mentioned above.

Of course, in this case too, it is more of a desire than facts, but even if it is a simple coincidence of names of two different persons living approximately at the same time, focusing our efforts in this direction is justifiable.

When overcoming our hesitation, we could propose the following reasonings:

It is quite possible that the owner of the present seal is indeed the writer John Kinnamos, who accompanied the emperor in his campaigns in this part of the country. He could have written to Philippopolis both on the emperor's instruction and to his relative garrisoned there. As was already mentioned, precisely in the winter of 1155 the emperor was certainly in Beroe not with his whole army, but perhaps with his guards, staff and retinue. It is logical for his private secretary to have accompanied him. He might have sent a private correspondence to a recipient unknown to us sojourning in Philipoppolis (someone from the emperor's retinue, or why not, the local prelate, provided he was a fellow man of letters). Of course, for the time being, it will remain a hypothesis, since the name was quite common and, as noted above, at least one group of seals is known to have belonged to a person by the same names, but living a century earlier.

### 312. Νικήτας Κίνναμος βέστης (second half, XI c.)

Private collection (V. Panteleev from Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 15-17 (13) 3.5-5 mm. W. 5.40 g. Once a good and complete imprint. Now a portion is chipped or melted, which renders the reading insecure.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of St. Michael holding a scepter (r. hand) and a globus cruciger (l. hand).

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

.ΦΡΑΓ | ..KHTA | ..CT'T8 | .INAM'

[Σ]φραγ(ις) [Ν]ικήτα [βέ]στη τοῦ [Κ]ινάμου

The dating of the seal is in the second half of the XIth c. If the completion of the missing letters is correct, then Niketas Kinnamos is unknown from the narrative sources.

### 313. Γρηγόριος Κλάδων πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγός (1050s-1060s)

Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no.16581. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 21.5-24 (17) 4 mm, W. 12.42 g. Very good imprint in a superb state of preservation.

*Ed.* Йорданов, Преслав, № 353.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* St. Demetrios standing, holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground. Vertical inscription: Θ-Δ-Η-Μ-Η || T-PI-O' : 'Ο ἄγιος Δημήτριος.

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΓΡΙΓΟΡ' | ΠΡΙ|SCTPA | ΤΙΓ'ΤΩΚΛΑ | ΔΟΝΙ ο

+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοή(ει) Γριγορ(ίω) πατρι(κίω) (καὶ) στρατιγ(ῶ) τῷ Κλάδωνι

### 314-317. Θεόδωρος Κλάδων πρωτοσπαθάριος (X-XI c.)

a. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no.22912. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 18.5-21.5 (over 20) 3.1 mm. W. 9.05 g. Incomplete imprint, which rendered the reading of the text difficult.

*Ed.* Йорданов, Преслав, № 93.

b. Historical Museum, Iambol, no. II 5805. Passed on by an owner of a metal detector from the town in 1991. Find-spot: presumably the region. D. 23-26(?)3 mm. Incomplete imprint.

*Unpublished.*

c. Private collection. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 20-22 mm. Incomplete imprint.

*Unpublished.*

d. National Historical Museum, Sofia. Found in the course of archaeological excavations in the fortress of Silistra in 1990, no.1162. D. 20-21(?)3 mm. Incomplete imprint. But it allows to accept the reading of the first two specimens with greater certainty.

*Unpublished.*

The four bullae were struck in different boulloteria or pairs of dies. It is clear however that they belong to one and the same person.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand). Vertical inscription: Θ-N-I || K-O-Λ : 'Ο ἄγιος Νικόλ(αος). Circular inscription along a border of dots: + ΚΕ..... ΤΩCΩΔ.....

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

a-c) ΘΕΟΔΩ | .Α'CΠΑΘ | ΤΩΚΛΑ | ΔΟΝΙ

d) +ΘΕ. | ΔΟΡ'Α'CΠ | Θ'TOK.. | ΔΩNH

+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοή(ει) τῷ σῶ δ[ούλω] Θεοδώρ(ω) (πρωτο)σπαθα(ρίω) τῷ Κλάδωνι

In my publication cited above, an attempt is made at identification of the the owner of the Preslav bulla with Θεόδωρος Κλάδων πρωτοσπαθάριος ἐπὶ τοῦ μαγγλαβίου καὶ ἐκ προσώπου Θεσσαλονίκης, who in 975 certified a document of Ivirion monastery (see *Actes Ivirion*, I, no. 2).

If this identification is correct, the present seals should reflect an earlier stage of Theodore

Kladon's career. They also attest that before 975 his interests were somehow connected with the region of the Lower Danube and modern southeastern Bulgaria, where he sent at least three correspondences. To whom and on what occasion is a matter of future investigation.

If this identification is really correct, then we come up against a riddle. On the aforementioned document, an anonymous bulla decorated with St. Nicholas on the obverse and with St. Panteleimon on the reverse was suspended (see **Oikonomides**, *Dated*, no. 71). In the cited publication, it is argued that the connection between the seal and the document is authentic. Attention is also paid on the expression in the document that Theodore Kladon sealed the document with his usual seal “ τὸ παρὸν σιγίλλιον τῇ συνήθει ἡμῶν βούλῃ. If the anonymous seal is Theodore Kladon's usual seal, then what is the one presented here? What remains is to accept that either our identification is not secure or the connection between the anonymous seal and the document from Ivron is inauthentic. The latter seems to me more likely.

A bulla of the following description was offered at the auction Munzzentrum, Koln, 76, Lot 1390, no. 1390:

*Obv.* Bust of St. Nicholas.

*Rev.* CΦΡΑΓΙC ΘΕΟΔΟΡΟ ΤΟΝ ΚΛΑΔΟΝΟC

It is dated to XIIth c. and presumably belonged to a different Theodore Kladon.

### 318. Κωνσταντῖνος Κλάδων σεβαστὸς (XII-XIII c.)

Private collection (Slavei Petrov from Haskovo). Find-spot: the Chala fortress near the village of Goliam Izvor, Haskovo region. D. 34-35 (31) 3 mm. Good imprint and a very well-preserved bulla.

*Ed.* Йорданов, И. За култа на св. Георги ὁ Κουπεριώτης според данните на някои византийски печати.- ПБА, 2, 1993, 166-169; Йорданов, Севасти, № 24.

*Parallels:* An unpublished bulla with the same iconographic subject and a text very close to ours but yet, as it seems, coming from a different matrix is preserved in the collection DO 60. 105. 3051. It is possible that the boulloterion itself was retooled.

*Obv.* St. George of Kouperiotes, standing frontally, holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground. Inscription in two columns: O-ΑΓ'-Γ-Ε-ΩΡ-ΓΙ-Ος||O-K8-ΠΕ-ΡΙ-Ω-Τ-Ης : 'Ο ἄγ(ιος) Γεώργιος ὁ Κουπεριώτης

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

+ | CΦΡΑΓΙC | CΕΡΑΚΤ8 | ΚΛΑΔΟΝΟC | ΚΩΝCΤΑΝ| ΤΗΝ8 : -

+ Σφραγίς σεβαστοῦ Κλάδονος Κωνσταντήνου

The owner of the seal was the sebastos Constantine Kladon. He is unknown from other sources. For the commentary of the seal, it is necessary to do the following:

1. To locate other seals bearing the name of Constantine Kladon.

An unpublished bulla with the following description is preserved in the Dumbarton Oaks collection DO 58. 106. 5002.

*Obv.* St. Theodore standing frontally, holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground. The style of the depiction is characteristic for the period after the XIIIth c.

*Rev.* ΚΩΝ | .ΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΝ | .ΛΑΔΟΝΑΝ | .ΜΑΡΤΥC|.ΚΕΠΕ | - - -

The letters are indistinct, as if imitative. Some are mirror reversed, and others are quite out of place. They probably record the following text: Κωνσταντήνον Κλάδοναν ὁ Μάρτυς σκέπε.

Whether this seal belongs to the same Constantine Kladon or to any other person by the same name is an open question. Bearing in mind the dating of the two groups of seals, it may well be that the first one was connected with the Constantinopolitan period of Constantine Kladon's life and the second one dated from a period after 1203 (after the capture of Constantinople by the Latins) and was made some place in the provinces, where he had retired.

2. To locate seals with the same epithet to St. George.

In my above publication, this was precisely what was done:

It presented the seals of George Oinaiores, sebastos and parakoimomenos (on him, see no. 528 here) and of Constantine Philixenitos as a private person, according to a lead seal offered for sale at the auction of 12 April 1990 in Dorotheum, no 112.

*Obv.* St. George standing - ὁ Κουπεριώτης

*Rev.* + ΚΩΝ | CΤΑΝΤΙΝΟ | CΦΡΑΓΙCΜΑ | ΦΙΛΟΞΕ | ΝΙΤΟV

They have a dating similar to that on the seal of sebastos Constantine Kladon.

Information from Niketas Choniates' *History* (**Choniates**, 499-500; **Choniates** tr. **Magoulias**, p. 275) and the *Autobiographical Life* of Michael VIII Palaiologos (1258-1282) was drawn on. The assumption was made that the cult to St. George ὁ Κουπεριώτης grew up in connection with the miracle done by St. George in his namesake temple near the village of Kouperion in 1199. The conclusion reached was that a connection should be sought between the Byzantine dignitaries on whose seals this unusual epithet, not found before, was inscribed.

3. To make use of information on other representatives of the family Kladon, contemporaries of Constantine Kladon.

For the period XIIth-XIIIth c., to which the seal is dated, no other members of Kladon family are known. But we should take into consideration the following:

a. the bulla of the sebastos Constantine Kladon was found in the Chala fortress;

b. the aforementioned George Oinaiores, on whose seal there is the same epithet of St. George, was present in these lands as a participant in a military expedition against Dobromir Chrysos.

c. Correspondence of another representative of the Oinaiores family, the sebastos Theodore (see no. 528), was received in the Constantsa fortress at this juncture.

All that suggests a certain connection between these high-ranking Byzantine dignitaries. Perhaps the sebastos Constantine Kladon was also a participant in this campaign as the emperor's attendant and courtier. It could be assumed that he wrote to another participant in this expedition.

If we accept that the second group of seals bearing the name of Constantine Kladon belong to the same person, they are evidence that he outlived the capture of Constantinople and retired to some place in the provinces, most probably to Asia Minor, along with Theodore Laskaris.

### 319. Ἄννα Κομνηνὴ θυγατρὸς τοῦ Ἰσαακίου ἀδελφὴ ἀνακτὸς εὐσεβοῦς Ἰωάννου (?-1143)

Place of preservation: unknown. This seal is a very good illustration of the processes in our country. It was reported by A. Peikov, and Pl. Pavlov in the abstract sent for the 6th International Symposium of Byzantine Sigillography held in Veliki Preslav in September 16-18, 1998. Unfortunately, they did not take part in the symposium, and their abstract remained its only publication. According to the authors, the bulla generally originates from the region of Nova and Stara Zagora. After the closing of the symposium, in a personal



meeting with Pl. Pavlov, he showed me a rather poor-quality photo of this seal. When I visited Vienna a year later, I came across the recently published auction Munz Zentrum no. 97 held in January 6-8, 1999. There, under no. 790, I found the same seal. This is one surprisingly fast transfer of the seal from Bulgaria to Köln! Incomplete imprint. D. 30-31 mm. W. 24.10 g.

Ed. Pavlov, P. - Peikov, A. Two unknown Byzantine Seals from Northern Thrace from 12th Century.- *Vlt International Symposium of Byzantine Sigillography*, V. Preslav (rezume), p. 33; Auction Münz Zentrum N 97, 06-08. 01. 1999, N 790; Йорданов, Комнини-Ангели, 38-39, N 12.

No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of five lines:

— + — | ANNHС | ΘΥΓΑΤΡΟС | СΦΡΑΓΙCΙ | САΑΚΙΟΝ

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

ΑΔΕΛ | ...ΑΚΤΟC | ...ΕΡΟVC | ..ANN8

+ Ἀννης θυγατρὸς σφραγὶς Ἰσαακίου ἀδελ[φ]ή ἄν[α]κτός [εὐ]σ[ε]βοῦς  
[Ἰω]άννου

The seal once affixed to a correspondence to an unspecified settlement in southern Thrace belonged to Anna, daughter of the sebastokrator Isaakios, younger brother of Emperor John II Komnenos (**Barzos**, *Komnenoi*, no. 86).

Anna Komnene was born in 1116 and married the sebastos John Arbatenos in 1130. According to the established practice in Byzantium, after the marriage, she retained her family name Komnene and, as we see, she did not have inscribed on her seal the title belonging to her as a sebastos's wife, but the one showing her relation to the emperor. Perhaps the dating of the seal is to the period of John II Komnenos' reign, and should not go beyond 1143, i.e. it dates from the period 1130-1143.

In the previous publications of Byzantine seals found in the region of Nova and Stara Zagora, there are many others belonging to representatives of the Komnenoi. Thus, the daughter of sebastokrator Isaakios finds her place naturally among them.

### 320A. Εἰρήνη Κομνηνή (XI-XII c.)

Private collection (V. Panteleev, Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 21-23 mm, W. 9.5 g. Incomplete and indistinct imprint.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. St. George standing frontally, holding a spear (r. hand), his l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground. Vertical inscription: ..... || ΓΕ-ΩΡ-ΓΙ-... : [ἽΟ ἄ(γιος)] Γεώργι[ος].

Rev. Vertical inscription of four lines:

- ο - | .ΚΕΠΟΙ | .ΕΜΑΚΑΡ | ..ΜΝΗΝΗΝ | ..ΡΗΝΗΝ | - ο -

[Σ]κέποι(ς) [μ]ε, μάκαρ, [Κο]μνηνήν [Εἰ]ρήνην

### 320. Εἰρήνη (Κομνηνή) σεβαστοκρατόρισα (XII c.)

Preserved in the collection of the Historical Museum, Nova Zagora, no. 976. Find-spot: the land of the village of Karanovo, Nova Zagora region. D. 30.5-32 (26)? mm. Very good imprint and a bulla in a very good state of preservation.

Ed. Йорданов, Нова Загора, № 2; Йорданов, Севастии, № 39.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion of Christ on her chest. Sigla:  $\overline{MP}$  ||  $\overline{\Theta V}$  :  
Μ(ήτηρ) Θ(εο)ῦ.

Rev. Inscription of seven lines:

— ∴ — | ΚΟCΜ8ΤΕ | Κ8CATHNIPH | ΝΗΠΑΡΘΕΝΕ | CΕΡΑ<sup>4</sup>ΠΟΚΡΑΤΟ |

ΠΙCΑΝΕΙΡΗ | ΝΗΝCΚΕ | ..C

+ Κόσμου τεκοῦσα τὴν (ε)ἰρήνην Παρθένη σεβαστοκρατόρις(σ)αν Εἰρήνην  
σκέπ[οι]ς

The owner of the seal affixed on a correspondence to the settlement or fortress near the present-day village of Karanovo is the sebastokratorissa Irene. Her name and title form the basic lines of investigation. The difficulties arise from the fact that in the XIIth c., the general dating of the seal, at least five sebastokratorissai named Irene are known (see also the relevant inquiry of **Jeffreys, M. and E.** Who was Eirene the Sevastokratorissa.- *Byzantion*, 64, 1994, 40-68).

(1) The wife of the first sebastokrator Isaakios Komnenos, daughter of the ruler of Alania and first cousin of Maria, wife of Emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1078-1081). She is the first sebastokratorissa from 1081. She died between 1103 and 1105 as a nun under the name of Xene (see **Du Cange**, *Fam. Aug. Byz.*, p. 175; **Barzos**, *Komnenoi*, no. 12, 67-80).

(2) The daughter of the prince of Premisl, Volodar. In 1107/1109, she married Andronikos Komnenos (1091-1130/31), the fourth child of Alexios I Komnenos, the second sebastokrator, after Isaakios Komnenos' death in 1102/1104 (information on her husband see in **Gautier**, *L'obituaire*, no. 10; **Barzos**, *Komnenoi*, no. 35; **Gautier**, *Italikos*, no. 5, 31-34).

(3) Wife of Isaakios Komnenos (1093-1152), fifth child of Alexios I Komnenos. In 1110, he married a certain Irene (information on her husband see in **Barzos**, *Komnenoi*, no. 36). At the ascension of his brother John II in 1118, he had already been a sebastokrator. During the early years of his brother's reign he was his adherent, and John II owed his throne to a great extent to sebastokrator Isaakios' active support. Ca. 1130 he was found at the head of a conspiracy against his ruling brother and after its failure he was forced to flee to the sultan of Ikonian. By 1133 he had organized a number of military campaigns of no particular success; as a result, he was forced to become reconciled with his brother.

(4) Wife of Andronikos Komnenos (1108-1142), second son of Emperor John II. He, as well as his brothers, held the title sebastokrator. Irene married Andronikos in 1110/1112 and was granted the rank of the sebastokratorissa. She is better known for her literary interests and her "private literary circle", to which the most celebrated poets and writers of the time were drawn in (information on her and her husband see in **Barzos**, *Komnenoi*, no. 76; **Gautier**, *Italikos*, no. 6, 30-31).

(5) The wife of the future Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1118-1180) was also named Irene. By his ascension in 1143 he had been a sebastokrator and she a sebastokratorissa (**Barzos**, *Komnenoi*, no. 81).

It is difficult to choose between the five sebastokratorissai the one that could be identified with the owner of the discussed seal. I favour Irene, the wife of sebastokrator Isaakios Komnenos (3). As was pointed out, he and maybe she too were ktetors of the monastery to the Virgin Kosmosoteria. The seal is decorated with the Virgin Orant on the obverse, and the invocation +Κόσμου τεκοῦσα τὴν εἰρήνην Παρθένη on the reverse is synonymous

with Θεοτόκος τῆς Κοσμοσωτείρας.

It is difficult to determine why this bulla of a high-ranking dignitary should be found in a settlement such as the one near the village of Karanovo. It could be assumed that her friend or relation resided here, but it seems more likely that she wrote to the steward and that the settlement was one of the Komnenoi's or her husband's estates. It is a matter requiring further information, but there is no doubt that the bullae of high-ranking Byzantine families found in such settlements should be related with their estates with which they had to maintain correspondence on various occasions.

### 321. Θεοδώρα Κομνηνή (last quarter of XII c.)

Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 23-23 (?) 2.5 mm. Incomplete and indistinct imprint.

Ed. Мухомов, Печати, № 47.

Parallels: **Konstantopoulos**, no. 647b, republished by **Laurent**, *Bulles metriques*, no. 398 and **Stavrakos**, no.122. Struck in the same boulloterion.

Obv. Inscription of three lines:

+ | CΦPAGIC | KOMNH | NHC

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

ΕΥ | ΚΛΕΥC | ΘΕΟΔΩ | ΡΑC

+ Σφραγίς Κομνηνῆς εὐκλεοῦς Θεοδώρας

I associate myself with father Laurent's inference that among the representatives of the Komnenoi there are many bearing the homonym Theodora, which renders it impossible to identify the owner of the seal.

### 322-323. [Μαρία Κομνηνή] πανυπερσέβαστη (1082-1136).

a. Archaeological Museum, Plovdiv, no. 2086. It entered the museum as early as 1918. D. 26-27(24)4.1 mm. Incomplete imprint but a well-preserved specimen.

Ed. **Jordanov**, Plovdiv, no. 30.

b. Private collection (V. Panteleev from Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 23.5-24 (22) 3 mm, W. 5.60 g. Good imprint and well-preserved specimen.

Unpublished.

The both specimens were struck in a same boulloterion.

Parallels: **Zacos**, *Seals*, I, no. 2720 a-c; **Bulgakova**, no. 1.4.4.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion on her chest. Traces of a sigla:  $\overline{MP} \parallel \overline{\Theta V}$ : Μ(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

a) + THN | ΠΑΝΥΠΕΡ | CΕRACTON | . ΓΝΗΜΟ. | . ΚΕ .

b) + THN | ΠΑΝΥΠΕΡ | CΕRACTON | ΑΓΝΗΜΟΙ | CΚΕΠ

+ Τὴν πανυπερσέβαστον Ἀγνή μοι σκέπ(οις)

This basically anonymous seal is associated with the person of Maria Komnene, sister of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos. She was born in 1047. In 1061 she married Michael Taronites, and in the typikon of Pantokrator monastery of 1136 she is reported as deceased

(see **Gautier**, *L'Obituaire*, no. 19, 253-254; **Barzos**, *Komnenoi*, no. 11).

What is the dating of this seal?

After the ascension of Maria Komnene's brother, her husband was granted the newly introduced title πανυπερσέβαστος. For a long time Michael Taronites played a significant role in the life of the Empire, but in 1094 he was accused of conspiracy, sentenced and his property confiscated.

Thus, he must have been panhypersebastos from 1082 to 1094. Was his wife also panhypersebaste in this chronological frame? The dating of her seal, according to its iconography and absence of the ligature C+T=Ϟ, should be within the XIth c., thus covering the period 1082-1094. But it may well be that Maria Komnene, having been the emperor's sister, retained her title and respectively her seal after her husband's fall into disgrace, because in the above-cited typikon of Pantokrator monastery she is reported as πανυπερσέβαστη.

### 324. Ἀδριανὸς Κομνηνὸς πρωτοσέβαστος (1081-1105)

National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 30075. Found at the top of the citadel near the village of Zlati Voyvoda, square 43, by treasure-hunters with a metal detector in 1993. D. 23-24 (21)3 mm. Good imprint and a well-preserved bulla, with the exception of the last line of the text.

Ed. Йорданов, Севасти, № 38.

Parallels: From the same boulloterion as ours: in the Athens Numismatic Museum (see **Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, p. 639, no. 1; **Konstantopoulos**, no. 499); in the auctions Münzentrum Köln, 31, no. 1390 and Müller-Sollingen, 73, 1993, no. 489; Fogg, A. M. no 581. From a different boulloterion: those published in **Zacos**, *Seals*, I, no. 2708 a-b.

Obv. St. George standing frontally, holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground. Vertical inscription: Θ- ΓΕ || Ω-ΡΓΙ-Ο' : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Γεώργιος(ς).

Rev. Inscription of seven lines:

+ KER'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8Λ' | ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩ | ΠΡΩΤΟCΕ || RAϞΤΩΤΩ || KOMNH | ..

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δούλ(ω) Ἀδριανῷ πρωτοσέβαστῳ τῷ Κομνη[νῷ]

Information on Adrianos Komnenos, abbreviated from the narrative sources and seals, can be found with his seal in his capacity as a grand domestikos of all the West (see nos. 325-326 here).

He was a protosebastos from 1081-1105 (i.e. from his brother's ascension down to his death), and it could be assumed that the present seal refers to this whole period, if we accept (not without reservation) that it represents him as a private person (according to **Laurent**'s opinion, *Corpus*, II, p. 506). The title protosebsatos was effective in this period. It secured him a place and role in the court ceremonial.

The specimen from the Hermitage (M-2941, see **Панченко**, Каталог, № 197; **Шандровская**, Поправки, с. 110, № 197, табл. III.3) could be accepted as a true private seal of Adrianos Komnenos, as well as one tessara **Cheyne**, *Zacos*, III, no.107.

Obv. Greek cross with fleurons. In the quarters:  $\overline{IC} \parallel \overline{XC}$ .

Rev. + ΚΕΡΟΗΘ|ΤΩCΩΔ8|ΛΩΑΔΡΙΑ|ΝΩΤΩΚΟ|ΜΝΗΝΩ

It is important for us to know when his correspondence was received in the fortress near the present-day village of Zlati Voyvoda – a question of no certain answer. It could be assumed that his seal reflects the period prior to his appointment as a grand domestikos, i. e. 1081-1087, since his office is also inscribed on his seals after this date. But if we accept that he was represented as a private person on his seal, then we should take into consideration the

whole period. The ligature C + T = Ϟ also attests to a dating in the end of the XIth c. at the earliest (see **Oikonomides**, *Dated*, p. 160).

**325-326. Ἀδριανὸς Κομνηνὸς πρωτοσέβαστος καὶ μέγας δομέστικος πάσης Δύσεως** (1087-1105)

a. National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 28682. Find-spot: Kazanluk, according to the available information. D. 19-33 mm. About half of what was once a good imprint.

Ed. **Jordanov**, *G.Names*, no. 26.6a.

b. Private collection (Valentin Dimitrov from Haskovo). Find-spot: on the land of the village of Tsareva poliana, Haskovo region. D.34-35 mm. Well-centered and complete imprint but surface covered with lead oxides.

Ed. **Jordanov**, *G.Names*, no. 26.6b.

*Parallels*: **Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, p. 639, no. 4; **Konstantopoulos**, no. 337-338; **Zacos**, *Seals*, I, no. 2709; **Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, nos. 939-940; **Barnea**, *Nord Dobroudja*, 29-32, no. 1; **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, I, no. 1.13 a-c; *Lanz Auktion*, 64, 07.06. 1993, no. 1040. As far as one can compare the illustrations of these publications with our specimen, it belongs to a different boulloterion or another couple of dies.

*Obv.* St. George standing frontally, holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand on a round shield, resting on the ground. Inscription in two columns:.....|| ΓΕ-ΩΡ-ΓΙ-Ο-С : [ Ὁ ἄγιος ] Γεώργιος.

*Rev.* Inscription of seven lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'.| ΤΩCΩΔΟV..| ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩ...| ACTΩSM....| ...ΚΩΠ....| .....| .....  
+ Κ(ύρι)ε βο(ή)[θ(ει)] τῷ σῷ δού[λῳ] Ἀδριανῷ [(πρωτο)σεβ]αστῷ (καὶ)  
μ(ε)γ(άλῳ) [δομέστι]κῳ π[άσης Δύσεως τῷ Κομνηνῷ]

Adrianos Komnenos is the fourth child of John Komnenos and Anna Dalasena. He was born between 1060 and 1065. Married Zoe, a daughter of Emperor Constantine X Dukas and Eudocia (1059-1067).

Here in short is his career and the events, in which he took part (see **Gautier**, *Blachernes*, II.1, 231-233; **Barzos**, *Komnenoi*, I, no. 16; **Skoulatos**, *Personnages*, no. 3):

1081: His name appears for the first time in connection with the new titles introduced by his brother Emperor Alexius I. The title of περιφανέστος πρωτοσέβαστος was bestowed on Adrianos;

1083-1084: he participated in the war against the Normans in Thessaly;

1087 (spring): he was appointed as μέγας δομέστικος πάσης Δύσεως probably after the death of Gregory Pakurianus and was involved in a number of decisive battles;

1087 (spring): he contributed to the routing of Chelgou;

1087 (Autumn): he participated in the expedition against the Pechenegs headed by the emperor. During the decisive battle at Dristra he was commander of the Latin mercenaries.

1091 (March-April): immediately before the battle at Levounion he was charged to protect the left bank of the Maritsa river next to the newly built bridge in his capacity of μέγας δομέστικος πάσης Δύσεως;

1092-1093 (winter): he participated in the investigation and court action in Philippoupolis against John Komnenos, who was accused of conspiracy. The accused proved to be false and the father of the accused sebastokrator Isaac Comnen threatened to pull off the beard of Adrianos because of this calumny.

1094: he was entrusted the delicate mission of uncovering the plot, organized by his brother-in-law Nikephoros Diogenes;

1094: he participated in the sessions of the Blachernae synod in his capacity of πρωτοσέβαστος καὶ μέγας δομέστικος;

1105 (19<sup>th</sup> April): he died probably after an illness having taken a new monastic name of John.

His correspondence to an unknown addressee in the Kazanluk region and the fortress near the village of Tzareva Poliana was sent during the period of 1087-1105.

**327-336. Ἀλέξιος Κομνηνὸς σεβαστὸς καὶ μέγας δομέστικος** (1078-1081)

A.

a. Historical Museum, Stara Zagora, no. 10C3-3. Find-spot: the town. D. 23-25 (over 25) 5 mm. Perhaps once a good imprint, but now only partially preserved. The surface of the bulla is damaged.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Берое*, № 1.

b. Historical Museum, Sliven, no. 56. Found in the course of excavations in the fortress near the village of Zlati Voyvoda, square 25 A, on the slope under the citadel on 14 August 1992. D. 26-30(?) 4 mm. Incomplete imprint.

*Unpublished.*

c. Private collection (Ivan Iotov from Iambol). Find-spot: the fortress near the village of Melnitsa, Elhovo region. D. 29-29 (25?) 3 mm. Good imprint and a well-preserved bulla.

*Unpublished.*

d. Private collection (Valentin Zhekov from Novi Pazar). According to him, it was found in the course of excavations on Tsarevets (V. Turnovo). D.28-29 mm.

*Unpublished.*

*The four specimens were struck in the same boulloterion.*

*Parallels*: A specimen struck in the same boulloterion was offered at the auctions: *Münzenntum*, 74, 11-13.11. 1992, no 1231; *Auktion Hirsch* (Munchen), 186, 10-12.05.1995, no 1638.

*Obv.* St. Demetrios standing frontally, holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand on a round shield, resting on the ground. Vertical inscription: O-A-ΓΙ-Ο-С || Δ-Η-ΜΗ-ΤΡ-ΙΟ' : Ὁ ἄγιος Δημήτριος(ς).

*Rev.* Inscription of seven lines:

— + — | ΚΕΡΗΘ | ΤΩCΩΔ8ΛΩ | ΑΛΕΞΙΩCΕΡΑ | CΤΩΚΑΙΜΕΓΑ |  
ΛΩΔΟΜΕCΤΙ | ΚΩΤΩΚΟ | ΜΝΗΝΩ  
+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Ἀλεξίῳ σεβαστῷ καὶ μεγάλῳ δομέστικῳ τῷ Κομνηνῷ

B.

e. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 17242. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 26-27 (26) 4.1 mm. W. 15.74 g. Incomplete imprint.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, №164.

f. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 24563. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 28-29 (27.5) 5 mm. W. 23.60 g. Incomplete imprint, damaged during excavations.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 165.

g. Private collection. Preserved in Academician Ivan Duichev collection in Sofia. Find-spot: Stara Zagora region. D. 28-31 (26) 4.7 mm. W. 26 g. Low-quality imprint. There is 4-5 cm dislocation between the *Obv.* and *Rev.*

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Алексий Комнин*, № 3.

h. Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia. Find-spot: the Aitos spa. D. 27-28 (26) 4 mm. Incomplete imprint. Either the boulloterion was out of order or the blank was not well centered in it; as a result the imprint on the *Obv.* and *Rev.* is slightly up-centered, leaving out parts of the depiction and inscription.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Алексий Комнин*, № 4.

i. Private collection (Ivan Iotov from Iambol). Find-spot: the fortress near the village of Melnitsa, Elhovo region. D. 27-28(?) 4 mm.

Unpublished.

j. Private collection (V. Pantelev from Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 32-29 (26) 4 mm. W. 23.40 g. Dented by a strike with a sharp object.

Unpublished.

The six specimens were struck with different pairs of dies.

Parallels: **Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, p. 640, no. 5; **Konstantopoulos**, no. 496; **Zacos**, *Seals*, I, no.2707; **Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, no. 935.

*Obv.* St. Demetrios facing, represented as a warrior as above. The vertical inscription is of diverse letter combinations.

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines preceded and followed by ornaments:

+ | C E R A C T O N | Η Δ Η Σ Δ Ο Μ Ε Σ | Τ Ι Κ Ο Ν Μ Α Λ Ε Ξ Ι | Ο Ν Ν Υ Ν Τ Ο Ν Κ Ο | Μ Ν Η Ν Ο Ν Δ Ε Ι  
| Κ Ν Υ Ω | — — —

+ Σεβαστὸν ἦδη καὶ δομέστικον μέγαν Ἀλέξιον νῦν τὸν Κομνηνὸν δεικνύω

The bullae of Alexios Komnenos in his capacity as a grand domestikos, prior to his becoming emperor, found in various settlements are further evidence for his active work in these lands, which is corroborated by the other narrative sources.

### 337. Ἀλέξιος Κομνηνὸς σεβαστὸς (XII c.)

a. Private collection. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 26-26 mm. Good imprint and a bulla in a good state of preservation.

*Ed.* **Йорданов**, *Севастии*, № 2; **Йорданов**, *Комнини-Ангели*, с.32, № 4.

*Parallels:* **Laurent**, *Bulles metriques*, no. 324.

b. Private collection. Find-spot: the stronghold “Blesna”, near to town of Dimitrovgrad. D. 26-28 mm, W. 8.45 g. Incomplete imprint.

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion of Christ on her breast. Sigla:  $\overline{MP}$  ||  $\overline{\Theta V}$  :  
Μ(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ.

*Rev.* Inscription of seven lines:

+ C E R A | Ψ Ο Ν Α Λ Ε Ξ Ι Ο Ν | Ε Κ Ν Ι Κ Η Φ Ο Ρ Ε Σ | Φ Υ Ν Τ Α Κ Ο Μ Ν Η |

Ν Ο Ν Μ Ρ Ο Π Α Ρ | Θ Ε Ν Ε Κ Ε Π | - Ο Ι C -

+ Σεβαστὸν Ἀλέξιον ἐκ Νικηφόρου φύντα Κομνηνοῦ μ(ητ)ροπαρθένε σκέποις

The sebastos Alexios Komnenos is the son of Nikephoros Komnenos, brother of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1018-1118), unknown from other sources. It is assumed that Alexios Komnenos was born in 1087 and possessed the hereditary title of sebastos (see **Barzos**, *Komnenoi*, no. 45).

### 338. Ἀλέξιος Κομνηνὸς (XII c.)

Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav. Find-spot: uncertain. Donated by Emil Kosev on 17 Sept. 1998. D. 20-36 (36 ?) 3 mm. Half of a once very good imprint.

*Ed.* **Йорданов**, *Комнини-Ангели*, 31-32, № 3.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Remains of a standing figure of St. George. Also visible is the shield, resting on the

ground. Vertical inscription: .....|| Γ-I-O-C : [‘Ο ἄ(γιος) Γεώ]ργιος.

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

+ | Α Λ Ε Ξ . . | C Φ Ρ Α Γ . . . . | Κ Ο Μ Ν Η Ν . . . . | Π Ο Ρ Φ Υ Ρ . . . . | Ε Κ Γ Ε Ν . . . . | Τ Η Γ . . . .

+ Ἀλεξ[ίου] σφράγ[ισμα] Κομνην[ῶν κλάδ(ου)] Πορφυρ(ο)[γενήτου] ἐκ  
γέν[ους κα]τηγ[μένου]

Regretfully, the preserved part does not allow for a secure reading of the text of the seal. What is certain about it is that it applies to Alexios from the Komnenoi and that he is a Porphyrogennetos, thus limiting our choice.

The firstborn son of Emperor John II Komnenos (1118-1144) was named Alexios. He was born in 1006/1007 and was porphyrogennetos, since his father was crowned co-emperor in 1092. As a firstborn son, he was granted the title sebastokrator. In 1122 he married the daughter of the Russian prince Mistislav. He died in Attaleia in 1142 during a military campaign led by the emperor (for him see **Barzos**, *Komnenoi*, no. 74).

### 339. Ἀνδρόνικος Κομνηνὸς, nephew of Emperor Manuel I Komnenos, son of the porphyrogennete Eudokia and despotes Theodore Batatzes (1133-1176)

Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia, no. 182. D. 33-34 mm. Incomplete but a well-preserved imprint.

*Ed.* **Йорданов**, *Комнини-Ангели*, 36-37, № 10.

*Parallels:* **Zacos**, *Seals*, I, 2730

*Obv.* Inscription of eight lines:

..ΜΝΗΝΟ. | .. Δ Ρ Ο Ν Ι Κ Ο C | ...VΔΟΚΙΑC | ...ΦΥΡΟΦΥ8C | ..ΦVICPIZH C |

..ΛΑΔΟCΑΝΕΨΙ | .. ΕΜΑΝ8ΗΛ | ..CΙΛΕΟC |

[Κο]μνηνὸς Ἀνδρόνικος [ἐξ Ε]ὐδοκίας [πορ]φυροφυοῦς [ἐκ]φυεῖς ρίζης

[κ]λάδος ἀνεψι(ό)[ς δ]ὲ Μανουήλ [βα]σιλέος

*Rev.* Inscription of seven lines:

..ΟCΡΑΤ | ΤΖ8ΔΕCΠ. | Τ8ΘΕΟΔΩΡ8 | ΕΜΕΠΡΟΙCΤ. | ΚΕΛΟΓΩΝ | ΚΑΙΠΡΑΓ |

ΜΑΤΩΝ

[υῖ]ὸς Βατ(ά)τζου δεσπ[ό]του Θεοδώρου ἐμὲ προίστ[η] κὲ λόγων καὶ πραγμάτων

Andronikos Komnenos Batatzes was the son of Theodora (third child of Emperor John II Komnenos) from her marriage to Theodore Batatzes, who was elevated to the rank of pansebastohypertatos, although on his seal he is styled despotes. He was born in 1133. His name was reported among the attendants of the Synod of 2<sup>nd</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> March 1166 (see *PG*, vol. CXL, 236D, 253B) and 30<sup>th</sup> January 1170 as τοῦ περιποθήτου ἀνεψιοῦ τοῦ κραταιοῦ καὶ αγίου ἡμῶν βασιλέως κυροῦ Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ, τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ πανσεβάστου σεβαστοῦ κυροῦ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Βατάτζη (see **Petit**, *Documents*, p. 479.10-12).

In 1176, he was dispatched at the head of an army against the Seljuks and died during the siege of Neokesarea. His head, impaled on a spear, was sent by order of the sultan to the Roman camp to be shown to his uncle, Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (**Choniates**, 182.39-46; **Barzos**, *Komnenoi*, no.148).

### 340. Θεόδωρος Κομνηνὸς κουροπαλάτης καὶ δουξ Παφλαγονίας (1070s-1080s)

Private collection. Find-spot: region of the Gotsedelchevo (the Rhodopes). D. 35-35 (30) mm. Good imprint and a bulla in a good state of preservation.

*Unpublished.*

*Parallels* : Auction Shenk-Behrens. Sale 77 (19-21 May 1991), no. 666, SBS, 8, p. 250. The Dumbarton Oaks collection contains a specimen struck in a different boulloterion (see DOS, 4, no. 11.4). Another specimen was in Sale 62 (20 April 1993), no. 772, of the House Gorny.

*Obv.* St. Demetrios standing frontally, holding a spear (r. hand), his l. hand resting on a round shield set on the ground. Vertical inscription: O-A-ΓΙ-O-C || Δ-H-MH-TP-IO' : 'Ο ἅγιος Δημήτριος(ς).

*Rev.* Inscription of seven lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔΟΝ | ΛΩΘΕΟΔΩΡΩ | ΚΟΝΡΟΠΑΛΑΤΗ | ΣΔ8ΚΙΠΑΦΛΑ  
| ΓΟΝΙΑCΤΩΚΟ | ΜΝΗΝΩ  
+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Θεοδώρῳ κουροπαλάτῃ Παφλαγονίας τῷ  
Κομνηνῷ

The Dumbarton Oaks collection contains another specimen of the same person but with a different title – nobelissimos (DOS, 4, no. 11.5).

Theodore Komnenos does not appear in the prosopography of Barzos, Komnenoi, unless he is identical to Theodore Dokeianos, who was also a Komnenos on his mother's side and who lived in Paphlagonia in 1080 (**Barzos**, *Komnenoi*, no. 9).

#### 340A. Ἰσαάκιος Κομνηνὸς δεσπότης (1081-1102.)

Private collection (V. Pantelev, Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 17-28 (28 ?) 4 mm, W. 11.00 g. Half of what was once an excellent imprint.

*Unpublished.*

*Parallels* : **Mordtmann**, *Komnenen*, no. 9; **Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, p. 425; **Konstantopulos**, no. 289; **Zacos**, *Seals*, I, nos. 2702a-c; **Stavrakos**, 126; **Henning-Muller**, *Bizans*, no. 9.

*Obv.* Part of the figure of St. Theodore standing frontally, his l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground. Vertical inscription: .....|| Θ-Ε-ΟΔΩ-ΡΟ-С : ['Ο ἅγιος] Θεόδωρος.

*Rev.* Vertical inscription of six lines:

- ο - | + ΚΕΡΟ. | ΘΕΙΤΩ.. | ΔΟΝΛΩΙ.. | ΚΙΩ ΙΩΔΕC.... | ΤΩΚΟ... | - Ν. -  
+ Κ(ύρι)ε βο[ή]θει τῷ [σῷ] δούλῳ Ἰσαα[κίῳ] δεσ[πότη] τῷ Κο[μνη]ν[ῷ]

The owner of the present seal has been identified as Isaak Komnenos who, after the ascension of his brother Alexios I Komnenos, was granted the title sebastokrator especially established for him, whose equivalent despotes is inscribed on the seal.

On him and his seals, see **Barzos**, *Komnenoi*, I, 67-69; **Skoulatos**, *Personnages*, 123-140; **Zacos**, *Seals*, I, no. 2702.

#### 341. Ἰωάννης Κομνηνὸς υἱὸς τοῦ σεβαστοκράτορος (before 1176)

Private collection (V. Pantelev from Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. Incomplete imprint in a poor state of preservation. The *Obv.* is more damaged where visible are only the outlines of the two saints.

*Unpublished.*

*Parallels* : **Zacos**, *Seals*, I, no. 2732.

*Obv.* On l. St. Theodore Stratelates bearded standing facing, r. hand resting on a shield set on the ground and l. hand holding a spear. On r. a military saint, probably St. Theodore Tiron, in a similar dress and attitude. The vertical inscription on r. and l. is almost completely obliterated.

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

....8.... | ...ΜΑΚ.ΜΝΗΝ' | ΛΑΔΟΝCΕΡΑ | ΨΟΚΡΑΤΟΡ8Ν | ΤΟCΕΞΑΝΔΡΟ | ΝΙΚΟΝ  
[Ἰωάνν]ου [σφράγισ]μα Κ[ο]μνην(οῦ) [κ]λάδου σεβαστοκρατοροῦντος  
ἐξ' Ἀνδρονίκου

G. Zacos assumed that this seal was issued during the first years of Manuel's reign and before John Komnenos lost his eye. For more information on the person of John Komnenos, see below where he is presented in his capacity as protosebastos and protovestiarios.

#### 342. Ἰωάννης Κομνηνὸς πρωτοσεβαστὸς καὶ πρωτοβεστιάριος (1148-1176)

Private collection. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 40-42 (30) mm. Whole bulla, but nonprinted fields, which renders the reading impossible. Furthermore, it was at my disposal for quite a short period.

*Ed.* **Йорданов**, *Комнини-Ангели*, № 16.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Inscription of seven lines:

СΦΡΑΓΙCΚΟΙ | ΡΩΤΟΠΑΝ.. | ΑCΘΝΠΕΡ.. | Τ8ΚΟΜΝΙΝΩ | ...УCΠΡΩ.. |  
РЕCΤΙΑΡΙ | ОΥ  
Σφραγίς... [π]ρωτοпан[σεβ]ασθυπερ[τάτ]ου Κομνινω[φ]υοῦς πρω[το]βεστιάριου

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

ΙΩΑΝΝΟΝ | ...ΟΝΤΟC | .... ΔΡΟΝΙΚ | .... ΨΟΚΡΑΤ | ...ΚΑΙ.ΕΙ8 | ..ΓΕΝΟΝ  
Ἰωάννου [ἐλχ]οντος [ἐξ] Ἀνδρονίκ[ου] σεβα[στοκράτ]ορος τε] καὶ ἐκ Θείου  
γένου(ς)

From the incomplete text of the seal, we can read for certain that it applies to the person of John Komnenos, the son of the sebastokrator Andronikos Komnenos, grandson of Emperor John II Komnenos (1118-1143) and nephew of Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180).

John Komnenos was born in 1126 from the marriage of the sebastokrator Andronikos Komnenos with Irene the Hungarian. His father died in 1142 and his mother a few years later (1146), and as a result, according to the chroniclers, Emperor Manuel I Komnenos became his stepfather. He married a wife from the Komnenos clan Taronitai.

In 1148, in John Kinnamos' words " John, the son of the sebastokrator Andronicus [Manuel's brother], a handsome, statuesque youth, was wounded directly in one of his eyes by the thrust of an Italian lance. Desiring therefore to compensate him for this injury, he [Manuel] promoted him to protovestiarios and elevated him to the rank of the protosebastoi." (**Cinnamus**, 126. 2-7; **Cinnamus** tr. **Brand**, p. 99)

Further on, he took active part in the military campaigns of his uncle, the emperor. In 1150/1151, he waged war against the Hungarians and was doux of Serdika. In 1154, he was sent to Byzantium, in 1154/1155 he was again dispatched against the Hungarians in his capacity as doux of Nisos, in 1155 he was doux of Cyprus and along with the protostrator Michael Branas led the hostilities against the Crusader Renauld de Chatillon.

He was present at five Synods: 12th May 1157, 2nd March 1166, 6th March 1166, 30th



January 1170 and 18th February 1177, where he is referred to as τοῦ περιποθήτου ἀνεψιοῦ τοῦ κραταιοῦ καὶ ἁγίου ἡμῶν βασιλέως καὶ υἱοῦ τοῦ αἰοδίμου σεβαστοκράτορος κυροῦ Ἀνδρονίκου, τοῦ πρωτοσεβαστοῦ καὶ πρωτοβεστιάριου κυροῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ (*PG*, CXL, cols.177, 236, 252; *Petit*, Documents, 479, 490; Sakkos, p. 327, tables 2,4 and pp. 332,341). According to Guillaume of Tyre, he was killed in the battle at Miriokephalon in September 1176 (see Barzos, *Komnenoi*, no. 128).

### 343. Ἰωάννης Κομνηνὸς σεβαστὸς (XI-XII c.)

Private collection (S. Stankov from Batak). Find-spot: the area of the town of Parvomai, Plovdiv region. D. 27-28 (24) ? mm. Complete imprint of heavily damaged surface. The letters are deformed and damaged, which renders the reading uncertain.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Standing figure of a military saint (St. George)

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

— + — | CΦPAGIC | CΕRACTOV | KOMNHN8 | IΩANN8  
+ Σφραγὶς σεβαστοῦ Κομνηνοῦ Ἰωάννου

The Sebastoi from the Komnenoi named John are quite many. Nevertheless, it seems to me that it dates from the time of Alexios I Komnenos.

### 343A. Ἰωάννης Κομνηνὸς σεβαστὸς (XI-XII c.)

Private collection (S. Stankov from Batak). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 17-28 mm. Half of what was once an excellent imprint.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of four lines:

..ERO | ...ITΩ|.. Δ8ΛΩ| .Ω

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

CER. | CTΩ.. | KOM..| N.

[+ (Κύρι)]ε βο[ήθε]ι τῷ [σῶ] δούλῳ [I]ω(άννη) σεβ[α]στῷ [τῷ] Κομ[νη]ν[ῳ]

### 344. Κωνσταντῖνος Κομνηνὸς (XII c.)

Private collection (Hristo Zaprianov from Haskovo). Find-spot: the Blesna fortress near present-day Dimitrovgrad. D. 25-25 (23)1-2 mm. Good imprint but yet made a little off-center, and as a result parts of St. Theodore's head and the first line were left out of the blank.

Ed. Йорданов-Аладжов, Хасковско, № 5.

Parallels: Ebersolt, C-ple, no. 167. Struck in a different boulloterion or a different pair of dies.

Obv. St. Theodore standing frontally, holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground. Inscription in two columns: A-Θ-ΘΕ-Ο || Δ-Ω-P-O-C : 'Ο ἄγιος Θεόδωρος

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

.CKEΠOIC | MEMAPTVC | KOMNHNON | KΩNCTAN | TINON

[+] Σκέποις με, μάρτυς, Κομνηνὸν Κωνσταντῖνον

The difficulties in the identification of the owner of the seal arise from the fact that many representatives of the Komnenoi are known by this homonym, as well as because of the absence of a title, office, etc.

Presented in the inquiry below are the following representatives, exclusive of those of mixed dynastic marriages and the cases of more than one patronym inscribed:

Κωνσταντῖνος Κομνηνὸς (1) – kouropalates. Died before 1078. His wife Anna became a nun under the name of Xene and yielded her real property to the monastery in Rhaidestos (see MM, V, p. 317.14-19). Her seals from this period are also known (*Laurent*, *Corpus*, V. 2, nos. 1475-76). The direct link of this Constantine with the Komnenoi is not clear.

Κωνσταντῖνος Κομνηνὸς (2) – third son of the first sebastokrator Isaakios Komnenos. He was earliest attested in a letter by Theophylaktos of Ohrid dated before 1097, when Constantine Komnenos was doux of Berroia. It is addressed: τῷ σεβαστῷ καὶ δουκὶ Βερροίας κυρῷ Κωνσταντίνῳ Κομνηνῷ (*Theophylacte d'Achrida*, *Lettres*, no. 123). At sessions of the Synod of 1143 and 1147 σεβαστὸς καὶ μέγας δρουγγάριος Κωνσταντῖνος Κομνηνὸς was also present (for more information on his life, see *Stiernon*, Notes de titulature, p. 192-198; *Barzos*, *Komnenoi*, no. 27).

Κωνσταντῖνος Κομνηνὸς (3) – grandson of the above. He was born ca. 1155. Almost nothing is known about him, except that he was granted the title σεβαστὸς by Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180). Data, though scanty, are found in an epigram of Theodore Balsamon (see *Horna*, Theodoros Balsamon, S.125; *Barzos*, *Komnenoi*, no 101).

Κωνσταντῖνος Κομνηνὸς (4). His name is reported in the typikon of the Virgin Kosmosotira monastery, written by sebastokrator Isaakios Komnenos in 1152 in his capacity as epikernios (*Petit*, Kosmosoteira, p. 52.36). The data are insufficient for his identification with no. 2, chronologically the identification with no. 1 is also impossible and no. 3 was not yet born. Perhaps it refers to some unknown Κωνσταντῖνος Κομνηνὸς of that time.

Several groups of seals with the name Κωνσταντῖνος Κομνηνὸς are known:

1. *Zacos*, *Seals*, I, no. 2716; *Laurent*, *Corpus*, II, no. 895; Unpublished in DO 58. 106. 5424; 58. 106. 2584; Fogg A.M., no 1254 and Thiery, no. 160.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion.

Rev. +ΘΚΕΡΟ|ΗΘΕΙΚΩΝCE|RAΨΩSMEΓA|ΔΩΔP8ΓTA|PIΩTΩKO|MNHNΩ

2. Unpublished bulla in DO. 55. 1. 2981.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin as above.

Rev. +|ΘΚΕΡΟΗΘΕΙ|KΩNCTANTIN|ΩCERAΨΩTΩ|KοMNHNΩ

2a. Unpublished bulla in DO. 58.106. 5691.

Obv. St. Theodore standing frontally, holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground.

Rev. + |CΦPAGIC|CΕRAΨ8|KOMNHN8|KΩNΨAN|TIN8

3. Unpublished bulla in DO. 58.106. 4522.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion.

Rev. |KΩNTAN|TINONTON|KOMNHNON|ΠAPΘENE|CKEΠOIC

3a. Unpublished bulla in DO. 58.106. 3441.

Obv. Crucifixion. Below Christ, depiction of St. John and the Virgin.

Rev. XE|R'Θ'KΩN|KOMNI|NΩ

3b. Unpublished bulla in DO. 58.106. 1324.

Obv. + CΦPA|ΓICMAΓ|PAΦΩN

Rev. KOMNHN|8KΩH|TA|TI8

4. In the Zacos, Seals, I, no. 2725. On its both sides, an inscription of six lines containing biographical data about the owner of the seal – son of the megas droungarios Stephanos and grandson of the sebastos.

How could these four groups of seals be commented on?

The first group could be applied to Κωνσταντῖνος Κομνηνός (1). For some specimens in the second group such possibility could also be assumed. The fourth group should be associated with Κωνσταντῖνος Κομνηνός (3). It actually supplements our information on him. The seals in the third group could apply to each one of them.

In our case, however, it is significant for us to try to determine which one of the above-listed Κωνσταντῖνος Κομνηνός (1-4) sent his correspondence to the Blesna fortress. No direct answer is possible. Directing to a certain extent is the information from the following seal of another representative of the Komnenoi, whose correspondence was also received here.

### 345-346. Νικηφόρος Κομνηνός σεβαστός (XI-XII c.)

a. Private collection (V. Panteleev from Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 24-25 (21) 3 mm. W. 7. 30 g. Well-centered but incomplete imprint. Worn surface.

Unpublished.

b. Private collection (V. Panteleev from Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 20-22 mm. W. 6.80 g. Well-centered but incomplete imprint. Worn surface.

Unpublished.

Parallels: **Mordtman**, Peri, p. 557; Unpublished in Shaw 399 (no. 1093).

Obv. Inscription in four lines:

+ ΘΚΕ | . . ΗΘΕΙ | ΤΩCΩ | .ΟVΛ.

Obv. Inscription in four lines:

.IKH | ΦΩPΩCΕ | ..CTΩ.. | .OMN. | ΝΩ

+ Θ(εοτό)κε [βο]ήθει τῷ σῷ [δ]ούλ[ω Ν]ικηφόρῳ σε[βα]στῷ [τῷ Κ]ομν[η]νῷ

On the person of Nikephoros Komnenos, who could be identified with the brother of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos, see below.

### 347. Νικηφόρος Κομνηνός σεβαστός (XI-XII c.)

Private collection (V. Panteleev from Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 23-24 (22) 3 mm. W. 8.00 g. Fairly good imprint. Only the first line was left out of the blank. The bulla is broken in two parts.

Unpublished.

Parallels: A seal that could be a parallel to our specimen was originally published by **Schlumberger**, Inedite, V, p. 43, no. 325, but without a photo available. It was republished by **Laurent** in Bulletin, I, p. 651, no. 10, later also included in *Bulle metriques*, no. 206. Both publishers accept that the first two lines record the standard invocation: + Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει, which does not correspond to the further metrical text. On the basis of our seal we emend this reading and add the title of Nikephoros Komnenos.

Obv. St. Demetrios standing frontally, holding a spear (r. hand), his l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground. Vertical inscription: ..... || MI-TP-I-OC : [Ἵ]Ο ἄ(γιος) Δη[μ]ήτριος.

Rev. Inscription of eight lines:

+ CΦP... | CΕRACT8 | KOMNHN8NI | ΚΗΦΟΡΟΝΟΝ | CAICAITAIC |

CΚΕΠΟΙC | ΜΑΡΤVС | KṼ

+ Σφρ[αγῖς] σεβαστοῦ Κομνηνοῦ Νικηφόρου ὃν σαῖς λιταῖς σκέποις μάρτυς  
κ(αλλί)ν(ικε)

On the person of Nikephoros Komnenos, who could be identified with the brother of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos, see below.

### 348. Νικηφόρος Κομνηνός (XII c.)

Private collection (the collector Sl. Petrov, Haskovo). Find-spot: the Blesna fortress near present-day Dimitrovgrad. D. 30-30 (27) 3.5 mm. Very good imprint, superb engraving of letters, but the bulla itself is damaged in its lower part. Holed with corrosion or mechanically.

Ed. **Йорданов-Аладжов**, Хасковско, № 6.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion on her chest. Sigla: M̄P || Θ̄V : Μ(ήτη)ρ  
Θ(εο)ῦ.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ | CΚΕΠΟΙC | ANACCA | KOMNHNON | ΝΙΚΗΦΟ | P.N

+ Σκέποις ἽΑνασσα Κομνηνὸν Νικηφόρ[ο]ν

In this case too, we are facing the same ascertainment: there are numerous representatives of the Komnenoi bearing the homonym Nikephoros.

(1) Νικηφόρος Κομνηνός. The only information we know about him is that he held the title protospatharios and that in 1022 he was appointed strategos of Vaasprakania in the place of the failed patrikios Basil Argyros (on him, see no. here). Νικηφόρος Κομνηνός soon deserved “the basileus’s gratitude”, was accused of high treason, arrested in 1026 and blinded (**Barzos**, *Komnenoi*, no. 3).

(2) Νικηφόρος Κομνηνός (1062-1136). The last son of the kouropalates John Komnenos and brother of Emperor Alexios I. The information on him is rather scanty. What we only know is that after his brother’s ascension in 1081 he was granted the title sebastos and was appointed megas droungarios of the fleet. The next information on him is noted in the typikon of Pantokrator monastery, written by his nephew, Emperor John II Komnenos, in 1136. There Νικηφόρος Κομνηνός is mentioned among the living relatives of the emperor. He died ca. 1143, since another one, Constantine Komnenos, was a grand drungarios at that juncture (**Barzos**, *Komnenoi*, no. 17).

(3) Νικηφόρος Κομνηνός (1125-1144), the son of John Doukas and his wife Theodora. Grandson of Nikephoros Bryennios and Anna Komnene. He died in ridiculous circumstances at an early age (**Barzos**, *Komnenoi*, no. 114).

(4) Νικηφόρος Κομνηνός (1144-1173). Brother of the above, but already from John Doukas’ second marriage to the daughter of the logothetes of the dromos Michael Hagiotheodorites (on him, see no. 12 here) (**Barzos**, *Komnenoi*, no. 115).

Several groups of seals bearing the name Νικηφόρος Κομνηνός are known:

1. As a private person, dated to the second half of the XIth c., see no. 349

2. In his capacity as sebastos, according to three groups of seals:

2a. dated to the late XIth c., see no. 345-346 above.

2b. according to unpublished specimens in DO. 55.1.2990; Zacos, III, no 1480.

*Obv.* + ΚΕΙΡΟΗΘΕΙ|ΤΩCΩΔ8| οΛΩο

*Rev.* ΝΙΚΗ|ΦΩΡΩCΕ|ΡΑCΤΩΤΩ|ΚΟΜΝΗ|ΝΩ

2c. dated to the XIth-XIIth c., see no. 347 above.

3. As a private person, dated to the XIIth c., according to two groups of seals:

3a. The present specimen

3b. according to an unpublished specimen in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection

DO.58.106.3272.

*Obv.* St. Demetrios standing, holding a spear (r. hand) and l. hand on a shield set on the ground.

*Rev.* + |ΕΓΩΚΟΜΝΗ|Ν8ΤΟΚΡΑΤΟC|ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡ8ΦΕ|ΡΩΠΑΝ|CΦΑΤΤ8CΑΝ|ΘΕCΧΘΡ  
ΟC|ΕΧΕΙ

The group of seals in his capacity as sebastos could be attributed to Νικηφόρος Κομνηνός (2).

We need to determine with whom of the above-listed individuals the owner of the seal affixed on the correspondence to the Blasna fortress could be identified. Its dating is generally to the XIIth c., which allows identification with Νικηφόρος Κομνηνός (2-4). However, if we exclude no. 3 who died young, then nos. 2 and 4 will remain. Nevertheless, if I have to express my favour, it is to Νικηφόρος Κομνηνός (4). The seal of Κωνσταντῖνος Κομνηνός presented above should also be dated to this period. I am left with the impression that the XIIth-century Byzantine seals found in this part of the country date from its second half through its end.

It strikes that Nikephoros Komnenos maintained correspondence with individuals located in Bulgaria at various periods of his life.

### 349. Νικηφόρος Κομνηνός ? (XI c.)

National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 13139. Find-spot: Silistra. D. 10-16 (10)2.5 mm. Half of a once good imprint.

*Ed.* Ёорданов, Силистра, I, № 15.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Inscription of four lines:

... | ..ΡΑ | ..CΕΙ | οΜΙο

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

ΝΙΚ. | ΦΟΡΟ. | ΤΟΝΚΟ | .Ν'

[+Οὗ σφ]ρα[γί]ς εἰμὶ Νικ[η]φόρο[υ] τοῦ Κο[μ]ν[η]νοῦ

If the restoration of the missing letters is correct, then the question of the identification of the owner of the seal poses itself. Who of the aforementioned individuals could he be? Its dating should not go beyond the XIth c., thus making the identification with no. 2 possible to a certain extent, down to the ascension of his brother Alexios I Komnenos. But it seems more likely that he was some unknown representative of the Komnenian dynasty, if it refers to the Komnenoi at all.

### 350. Ἰσαάκιος Κομνηνός Δούκας (XII c.)

Place of preservation: uncertain. A very effective Byzantine seal was offered for purchase at the museum

in the town of Kurdzhali a couple of years ago, but expecting a different price, its owner withdrew it. The colleagues from Kurdzhali nevertheless documented it by one, though rather low-quality, photo, a photocopy of which I obtained. Recently I have acquired one very good illustration of it by a student from Iambol, who claimed that its finder was from Iambol and that its find-spot was the village of Karavelovo, Iambol region. Bearing in mind the personality of the finder, (whom I know and whose materials I have used a number of times), I am inclined to consider this information reliable. A medieval settlement, where other Byzantine seals have also been found, is located on the land of the village of Karavelovo, Iambol region. Thus, the bulla published here was a superb imprint, which has come down to us in a very good state of preservation with only slight damages of the text. Its diameter exceeds 42 mm.

*Ed.* Ёорданов, Комнини-Ангели, № 18, 45-46.

*No parallels known.* Another specimen, much closer to ours but nevertheless different, is preserved in the collection of Fogg Art Museum, no. 532, see **Laurent**, *Inedits*, p. 434, no. 5; **Idem**, *Bulles metriques*, no. 639; **Zacos**, *Seals*, I, no. 2736.

*Obv.* St. George standing, holding a spear (r. hand) l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground. At either side, vertical inscription: Ο-Α-Γ-Ι-ΟC || ΓΕ- Β-ΓΙ-ΟC : 'Ο ἅγιος Γεώργιος.

*Rev.* Inscription of eight lines:

+| ΚΟΜΝΗΝΟ | ΔΟΥΚΟΠΑΙΔΑ | ΜΗΤΡΟΠΑΤΡΟΘΕΝ | ΙCΑΑΚΙΟΝΟCCE|  
ΡΑϞ'ΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΩΝ| ΘΥΓΑΤΡΟΠΑΙCΓΑΜ | ΡΡΟCΤΕΜΑΡΤΥC | ΜΕCΚΕΠΟΙC  
+ Κομνηνοδουκόπαιδα μητροπατρόθεν Ἰσαάκιον ὃς σεβαστοκρατόρων  
θυγατρόπαις γαμβρός τε μάρτυς με σκέποις

Who was this Isaakios Komnenos Doukas?

He has been identified by investigators as Isaakios Komnenos who in 1187 declared himself a sovereign ruler of Cyprus and soon after that in his capacity as a basileus likewise began issuing his own coins (see **Hendy**, *Catalogue*, IV, part 1, 354-364).

Here in short is his biography (see **Polemis**, *Doukai*, p. 132, no. 103; **Cheyne**, *Pouvoir*, 116-117):

Isaakios Komnenos was the son of Irene Komnene, daughter of sebastokrator Isaakios (the elder brother of Manuel I Komnenos, over whom he took precedence in the succession to the throne). His father is an unknown representative of the Doukai- Kamateroi. There is no information on his exact date of birth. He was appointed governor of Cilicia (presumably doux and anagrapheus), but resided in Tarsus. Precisely in this capacity he was taken prisoner in a battle against the Armenians and spent a few years in captivity, during which period Emperor Manuel I had already died (1180). Subsequently Isaakios was freed for ransom by the knights Templars, but instead of returning to the capital, he utilized the provisions, men and money sent from there to head an expedition to Cyprus. There he presented himself as the new governor provided with forged letters of appointment by the new Emperor Andronikos I Komnenos (1182-1185). Once accepted as such, he was not slow to make the most of it and proclaimed himself emperor.

The exact date of these events remains unknown, but when Andronikos I Komnenos learned about his usurpation, he immediately prosecuted Constantine Makrodoukas and Andronikos Doukas for high treason, who were connected with Isaakios and had before that persuaded the emperor to arrange Isaakios' ransom. This occurred on the Ascension Day which could only be on 30th May 1185. It corroborates the assumption that Isaakios sailed to Cyprus at the beginning of the new sea season and usurped the power almost immediately, and that his actions were duly reported in the capital.

The seal presented above is from the period before the usurpation. We learn from it that on his mother's side he was grandson of sebastokrator Isaak Komnenos (σεβαστοκρατόρων θυγατρόπαις), the latter, as noted above, was brother of Emperor Manuel I Komnenos. On his father's side, he was from the Doukas family. And while there are no basic differences among investigators on this part of the commentary of the text, they differ regarding the term γαμβρός (son-in-law of the emperor), which means that he was married to a princess, i.e. a representative of the imperial family. For the time being, we cannot say who she was. The finding of Isaakios Komnenos Doukas' bulla in an unspecified settlement in southern Bulgaria has the same explanation as with the other representatives of the imperial family.

### 351. Μανουήλ Κομνηνὸς Δούκας (XII c.)

Private collection (Veselin Panteleev from Varna), formerly in the possession of Georgi Dimitrov from Shumen, who had left it at my disposal for documentation. Discovered in the stronghold near the village of Dobri Dol, Plovdiv region in the autumn of 1996. D. 21-33 (30) 3 mm. About a half of once a superb imprint. It seems the fragment was rounded off and holed. Subsequently, another missing fragment was found.

Ed. **Jordanov**, Dobri dol, no. 17.

*Parallels:* **Ebersolt**, C-ple, no 169, pl. VIII.7; **Laurent**, *Bulles metriques*, no 243; **Braunlin-Nesbitt**, Thirteen Seals, no. 19 and unpublished in DO. 58. 106. 4700; DO. 55. 1. 3918 and 3919. They were struck in the same boulloterion as our specimen.

*Obv.* St. Mercury standing frontally, holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand resting on a shield set the ground. Inscription in two columns: . . . . || ΜΕΡ-ΚΟV-ΠΙ-ΟC : 'Ο ἅγιος Μερκούριος.

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

+ | ΜΑΡΤ.. | ΜΑΝΟ... | ΚοΜΝΗΝ... | ΚΑΝC.. |  
+ Μάρτ[υς] Μανο[υήλ] Κομνην[οδού]καν σ[κέ]ποι[ς]

According to the original publisher, St. Demetrios is represented on the obverse. Perhaps this gave him grounds to assume that the owner of the seal must have been the despotes of Epiros Manuel Komnenos-Doukas, of which the next publisher is not so certain.

Seals of the Epiros' despotes Manuel Komnenos Doukas are known in the literature (**Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, p. 428). They differ in iconographic subject, but the title despotes is obligatory. Essentially, the present seal is of a private person named Manuel, who belonged to the clan Komnenoi-Doukai. This sufficed for gaining publicity in society, without the addition of titles and offices.

One of Theodore Prodromos' epitaphs was devoted to an anonymous deceased person, who was Komnenos on his mother's side and Doukas on his father's (**Theodoros Prodromos**, LXXVI, 4-5).

### 352. Πανθήριος (?) Κομνηνοδούκας σεβαστὸς (XII c.)

Private collection (Ivan Tsankov from Asenovgrad). Find-spot: uncertain, some place in the Haskovo region. D. 44-44 mm. Well-centered but slightly slipped imprint. Some of the peripheral letters are doubled. A brittle blank, punctured with corrosion. The surface of the bulla is in a perfect state of preservation.

Ed. **Йорданов**, Комнини-Ангели, № 22, с. 48.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Inscription of five lines:

+ | ..ΡΑΓΙC | ..ΡΑϞΟV | ..ΡΦVΡΑC | ...ΕΚΓΟ | - N8 -  
+ [Σφ]ραγίς [σε]βαστοῦ [πο]ρφύρας [τοῦ] ἐκ γόνου

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

ΚΟΜΝΗΝ | ΟΔΟΝΚΑ | ΘΗΡΙΩΝ. | ΜΟVΜΕ | N8  
Κομνηνοδοῦκα θηριων[υ]μουμένου

The proper name of the owner of this seal is lacking. He is a sebastos and a descendant, son or grandson, of a porphyrogennete of the Komnenoi, who was married to a representative of the Doukai. It is difficult for me to determine who she was, since the marriages between these two families are common. The proper name of the owner of the seal is conveyed by the expression θηριωνουμουμένου meaning beast-like, which is most frequently associated with the name Leo.

According to W. Seibt, it could also apply to Pantherios. I am not aware of a representative of the Komnenoi-Doukai bearing such (a) name(s).

### 353-354. Ἀλέξιος Κομνηνὸς Κωντοστεφάνος (XII c.)

a. Private collection (the Serbezovs from Nova Zagora). Find-spot: the land of the village of Znamenosets above the settlement mound. For the information about it I am indebted to K. Velkov from the Historical Museum, Nova Zagora. D. 22-22 mm. Good imprint.

Ed. **Йорданов**, Комнини-Ангели, № 7, 43-44.

b. Private collection (V. Panteleev from Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 20-32.5 (27) 4 mm. W. 11.4 g. Half of a once good imprint.

Ed. **Йорданов**, Комнини-Ангели, № 8, 43-44.

*Both specimens were struck in the same boulloterion.*

*Parallels:* Further two or three specimens and their copies are kept in various collections throughout the world: in the Vatican, Warsaw, the Hermitage (M-8030), Shaw, no 1099; ANS Malbot, no 8362, etc. They are published and republished by: **Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, p.54, 664; **Laurent**, *Bulles metrique*, no. 203; **Idem**, *Vatican*, no. 181; **Лихачев**, *Моливдовулы*, табл. LXV,2; **Szemioth-Washilewski**, Varsovie, p.82, no.84.

*Obv.* Inscription of four lines:

a) - + - | ΚΟΝΤΟ | ϞΕΦΑΝΟV | ΤΑCΓΡΑΦΑC | ΑΛΕΖΙ8 | - o -  
b) | . . ΝΤΟ | . . . ΑΝΟV | . . . ΡΑΦΑC | . . . ΖΙ8 | - o -

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

a) - o - | ΕΓΩΚΡΑ | ΤVΝΩΚΟΜΝ | ΝΟVΤΟΜΗ | ΤΡΟΘΕΝ | - o -  
b) - o - | ΕΓΩΚΡ. | ΤVΝΩΚΟ . . | ΝΟVΤ . . . | ΤΡΟΘ . . | - o -  
+ Κωντοστεφάνου τὰς γραφὰς Ἀλεξίου  
ἐγὼ κρατύνω Κομνηνοῦ τὸ μητρόθεν

I ratify the letters of Alexios Kontostephanos, on his mother's side from the imperial clan of the Komnenoi.

The owner of the present seal is Alexios Komnenos Kontostephanos. He is a second child of Stephanos Kontostephanos and Anna Komnene, daughter of John II Komnenos (1118-1143) and sister of Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180). His career is less known to us (**Darrouzes**, *Tornikes*, 57-62).

The year of Alexios Komnenos Kontostaphanos' birth is unknown, but since his father married the princess Anna in 1130, it is accepted that he was born after this date.

His earliest mention is in 1156 in his capacity as a doux of Thrakesion, according to extant letters addressed to him (τῷ κυρῷ Ἀλεξίῳ τῷ Κοντοστεφάνῳ δουκί Θρακησίων) from the metropolitan of Ephesos George Tornikes (**Darrouzes**, *Tornikes*, no. 27, 172-174).

He attended two sessions of the Synod in May 1157 (PG, col. 140, 177C; Sakkelion, 316.12-13) and March 1166, where he was referred to as πανσέβαστος σεβαστὸς (PG, 140, 253A). In 1162/1163, he was dispatched at the head of an army in help of the Hungarian king Stephen IV, starting from Philippoupolis to Naissus and followed by the emperor (**Cinnamus**, 211-212; **Choniates**, 127.82-90).

In March 1167, he was reported as a praktor of Crete (**Darrouzes**, *Tornikes*, p. 58).

He was last reported as living in January 1170, when along with the emperor he attended a session of the Synod, where he was reported as : τοῦ περιποθήτου ἀνεψιοῦ τοῦ κραταιοῦ καὶ αγίου ἡμῶν βασιλέως κυροῦ Ἀλεξίου τοῦ Κοντοστεφάνου τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ πανυπερσεβάστου κυροῦ Στεφάνου τοῦ Κοντοστεφάνου (**Petit**, *Documents*, p. 479.8-10).

The last task entrusted to him was in connection with the fortification of the frontiers on the occasion of the campaign in 1176. With his help the walls of Nicaea were raised with same ease as were those of Tiva, built up under the sounds of the lyre (**Theodoros Prodromos**, LII-LIII, 444-448). He died in 1176 before the battle at Myriocephalon under the monk's name Anthony.

His wife was Maria from the Doukas family. Thus he was related to the noblest families in the Empire.

An unpublished bulla, which belonged to the same dignitary and also illustrates his high birth, is preserved in the Dumbarton Oaks collection (DO. 58. 106. 5745:

*Obv.* + ΑΛΕΞΙ8 | CΦΡΑΓΙCMA | KONTOTΕΦΑΝOV

*Rev.* KOMNH | NOΦVOVC | ΠOPΦVPO | PAA..E | ΓTONOV|- o -

On his seals found in Bulgaria, there is no title or office inscribed, but his belonging to the imperial clan of the Komnenoi. This makes their dating difficult, because he held these positions throughout his life.

Seals of other representatives of the family Kontostephanos were also found in Nova Zagora region: of Alexios' father, the despotes Stephan Kontostephanos; Nikephoros Kontostephanos; the sebastos Theodore Kontostephanos and others.

### 355. Θεόδωρος Κωντοστεφάνος σεβαστὸς (XII-XIII c.)

Private collection. Find-spot: the land of the village of Gipsovo, district of Radnevo. A medieval settlement and a necropolis dating from the XIth-XIIth c. were discovered in the Gipsovo area (see *Марица-Изток*, I, c. 23). D. 30-30 mm. Incomplete imprint. Some of the letters are out of the blank.

*Ed.* Йорданов, Севасти, № 16.

*Parallels:* Unpublished specimens in Fogg, A. M. nos. 954, 992 and Zacos, III (see *SBS*, 3, p. 25, no. 12).

*Obv.* Two monograms occupying the whole field, which consist the name Κοντοστεφάνον

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

.OVCE | .ACTOV | ΘEOΔO | POV

[T]οῦ σε[β]αστοῦ Θεοδόρου

The seal affixed on the correspondence to the settlement in Gipsovo is of the sebastos Θεόδωρος Κωντοστεφάνος.

Among the representatives of this family two are known bearing this name:

1. Θεόδωρος Κωντοστεφάνος σεβαστὸς, attested during the reign of Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (see **Barzos**, *Komnenoi*, I, p.295.11).

In 1146 the Turks prepared a great expedition, fell upon the Thrakesians' land, with no one opposing them (for Theodore whose surname was Kontostephanos, who had been sent by the emperor on this account, had not yet gathered the army to hold it) see **Cinnamus**, 39.9-13; **Cinnamus** tr. **Brand**, p. 39).

In 1152 he was dispatched against the Armenian ruler Toros in Cilicia, where he met his death. ... In this fight Theodore Kontostephanos, who was risen to the Sebastoi's rank, lost his horse to a narrow shot and was deprived of his head by one of Romans' mercenaries, because of his enmity toward him. For allegedly Theodore had driven this wretch from the imperial court long before on account of his bad character (**Cinnamus**, 124. 7-12; **Cinnamus** tr. **Brand**, p.98.)

2. Θεόδωρος Κωντοστεφάνος πρωτοσεβαστὸς, military commander under Emperor John III Batatzes (1222-1254). In 1245 he was entrusted with the command of the fleet in Smyrna (see **Akropolites**, 87.14-25; **Cinnamus** tr. **Macrides**, p. 124).

The dating of our seal is generally to the XIIth-XIIIth centuries, thus making our choice difficult, but it is more likely to associate him with no. 2.

The Dumbarton Oaks Collection contains a half of a bulla (DO. 58. 106. 1637) that could be related with Theodore Kontostephanos no. 1 perhaps at an earlier stage of his career:

*Obv.* Monogram including the family name Κωντοστεφάνος

*Rev.* +| TOV... | TOVΘ.. | ΔΩP.. = + Τοῦ [κρι]τοῦ Θ[εο]δώρ[ου]

Another seal preserved in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (DO. 58. 106. 2054) could perhaps be related with the same but as a private person:

*Obv.* Monogram as above, but yet different, see table.

*Rev.* ΘEO|ΔΩ|POV

### 356. Ἰωάννης Κωντοστεφάνος Κομνηνὸς σεβαστὸς (?) (XII c.)

Private collection. Offered for purchase at the Archaeological Museum, Plovdiv, where I examined and documented it. It was found along with coins of Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180) and three gilt appliques or medallions decorated with archangel Michael. D. 18-31.5 (30) 3 mm. Once a good imprint of which only a half is preserved.

*Ed.* Йорданов, Севасти, № 18.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* St. George standing frontally, holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground. Vertical inscription: .....|| Γ-I-O-C

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

CΦ..... | CE..... | KON..... | ΦA..... | M....

Σφ[ραγίς] σε[βαστοῦ] Ἰω[άννου] Κον[τοστεφάνου] Κο[μνηνοῦ]

The above restoration and reading is to a great extent a whim. It could apply to both Ἰωάννης Κωντοστεφάνος Κομνηνὸς σεβαστὸς and Μιχαήλ Κωντοστεφάνος σεβαστὸς. Ἰωάννης Κωντοστεφάνος Κομνηνὸς σεβαστὸς, husband of Theodora, second daughter of Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (on him, see **Barzos**, *Komnenoi*, II, no 104) is mentioned in the literature.



Another group of his seals is also known (see **Oikonomides**, *Dated*, no. 119).

I am not aware of any other representative of the Komnenoi, whose name I could similarly restore.

### 357. Νικηφόρος Κωντοστεφάνος ? (second half of XII c.)

Historical Museum, Stara Zagora, no. 10C3-5. Find-spot: the town. D. 26.5-27.5)23) 4 mm. Although well-centered, the imprint is incomplete. Whole fields are missing, which renders the reading somewhat hypothetical.

Ed. Йорданов, Берое, II.9.  
No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of five lines:

+| CΦPAΓIC | ΓPAΦΩN | EΓΩΓI.. | TINΩ. | ΩN

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

KONTOC | TEΦAN8T | ..NΩNI | ..ΦOP8

+ Σφράγισ(μα) γραφῶν ἐγὼ γι[ον]τι νω[μ]ων Κοντοστεφάνου τ(υγ)[χά]νω  
Νι[κη]φόρου

If the reading is correct, it applies to Nikephoros Kontostephanos.

An individual bearing these names is mentioned in the narrative sources. It refers to the son-in-law of Emperor Alexios III Komnenos Angelos (1195-1203) and doux of Crete. He is attested in documents of 1197 of the monastery on Patmos ... γα(μβρὲ) τοῦ κρατ(αιοῦ) καὶ αγ(ίου) ἡμ(ῶν) β(ασι)λ(έως) δούξ τ(ῆς) νή(σου) Κρήτ(ης) καὶ αὐθ(έν)τ(α) μου κῦρ Νι(κη)φό(ρε) Κοντοστεφάνε (see *Actes Patmos*, II, no. 57, p. 110.1-3; no. 58, p. 116.16). Perhaps to the same applies regarding the information in the prostagma dated 1217 of the megas logothetes Strategopoulos, where the name of the already deceased sebastokrator Nikephoros Kontostephanos is reported (see **MM.**, IV, 291, 9-10).

The present seal, provided it belonged to this dignitary, reflects an earlier period of his career.

### 358. Νικηφόρος Κωντοστεφάνος (second half of XII c.)

Private collection (V. Pantelev from Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 21-42 (29-30) mm. Once a good imprint of which available now is one half and another quarter.

Unpublished.  
No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription:  
Θ-ΓΕ-.Ρ || ... : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Γε[ώ]ργ[ι]ος[.]

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

....ΦOP8 | ....ΓICMA | ....OYI | ..NOV

[Νικη]φόρου [σφρά]γισμα [Κοντ]οστε[φά]νου

If the reading is correct, the owner of the seal could more certainly be associated with Nikephoros Kontostephanos known from the sources; on him, see information above.

### 359. Στέφανος Κοντοστεφάνος νωβελλίσimos καὶ δούξ (before 1094)

Private collection. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 29-30 mm. Complete imprint in a good state of preservation.

Unpublished.

Parallels: Fogg A.M. no. 2080; DO. 58. 106. 3578 (see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, no. 971); Wien-MK, no. 249 (see **Wassiliou**, **Seibt**, no. 249) and unpublished from the Hermitage (M-2316; M-2345; M-3344; M-9917).

Obv. Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription in two columns: O-A-ΓI-O || ΓΕ-ΩP-ΓI-O' : 'Ο ἄγιο(ς) Γεώργιο(ς).

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

+ KEROHΘ' | CTΕΦANΩ | NΩPEΛΛIC | MΩCΔONKH | TΩKONTΩ | CTΕΦAN  
+ K(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ει) Στεφάνω νωβελλισ(ί)μω καὶ δουκὲ τῷ Κοντοστεφάν(ω)

The name of Stephanos Kontostephanos in his capacity as protonobelissimos with the specification that he was brother of the better-known Issakios was among the participants at the Blachernai synod of 1094 (**Gautier**, *Blachernes*, p. 217.19, 244). His name was second time mentioned along with that of his brother's Isaak Kontostephanos thalassocrator in a letter of the Norman Landulph to Emperor Alexios I Komnenos dated 1108 about neglect in guarding the straits of Longobardy, and frequently going off to the mainland for a rest (*Alexiade*, III, 111.27-112.4; *Alexiade* tr. **Dawes**, p. 339)

### 360-361. Στέφανος Κωντοστεφάνος δεσπότης (first half of XII c.)

a. Historical Museum, Nova Zagora, no. 1332. Find-spot: the town, eastern part. D. 29-30 (?) 3 mm. In a poor state of preservation, holed in center, presumably used as a weight. Many of the letters are obliterated or not printed.

Ed. Йорданов, Нова Загора, № 3;  
No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of four lines:

+ | KONTΟ | YIYEPAN. | .AIYIYEPAN. | ΔECΠO. |  
+ Κοντοστεφάν[ου κ]αὶ Στεφά[νου] δεσπό[τ(ου)]

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

.AIKYNPO. | EPΓΩNKAI | .ΦPAΓICR8A | .VMATΩ  
[κ]αὶ κύρο[ς] ἔργων καὶ [σ]φραγίς βουλ[ε]υμάτω(ν)

b. Private collection (Stefan Bilik from Sofia). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 29-30 (28?) 4 mm. W. 24.65 g. Complete and a well-preserved imprint.

Ed. Билик, Фамили имена, № 17.

Parallels: **Zacos**, *Seals*, I, 2723; now in DO. 58. 106. 5423 and 55. 1. 3896, see **Oikonomides**, *Dated*, no. 114.

Obv. Inscription of five lines:

+ KON | TOYIYEPAN | NONKAIYIYEPAN | ΦAN8ΔEC | ΠOTOY  
+ Κοντοστεφάνου καὶ Στεφάνου δεσπότου

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

KAIKV | POCEPΓΩN | KAICΦPAΓIC | ROYAEVMA | TΩN  
καὶ κύρος ἔργων καὶ σφραγίς βουλευμάτων

In the publications cited above, it has been accepted that the owner of the seals was despotes Stephanos Kontostephanos. He was born in 1107. In 1130, he married the second daughter of Emperor John II, Anna Komnene (1110-1176), and on that occasion was granted the dignity of panhypersebastos, which allowed him to add to his name the qualification (not yet the title) despotes. He was killed during the siege of Kerkyra in 1148 in his capacity as a megas dux of the fleet (**Barzos**, *Komnenoi*, I, 380-390, no. 77).

### 362. Μιχαήλ Κορδύλης πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ τοποτηρητὴς τῶν σχολῶν (XI c.)

Historical Museum, Silistra, no. 51. Find-spot: the town. D. 23.5-25 (18) 2.1 mm. Incomplete imprint, a well-preserved bulla despite a missing fragment.

Ed. Ёорданов, Silistra, III, № 13.

No parallels known.

*Obv.* Bust of St. Demetrios holding a book (r. hand) and a martyr's cross (l. hand). Circular inscription along the circumference: +ΚΕ .... ΘΕΙΤΩCΩΔ'. Inscription in two columns: Θ-Δ-Ι-Μ || Η-Τ-ΡΙ' : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Δημήτρι(ος).

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

+ ΜΙΧΑΗ | ΑΡ'Α'CΠΑΘ' | ΣΤΕΠΟΤ'Τ' | CΧΟΛ'ΤΟΚ | ΟΡΔΥΛ'  
+ Κ(ύρι)ε [βοή]θει τῷ σῷ δ(ούλῳ) Μιχαήλ (πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίῳ) (καὶ)  
τεποτ(ηρητῇ) τ(ῶν) σχολ(ῶν) το Κορδύλ(η)

To what has been said in the cited publication, I could add the data of an unpublished seal in Zacos collection III, no 1630:

*Obv.* Standing figure of the Virgin orans.

*Rev.* ΤΩΚΟΡΔΙ | ΛΗΜΙΧΑΗΛ | ΠΑΡΘΕΝΕ | CΚΕΠΟΙC

I find it difficult to determine whether it applies to the same person. The one from the Zacos collection, III, is dated to the second half of the XIth c.

### 363. Βασίλειος Κοσκινᾶς (second half of XI c.)

National Historical Museum, Sofia. Offered for purchase from V. Vasilev from Shumen. Find-spot: the fortress between present-day villages of Razboina and Prosenik, Burgas region. D. 18.5-20.5 (19) 3 mm. Good but incomplete imprint.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

*Obv.* St. Demetrios standing frontally, holding a spear (r. hand) l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground. Vertical inscription: Θ-Δ-Η-Μ-Ι-Τ || Ρ-Ι-Ο-Σ : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Δημήτριος.

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

..... | .ΩCΩΔ8' | ΡΑCΙΑΙ | ΟΤΩΚΟC | ΚΙΝΑ  
[+Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δο(ύλῳ) Βασιλίῳ τῷ Κοσκινᾶ

The owner of the seal is a certain Βασίλειος, representative of the family Κοσκινᾶς. The latter, according to father Laurent (in his publication of Constantine Koskinas' seal, *Vatican*, no.182), is well attested in Byzantine prosopography. Its etymology is related with the name of an artisan making or selling seives (κόσκινας). Basil however is not known

among them. Its dating is generally to the second half of the XIth c. To the already known representatives of the family, magistros Stephanos Koskinas could also be added, who could have been Basil's contemporary known by his unpublished seals (DO. 55.1. 3107; Shaw no. 1101; Hermitage (M-5582).

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion on her chest.

*Rev.* ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | CΤΕΦΑΝ' | ΜΑΓΙCΤΡ' | ΤΩΚΟC | ΚΙΝΑ

### 364-365. Κοστίκιος κουροπαλάτης (XI-XII c.)

a. Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia, no. 53. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 23-24 (?) 3 mm. Incomplete imprint and specimen in a poor state of preservation.

Unpublished.

b. National Historical Museum, Sofia. Offered for purchase by N. Georgiev from Shumen. When he presented the seal to me for documentation he reported Northern Bulgarian find-spot, quite possibly Silistra or Preslav. D. 17-19 (?) 2.5 mm. Incomplete imprint in a poor state of preservation.

Unpublished.

The two specimens were struck with the same pair of dies.

Parallels: Further specimens struck in the same boulloterion are preserved in the collection of the Hermitage (M-5577), see Schlumberger, Inedite, IV, 467-492, no. 181.

*Obv.* Two military saints (St. George and St. Theodore) standing frontally. The one on the r. holds his r. hand in front of his chest and a shield in his l. hand. The one on the l. holds a long spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Preserved from the inscription bearing their names is only that of St. Theodore (at r.): ... Ε-Ο-Δ-Ρ

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

a) ..... | ... . . . | ..CΤΩ . . | . 8ΛΩΚΟC | ΤΗΚΙΚ8 | ΡΟΠ . . . .  
b) ..ΕΠΟ. | ..ΜΑΡΤ. | ..CΤΩCΩ | Δ8ΛΩΚΟC | . . ΚΙΚ. | ΡΟΠΑΛΑΤ  
[Σκ]έπο[ι τε] μαρτ[υρε]ς τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Κοστήκι κουροπαλάτ(η)

### 366-367. Θεόδωρος Κοστομύρης (XII c.)

Both in private collection. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 18-18 and 19-21.5 mm. Well-made and well-preserved imprints. Both specimens come from the same boulloterion.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

*Obv.* In the upper central part of the field, a depiction of a medallion of Christ. Below Him, at r., a full-length depiction of the Virgin with nimbus, maphorion and himation, turned three quarters l., her arms extended toward Christ. To the l. of her, the sigla: ΜΡ || ΘΥ : Μ(ήτηρ) Θ(εο)ῦ. At l. beneath the medallion, a full-length depiction of a saint in liturgical dress, turned three quarters r., his arms stretched toward the medallion.

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

+ ΘΕ | ΟΔΩΡΟΝ | CΚΕΠΟΙΤΕ | ΤΟΝΚΟCΤΟ | ΜΥΡΗΝ  
+ Θεόδωρον σκέποιτε τὸν Κοστομύρην

A bulla of the same person but with a variant text is preserved in the Shaw collection, 1336 (no. 1190, see Laurent, *Bulles metriques*, no. 628).

*Obv.* ΘΕΟ | ΔΩΡΟΝ | CΦΡΑΓΙC | ΜΑ

Rev. TOV | KOCTO | MVPH

Θεοδώρου σφράγισμα τοῦ Κοστομύρη

One of John Tzetzes' letters of 1150 is addressed: τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ Κοστομύρη κυρῷ Θεοδώρῳ (see **Tzetzes**, *Epistule*, no. 72).

It could be accepted that it applies to the same person.

The Fogg collection A. M. no. 2069 contains a poorly-preserved unpublished bulla dated to the XIth c., on which the name of the proedros Θεόδωρος Κοστομύρης could be read:

Obv. + KER'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ. | ΘΕΟΔΩΡ. | ΠΡΟΕΔΡ | -Ω-

Rev. .... | ..... | ...8.. | ΡΩ....Ω | CTΩMV | - PH -

Whether its owner has something in common with the one of our specimen could only be guessed.

For the etymology of this name, see **Trapp**, **E.** Die Etymologie des Kostomyres.-*JÖB*, 30,1981, 169-170.

With the view of the future prosopography of the family Kostomyres, I include documented seals of representatives of this family:

1. Epiphaios Kostomyres

a. vestes (third quarter of the XI c.), according to lead seals from: DO. 58. 106. 1438; 58. 106. 3652; 58. 106. 3844

Obv. Bust of the Virgin with a medallion on her breast.

Rev. ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΕΠΙΦΑΝΗΩ | ΡΕCΤΗΤΟ | ΚΟCΤΟΜ8 | -PH-

b. magistros (third quarter of the XI c.), according to lead seals from : DO. 58. 106. 3189 and Fogg A.M., no. 82

Obv. Bust of the Virgin with a medallion on her breast. Sigla: M || Θ.

Rev. +ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ...ΦΑΝΙ | ΜΑΓΙCΤΡ' | ΤΩΚΟCΤ' | ΜΙΡΗ

2. Eustratios Kostomyres protonobelissimos (XII c.) according to a lead seal kept at Fogg A. M., no. 533.

Obv. St. Eustratios standing. On either side inscription: O-A-ΓΙ-O-C-Ε- V || C-T-A-ΤΙ- O-C

Rev. + | CVNΩN. | ΟVNTΑΚΟC | .MVPHNΜΕCΚΕ | ΠΟΙCΠΡΩΤΟΝΩ |

ΡΕΛΛΙCΙΜΟΝ | ΕΚΤΗCΑΞΙ | Α

3. Theophanes Kostomyres magistros (third quarter of the XI c.) according to a lead seal from DO. 56. 108. 5657.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin holding a medallion on her breast.

Rev. ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | . ΕΟΦΑΝ. | ΜΑΓΙCΤ.Ω | ΤΩΚΩCΤΩ | ΜΙΡΗ

4. John Kostomyres :

a. patrikios, dikastes of Macedonia, Thrace (third quarter of the XI c.), according to a lead seal from DO. 55. 1. 4188, see *DOS*, 5, no. 100.1.

b. proedros (?), disypatos and judge of the Cycladic Islands (third quarter of the XI c.), according to a lead seal from Fogg A.M., no. 1927, see *DOS*, 2, no. 42.3.

c. proedros (third quarter of the XI c.), according to lead seals from DO. 58. 106. 2498; 55. 1. 3108.

Obv. Bust of the St. John Chrysostomos blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand).

Rev. +ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΙΩΠΡΟC | ΔΡΩΤΩΚ' | CΤΟΜVΡ'

d. a private person (XIII c.), according to a lead seal published by **Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, p. 648, no. 1; **Laurent**, *Bulles metriques*, no. 513; **Wassiliou**, *Siegeln in Urkunden*, 148-150.

4a. John Konstomyres (?) protovestarches, imperial notarios and symponos (third quarter of the XI c.), according to two specimens from Istanbul Museum, no. 700 and IFEB, no. 421, see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, no. 1084.

5. Constantine Kostomyres:

a. a private person from XII c., according to a lead seal kept at Athens Numismatic Museum, see **Avramea**, **Galane-Krikou**, **Touratsoglou**, Athenes, p. 252, no. 66.

b. protospatharios, praipositos epi tou koitonos and pronoeetes (third quarter of the XI c., according to a lead seal from Fogg A.M., no. 999.

Obv. : | ΘΚΕΡΟΗ'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔΟΝΛΩ | ΚΩΝCΤΑΝΤΙ | ΝΩΠΡΩΤΟCΠΑ | ο

ΘΑΡΙΩ ο | -.:.-

Rev. : | ΠΡΑΙΠΟCΙ | ΤΩΕΠΙΤΟΝΚΟΙ | ΤΩΝΟCΚΑΙΠΡΟ | ΝΟΗΤΗΤΩΚΟ |

CΤΟΜVΡΗ | -+-

6. Michael Kostomyres, a private person (last quarter of the XI c.) according to two lead seals kept at DO. 58. 106. 3042 and 3043.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin with a medallion on her breast. Sigla: MP || ΘV.

Rev. + | ΓΡΑΦΑC | CΦΡΑΓ.Ζ. | ΜΙΧΑΗΛ.. | Ψ'ΟΜVΡΗ

7. Niketas Kostomyres a private person:

a. last quarter of the XI c., according to a lead seal kept at DO. 58. 106. 1131.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin with a medallion on her breast. Sigla: M || Θ.

Rev. + | ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΝΙΚΗΤΑ | ΚΟΨ'ΟΜΙ | ΡΗ

b. XI-XII c., according to a lead seal kept at Fogg A. M., no. 98.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion on her breast. Sigla: MP || ΘV.

Rev. : | CΩΖΟΙC | ΑΜΩΝ'ΚΟ | Ψ'ΟΜVΡΗΝ | ΝΙΚΗΤ'

c. XI-XII c., according to lead seals kept at Fogg A. M., no. 543; 1526; 1528 and 3691.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion on her breast. Sigla: MP || ΘV.

Rev. + | ΑΓΝΗΜΕ | ΦΡΟVΡΕΙ | ΝΙΚΗΤΑΝ | ΚΟCΤΟΜ | ΡΗΝ

8. Nicholas Kostomyres, a private person from XII-XIII c., according to a lead seal kept at Fogg A. M., no. 469.

Obv. CΦΡΑΓ' | ΝΙΚΟΛΑ | ΟVΤΟVΚ | ΟCΤΟΜ | VΡΗ

Rev. ΟVΤΙ | ΝΟCΕΙΜ | ΙΤΟΓΡΑΜ | ΜΑΒΛΕΠ | ΟΝΝΟΝ

### 368-369. Γριγόριος Κουρκούας πρόεδρος (1080s)

a. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 18566. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 21-22 (18) 3.1 mm. W. 7.28 g. Once a good imprint but in a poor state of preservation. The upper half of the saint's face and the first line are damaged.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 82.

b. Private collection (St. Bilik from Sofia). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 21-22(18)3 mm. W. 6.008 g. Good imprint and a well-preserved bulla.

Ed. **Билик**, *Фамилни имена*, № 2.

Both specimens come from the same boulloterion.

Parallels: Another specimen, according to its publisher (**Шандровская**, *Армянских деятелей*, с. 191) struck in a different matrix than the Preslav specimen, is preserved in the collection of the Hermitage (M-2020). The illustration on p. 189, no. 4, is of poor quality, and it is hard to determine with any certainty whether it is struck with a different matrix, but the transcribed text is identical with that of our specimens.

Obv. Bust of St. Mercury holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Verical inscription: Θ-ΜΕ-Ρ || Κ-8-Ρ-V' : 'Ο ᾗ(γιος) Μερκούρυ(ος).

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΩ | Α'ΕΔΡΩΤΩ | Κ8ΡΚΟV | ο Α ο

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Γριγόριω (πρω)έδρω τῷ Κουρκούα

The Dumbarton Oaks collection (DO. 58. 106. 4154) contains an unpublished bulla, on

whose both sides we can read the following:

..RO | ΗΘΕΙΤΩ | CΩΔΟΝ | ΛΩ = ΓΡΗΓ. | ΡΙΩΠΡ. | ΕΔΡΩΤ. | Κ8ΡΚΟΝ | Α

Presumably this seal belongs to the same person and refers to the same period when his correspondence was received in Preslav.

There are known seals containing only the names of Gregory Kourkouas (see nos. 370-371).

It could be accepted that they also belonged to the same dignitary. We could not say with certitude whether they preceded or followed those from Preslav.

Regarding the person of Gregory Kourkouas and the rest of the representatives of the Kourkouai, see no.370-371 below.

### 370-371. Γριγόριος Κουρκούας (second half of XI c.)

a. Private collection (St. Bilik from Sofia). Find-spot: the Plovdiv region? D. 20-20 (17) 2.5 mm. W. 5.97 g. Complete and a well-preserved imprint.

Ed. **Билик**, Фамилни имена, № 3;

b. Private collection (Dinko Tanchev from Stara Zagora). Find-spot: the land of the village of Surnevets, Stara Zagora region. D. 19-20 (17) 4 mm. W. 7.80 g. A well-preserved imprint.

Unpublished.

Both specimens come from the same boulloterion.

Parallels: an unpublished specimen in the collection in Vienna (MK-418). Struck in the same boulloterion.

Obv. Inscription of three lines:

+ | ΚΥΡΙ | ΕΡΩΗ | ΘΕΙ

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

ΓΡΗΓΟ | ΡΙΩΤΩ | ΚΟΝΡ | ΚΟΝΑ

+ Κύριε βοήθει Γριγορίω τῷ Κουρκούα

On the person of Gregory Kourkouas, see no. 372-378 here.

### 372-378. [Γριγόριος] Κουρκούας δούξ (late XI c.)

The first five specimens (a-e) come from the same pair of dies, while the sixth and the seventh (f-g) come from a different one.

a. Archaeological Museum, Plovdiv, no. 5362, from the town. D. 16-19(15) 2 mm. W. 7.50 g. Good imprint and a well-preserved bulla.

Ed. **Jordanov**, Plovdiv, no. 9.

b. Archaeological Museum, Plovdiv, no. 5361, from the town. D. 14-16(15) 2 mm. W. 4.60 g. Incomplete imprint, some letters are out of the blank.

Ed. **Jordanov**, Plovdiv, no. 10.

c. Archaeological Museum, Plovdiv, no. 5283, from the environs of Parvomai. D. 23-25(15) 2.5 mm. W. 8.20 g. Incomplete imprint and a poorly-preserved specimen.

Ed. **Jordanov**, Plovdiv, no.10.

d. Private collection (a collector from Sofia). I examined it at the Numismatic Club in Sofia on 13th Nov. 1996. D. 21-21 mm. Complete imprint but in a poor state of preservation.

Unpublished.

e. Private collection. Found by a treasure-hunter with a metal detector in the stronghold near Dobri dol. D. 21-22 mm. A complete and well-preserved imprint.

Ed. **Jordanov**, Dobri dol, no. 7.

Parallels: A specimen struck in the same boulloterion as specimens a-e is preserved in the collection Zacos, III, no 1394/95-2.

f. Archaeological Museum, Plovdiv, no. 5363. Find-spot: the town. D. 20-22(?) 2 mm. W. 5.97 g. Complete,

though not very well-centered imprint.

Ed. **Jordanov**, Plovdiv, no.11.

g. Private collection (a collector from Sofia). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 18-21 mm. Incomplete imprint in a poor state of preservation.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of three lines.

a-e) -- + ΔΟΝ | ΚΟCCΦΡΑ | ΓΙΖΩ

f-g) + ΔΟΝΚΟC | CΦΡΑΓ | ΙΖΩ

Rev. Inscription of three lines.

a-e) ΤΑCΓΡΑ | ΦΑCΤΟΝ | ΚΟΝΡΚ8 | -Α-

f-g) ΤΑC | ΓΡΑΦΑC | ΤΟΝΚ8Ρ | ΚΟΝΑ

+ Δουκὸς σφραγίζω τὰς γραφὰς τοῦ Κουρκούα

The collection of Barber Institute of Fine Art no. 0187b contains a bulla of the following inscription on both sides:

Obv. + ΚΑΤΕ|ΠΑΝΩ|ΠΑΡΕC|-ΤΑ-

Rev. CΦΡΑ|ΓΙCΤΟΝ|.ΡΚΟΝ|ΑΝ

Perhaps it belonged to same.

From an inscription found in the church near the village of Batkun, Pazardzhik region, we learn that in 1090/1091 the doux of Philippoupolis was Γριγόριος Κουρκούας (see **Jordanov**, Kourkouas, 103-107).

The dating of the present bullae, according to their overall appearance and shape and mostly their text, is to the late XIth c. Their finding in the vicinity of Philippoupolis, where Gregory Kourkouas was doux during that period, suggested the idea of identifying the owner of the seal with the cited doux of Philippoupolis. However, the question arises: Why a homonym and a toponym is lacking on the seal? If the seal is of the same person, it should reflect an earlier or more likely a later stage in the career of Gregory Kourkouas.

It is possible however to apply to some other representative of the family Kourkouas, who wrote to his relation in service here.

The general question is whether all bullae presented here (nos. 368-378) could be associated to the person of Gregory Kourkouas doux of Philippoupolis in 1090/1091 at earlier or later periods of his career.

With the view of collecting as detailed information as possible on the representatives of this family, a few other seals have been documented below:

1. Ἑλένη Κουρκουαήνα βεστηνα, according to an unpublished lead seal (preserved in DO. 55. 1. 4552), which could be dated to 1060s-1070s.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin, holding Christ on l. arm.

Rev. ....|HCHΔ8'|.ΛΕΝΗREC|.ΝΑΤ'ΚΟΝ|.Κ8ΑCΗ

She could be wife of Gregory or some other member of the family Kourkouas.

2. Ἰωάννης Κουρκούας ἀνθύπατος-πατρίκιος from the second quarter of the XIth c. (see *Seyrig*, no. 48); as a private person from the last quarter of the XIth c. (see **Koltsida-Makre**, no.304 and unpublished in DO. 55. 1. 4039.

3. Κωνσταντῖνος Κουρκούας as:

a. ὑπατος (Zacos, III, no. 1468):

Obv. Bust of St. Theodore, represented as a warrior, with a shield drawn on his r. hand and

holding a sword or sheath in his l. hand. Depiction of an imitative style.

Rev. +ΚΕΒΟ|..ΩΝΤΑ'|...ΩΝΠΑ|Κ8ΡΚΟΝ|-Α-

b. πατρίκιος (unpublished from DO. 55. 1. 3112):

Obv. Bust of St. Theodore holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

Rev. .ΩΝCT | ..ΙΝΩΠΑ | ..ΙΚ'ΤΩ | .8ΡΚ8 | .

c. μάγιστρος (Zacos, III, no 1418):

Obv. CΦΡΑ | ΓICKΩΝ

Rev. ΜΑΓIC | TP8VK8P | Κ8Α | ---

They are generally dated to the second half of the XIth c.

4. Νικηφόρος Κουρκούας – a private person from the last quarter of the XIth c., according to his unpublished bulla in the Dumbarton Oaks collection (DO.55. 1. 3770):

Obv. ΓΡΑΜΑ | ΤΩΝΝΙΚ | ΗΦΟΡ8

Rev. CΦΡΑ | ΓICMA | Κ.ΡΚΑ | C

5. 'Ρωμανὸς Κουρκούας πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ τοποτηρητής (according to an unpublished seal from Zacos collection, III, no. 1490):

Obv. Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand).

Rev. .ΩΜ.. | Α'CΠΑΘ' | ΤΟΠΟΤΗΡ | Τ'ΤΟΚ8Ρ | Κ'

It is generally dated to the Xth-XIth c., thus allowing for a possible identification with John Vladislav's son-in-law Romanos Kourkouas at an earlier stage of his career (on him, see **Καждан**, *Армяне*, 4:2, **Wassiliou, Seibt**, no. 247).

For the rest of the representatives of the family Kourkouas and the etymology of this name, see Kazhdan's inquiry, *Армяне*, 4.1-6. Deserving attention is the fact that personages like Emperor John I Tzimiskes (969-976), the domestikos of the Schooles during the Byzantine expansion in eastern Bulgaria and others were in kinship ties with her. Under no. 3 of the same inquiry there is information from the *Annals* of Romuald of Salerno (*MGH*, XIX, p. 407), regarding "the katepano of Kournak" for the years 1066/1067. The coincidence of this passage with the text of the above seal from the Birmingham University can hardly escape our notice.

### 379-382. Βασίλειος Κουρτίκιος (late XI c.)

a. Private collection (Rusko Delchunkov, Haskovo). Find-spot: the fortress near the village of Malevo, Haskovo region. D. 16.2-16.5 (14) 3.5 mm. A well-centered imprint, with a few omissions.

Ed. **Йорданов-Аладжов**, Хасковско, № 9.

b. Historical Museum, Dobrich, no. I 1298. Find-spot: Silistra. D. 16.1-16.5 (14) 4 mm, W. 6.70 g. Good, successful imprint.

Ed. **Йорданов**, Силистра, IV, № 2.

c. Historical Museum, Shumen, no. 14763. Find-spot: uncertain, presumably from northeastern Bulgaria, Dulovo or Alphatar. D. 16-16 mm, W. 5.9 g.. Once a complete imprint in a poor state of preservation now.

Unpublished.

d. Private collection (V. Stankov from Batak). Find-spot: village of Fakia, disc. Burgas. D. 15-16 mm. Once a complete imprint in a poor state of preservation now.

Unpublished.

The four specimens come from the same boulloterion.

No exact parallels.

Obv. The Virgin orans standing without a medallion. Sigla:  $\overline{MP} || \overline{\Theta V}$  : Μ(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

. | ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | RACIAEI | ΩΤΟΚ8Ρ | ΤΗΚ'

[+]Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) Βασιλείω το Κουρτήκη

Two other specimens struck in a different boulloterion are preserved in the collections of the Hermitage (see **Шандровская**, Деятели Алексиады, с. 38, з.61, М-5761) and DO. 55. 1. 3113 (unpublished):

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion on her chest.

Rev. . ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8' | RACIAIO | ΤΟΚ8ΡΤ | ΙΚΙ

The owner of the seal affixed on the correspondence to the fortress near the present-day village of Malevo, Fakia and Dristra and generally to northeastern Bulgaria is Βασίλειος Κουρτίκιος.

A person by these names is attested during the reign of Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118). It refers to one of the military commanders. The problem is that in the various sources he is known by the sobriquet Joannakes. In the two basic sources for Alexios I's reign, he is differently reported. While Anna Komnene used the sobriquet Joannakes more frequently and rarely added the name Kourtikios, Nikephoros Bryennios almost always put them down together (**Skoulatos**, *Personnages*, p. 43, n.1).

The authors of the prosopography of the Kourtikios family and of the personages of the Alexiad have no doubt that this name covers the person of Basil Kourtikios (**Καждан**, *Армяне*, 5:3; **Skoulatos**, *Personnages*, no. 28).

Basil Kourtikios, known by his sobriquet Joannakes, was born in Adrianoupolis and was George Palaiologos' cousin. The sources report him as one of the associates of the usurper Nikephoros Bryennios, who in 1077 tried to take the throne. He is mentioned as one of the persons accompanying the young patrikios Nikephoros Bryennios. He took part in the capture of Trajanopolis by Bryennios' army (**Skoulatos**, *Personnages*, p. 43).

After the suppression of Bryennios' revolt and the amnesty given to his close associates by the then emperor, we come across Joannakes under the command of the domestikos of the West Alexios Komnenos. Along with him, he took part in the battle against the other usurper Nikephoros Basilakes and captured Basilakes' brother Manuel in a single combat by the river Galikos (**Alexiade**, I, 34.31-35.4; **Bryennios**, 293.24-295.5).

Ca. 1080, during Nikephoros Melissenos' rebellion in Byzantium, he was dispatched against him together with George Palaiologos, but under the command of the eunuch John. After the defeat of the government troops, John blamed him and George Palaiologos for that (**Bryennios**, p. 311.11-20).

In the spring of 1083, before the battle against the Normans at Larissa, Anna Komnene reports that the emperor placed his kinsmen Nikephoros Melissenos and Basil Kourtikios at the head of the tagma (**Alexiade**, II, 26.9-16). This information gave Kazhdan reason to assume (*Армяне*, 5:3) that Basil Kourtikios had somehow become related to the Komnenoi.

In the spring of 1087, Joannakes was in Thrace and together with Nicholas Maurokatakalon defeated the Pechenegs led by Tzelgu (**Alexiade**, II, 87.21-88.10). In the summer of the same year, before the decisive battle with the Pechenegs at Dristra, Emperor Alexios I Komnenos entrusted his protection to six bodyguards, among which Joannakes (**Alexiade**, II, 97.15-22).

In the winter of 1090/1091, Joannakes was back to Thrace again. Together with Nicholas Maurokatakalon, he was left to spend the winter with the army and to prepare it for resistance.

After the battle at Levunion (April 28-29, 1091), he was sent to escort the Cumans allies to the passes (**Alexiade**, II, 146.11).

In 1092, he was at the head of an embassy to the sultan Malik-Shah, but because of the



death of the latter, they returned to Constantinople with no results from Chorosan (*Alexiade*, II, 76.21-30).

Between 1097 and 1104 he was involved in the plot of the Anemas brothers. After it was discovered, he was arrested, banished and his property confiscated. Nothing more is mentioned about him in the sources (*Alexiade*, III, pp.69, 71). There are certain doubts whether this refers to the same dignitary, since Anna Komnene reports of "a certain Kourtikios, as if previously unknown (*Alexiade*, III, 69.20).

Precisely to which moment of the above biographical outline of Joannakes / Basil Kourtikos' life could we attribute the data from our seal? An exact dating is difficult to suggest, but it is generally to the second half of the XIth c.

In no one of the above events was he reported with his exact title or office. Two unpublished bullae of the following description are preserved in the collections of Shaw 246 (no. 1110) and Zacos, III, no. 1490:

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion.

*Rev.* + |RACIAI|OCA'TOK.|POPIAAAT'|OK8PTI|K'

If we accept that it is the same Βασίλειος Κουρτίκιος, then we will obtain the zenith of his career πρωτοκουροπαλάτης, a title possessed by the other military commanders of Alexios I Komnenos of that time.

The question in our case is to determine the possible dating of this group of seals of Βασίλειος Κουρτίκιος as a private person. Perhaps in this case too, as with the seals of the other associates of Alexios I Komnenos subsequently involved in a number of plots, we ought to assume that this type of seals reflects their lives after the conspiracy when they were devoid of properties and titles.

To whom in the medieval settlements mentioned above was the correspondence sent? A tentative answer to this conceivable question could be suggested after the survey of the known members of this family for the discussed period XIth-XIIth c.

The family Κουρτίκιος, according to most investigators, has an Armenian origin (see **Каждан**, *Армяне*, № 5). Its representatives had switched over to service in the Empire as early as the reign of Basil I (867-886), and under Romanos I (921-944) Μανουήλ Κουρτίκιος was δρουγγάριος τῆς βίγλης (see **Skylitzes**, 238.42).

Known from the narrative sources are the following:

1. Μιχαήλ Κουρτίκιος. In 970s, he was reported as δρουγγάριος τοῦ στόλου in Attaleia. In 976/79, he sided with Bardas Skleros and was in command of the rebels' fleet (**Skylitzes**, 320.19-20).

2. Mchitar, the son of Κουρτίκιος was ὑπατος and worked in the Byzantine administration in Ani in 1060 (see **Каждан**, *Армяне*, N 5.2).

3. Μιχαήλ Κουρτίκιος λογοθέτης τοῦ γενικοῦ, whose signature is under a novel of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos dated 1094 (*JUS*, III, p. 398.19-20).

4. Νικόλαος Κουρτίκιος πρωτοπρόεδρος, whose signature is under an imperial act of April, indiction VI (MM, IV, p. 329.20-21). Some investigators have dated this document to 1143 (see **Ahrweiler**, *Smyrne*, p. 129), but the title πρωτοπρόεδρος suggests dating in the XIth c. and the early XIIth c. at the latest.

5. Κωνσταντῖνος Κουρτίκιος was married to the daughter of Alexios I Komnenos, on him, see below.

Known from seals are the following:

1. Ἀέτιος Κουρτίκιος πρωτοβεστάρχης καὶ δομέστικος from the last quarter of the XIth c. (see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, no. 1179).

2. Ἄννα Κουρτίκινα μοναχὴ from the end of the XIth c. (see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, V, 2, no. 1463 and unpublished from DO. 55. 1. 5085; 55. 1. 5086; 55. 1. 5087 and 58. 106. 3335).

3. Ἰωάννης Κουρτίκιος πρωτονωβελίσσιμος XIth-XIIth c., according to an unpublished bulla in DO (negative no. 59.109.24-2598):

*Obv.* Bust of St. Demetrios holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

*Rev.* ἸΩΑΝΩ.|ΕΛΙCΙM.|ΤΩΚΟV..|KΙ

4. Κωνσταντῖνος Κουρτίκιος, on him, see below.

5. Μανουήλ Κουρτίκιος as :

a. a private person from the second half of the XIth c., according to an unpublished bulla in: - Shaw collection 1342 (no 1168):

*Obv.* Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand).

*Rev.* . KΕR'Θ'.AN8HΛ|.ΩK8PTI|KHC

- DO collection (55. 1. 3802):

*Obv.* The Virgin standing, turned three quarters l.

*Rev.* .ΓNH|CKEΠOIC|MANOVHA|TONKOVPT|KHN

b. sebastos from the XIIth c., according to an unpublished seal in Zacos collection, III, see **Seibt**, *Mokk'* S. 147, am.17.

6. Μιχαήλ Κουρτίκιος, attested by three groups of seals (see below no. 383A):

a. πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς from Xth-XIth c. (**Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, p. 649, no. 1);

b. μάγιστρος, according to an unpublished bulla in DO. 58.106.1360:

*Obv.* Bust of St. Michael.

*Rev.* KΕR' Θ'|MxIMAGI|.TPΩTΩ|.8PT'K'

c. as a private person from the end of the XIth c. (**Laurent**, *Orghidan*, no. 445).

7. Νικήτας Κουρτίκιος, a private person (end of the XI c.), attested by one lead seal from DO. 55. 1. 3973.

*Obv.* The Virgin standing hand upraised between sigla: M-P || ΘV.

*Rev.* +|CKEΠOIC|ΠΑΝΑΓN|.NIKHTA|TONKOVPT|TIKHN

8. N. Κουρτίκιος, a private person (end of the XI c.), attested by one lead seal from Shaw 1341 (no. 1107)

*Obv.* ΓΡΑΦ'|CΦPA|ΓIZΩ

*Rev.* ΣΑΟΓ'|T8K8P|THKH

It is possible to identify no. 6a with no. 1 above and no. 6b-c with no. 3.

Of the above-listed representatives of the family Κουρτίκιος, none was connected with the local provincial administration, thus excluding the possibility of Basil Kourtikios' correspondence to have been addressed to any of them. On the other hand, his activities were frequently connected with these lands suggesting that his correspondence was sent during the events he actively participated in, or later when he had retired from active military and political service, and his letters were addressed to his former associates sojourning in the region of the present-day village of Malevo and Dristra.

### 383. Κωνσταντῖνος Κουρτίκιος..... (second half of XI c.)

Preserved in the school collection of the village of Gabar, at 6 km from Debel, Burgas region. Presumably found on the land of the village. D. 25-37 (28) mm. Fragment larger than a half. Two lines of the inscription are missing; as a result only the name of its owner is possible to read.

*Unpublished.*

No parallels known.

Obv. The Virgin orans standing, with a medallion of Christ on her chest. No sigla visible.

Rev. Inscription of five lines, of which only three are preserved:

..... | ..... | .ΩNCTANTI | NOCKOVP | TIKHC

..... K]ωνσταντῖνος Κουρτίκιος .....

An individual bearing similar names is attested in the narrative sources and seals:

The name of Constantine Kourtikios, as married to the emperor's younger daughter Theodora, is reported in a marginal note in the Vatican copy of Niketas Choniates' *Historia*, where there is a list of the sons, daughters and sons-in-law of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118). When her husband died, in 1122, Theodora was remarried to Constantine Angelos (see **Choniates**, p. XXII.25).

Three groups of seals bearing the name of Constantine Kourtikios are known:

a. πρωτοσπαθάριος-ὑπάτος καὶ ταξιάρχης Μωξηγάς – dated to the mid- XIth c. (see **Seibt**, Mokk, 145-148).

Obv. Two standing military saints: St. Theodore and St. Demetrios.

Rev. +ΚΕΡ'Θ'|ΚΩΝΑ'CΠΑΘ|.ΙΩΝΠΑΤΩ|...ΞΙΑΡΧΩ|.ΩΞΗΓΑΖ|.ΩΚΟVP |TIKH

b. πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς after 1050s (**Шандровская**, Арменски деятели, с. 190, № 3).

Obv. Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand).

Rev. .ΚΕΡ'Θ'|ΚΩΝΠΡΙ|.CΤΡΑΤΙΓ'|ΤΩΚΟVP |TIKI

c. σεβαστὸς καὶ διερμηνεύτης τῶν πιστοτάτων Ἰγγλίνων (translator from English) from the second half of the XIIth c. (**Cheyne**, Zacos, III, no. 250).

Obv. CΕΡΑϞ'Ο|ΚΑΙΔΙΕΡΜΗ|NCVTHCTΩN|ΠΙΤΩN

Rev. TATΩN|ΙΓΓΛΙΝΩN|ΚΩΝϞ'ΑΝΤΙ|NOCOKOVP| TIKHC

The last group with the name of Constantine Kourtikios, on which he is a sebastos and translator from English, presumably belongs to another representative of the Kourtikioi from the second half of the XIIth c.

The remaining three groups (to which we can also add our specimen) could have belonged to one and the same person living in the middle and second half of the XIth c., but it is difficult to determine whether he could be identified with Alexios I Komnenos' son-in-law. Perhaps it is possible at an earlier stage of his career, but it is only a conjecture.

### 383A. Μιχαήλ Κουρτίκιος τοποτηρητής τῆς Θράκης (Xth-XIth c.)

Private collection (V. Panteleev, Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 24-26 (21) 3 mm. W. 12.00 g. Complete imprint in a poor state of preservation, especially the obverse which is oxidated.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Michael holding a scepter ornamented with three balls (r. hand) and a globus (l. hand).

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ'| ΜΙΧΑΙΑ | ΤΟΠΟΤΕΡ |ΤΙΤ'ΘΡΑΚ|CΤ'Κ8Ρ | THK

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Μιχαὶλ τοποτερ(η)τι τ(ῆς) Θράκ(η)ς τ(ῶ) Κουρτήκ(η)

A similar name is attested several times in narrative sources:

Μιχαήλ Κουρτίκιος(1): In 970s, he was reported as δρουγγάριος τοῦ στόλου in Attaleia. In 976/79, he sided with Bardas Skleros and was in command of the rebels' fleet (**Skylitzes**, 320.19-20).

Μιχαήλ Κουρτίκιος (2) as a λογοθέτης τοῦ γενικοῦ, whose signature is under a novel of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos dated 1094 (*JUS*, III, p. 398.19-20).

The same is attested by other three groups of seals:

a. πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς from Xth-XIth c. (**Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, p. 649, no. 1):

Obv. Bust of St. Michael holding a scepter (r. hand) and a globus (l. hand).

Rev. ΚΕΡ'Θ'| ΤΩCΩΔ8 | ΜΙΧΑΗΛ | Α'CΠΑΘ'C| CΤΡΑΤ'Τ'|'Κ8ΡΤ'

b. μάγιστρος, according to an unpublished bulla in DO. 58.106.1360:

Obv. Bust of St. Michael.

Rev. ΚΕΡ' Θ'|ΜxΙΜΑΓΙ|.ΤΡΩΤΩ|.8ΡΤ'Κ'

c. as a private person from the end of the XIth c. (**Laurent**, *Orghidan*, no. 445).

Who of the above individuals could be identified as the owner of the present seal? He is reported as topoteretes of the Thracian theme which implies that a tagma was quartered in Thrace for a certain period and he was its topoteretes. As far as I know, this is an obscure detail from the history of the theme.

According to its depiction, style and titulature, our seal is very similar to the one published by Schlumberger. It may reflect an earlier period in the career of Michael Kourtikios when he was a topoteretes. Later he was appointed strategos unbound with a particular administrative unit, i.e. he was at the emperor's disposal. Two groups of seals could be associated with Michael Kourtikios no. 1, while the seal representing him as magistros and mostly as a private person is more likely to be attributed to Michael Kourtikios no. 2.

### 384. Βάρδας Κρατερὸς τοποτηρητής (XI c.)

Private collection (V. Panteleev from Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 20-21 (19-20) 4 mm, W.10.02 g. Incomplete imprint with a perfectly-preserved surface.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin, holding Christ on l. arm. Sigla:  $\overline{MP}$  ||  $\overline{\Theta V}$ : Μ(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ.

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'| ΤΩCΩΔ. | .ΑΡΔ'ΤΟ. | . HPHT. | .ΩΚΡ. | ΤΕ..

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)[θ(ει)] τῶ σῶ δ[ού(λω) Β]άρδ(α) το[π(ο)τ]ηρητ(ῆ) [τ](ῶ)

Κρ[α]τε[ρῶ]

Bardas Krateros is unknown from the narrative sources. Another seal as a private person perhaps belonged to the same (see **Schlumberger**, *Inedite*, V, no.240):

Obv. St. George standing, holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground.

Rev. + ΚΕΡ'Θ'| ΤΩCΩΔ8'| ΡΑΡΔΑ | ΤΩΚΡΑΤ | ΕΡ

### 385-386. Κωνσταντῖνος Κρατερὸς ἀνθύπατος-πατρίκιος (1050s-1060s)

a. Private collection. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 26-28 mm. Incomplete imprint.

Unpublished.

b. Private collection. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 26-32 mm. Overstruck with a seal of smaller dies. Visible on the obv. is a bust of the Virgin. On the rev. is an inscription of several lines, which cannot be deciphered, since it mingled with that of the original strike.

*Unpublished.*

*Both specimens come from the same boulloterion.*

*Parallels:* **Konstantopoulos**, no 648a; **Stavrakos**, no. 135.

*Obv.* St. Demetrios standing frontally, holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground. Vertical inscription: .....|| T-PH-O' : [ 'O ἄγιος Δημή]τρηο(ς).

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

a) + KER'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8' | ΚΩΝΑΝ.. | ΠΑΤ'ΠΙΠΙ | ΚΡΑΤ. | -P-

b) + K . . . | ΤΩC . . . | ΚΩΝ . . . | ΠΑΤ . . . | ΚΡΑΤ. | -P-

+Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῶ δού(λφ) Κων(σταντίνφ) ἀν[θυ]πάτ(φ)

π(ατ)ρι(κίφ) [τ(ῶ)] Κρατ[ε]ρ[ῶ]

Constantine Krateros is unknown from the narrative sources.

Two or three groups of seals are known, on which his names could be read:

a. as a private person from the second half of the XI c., according to an unpublished specimen in DO. 58. 106. 798.

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion on her chest.

*Rev.* - + - |Θ KER'Θ' | ΚΩΝΤΩ | ΚΡΑΤΕ | -ΡΩ-

b. as a private person from the end of the XI c., according to two lead seals found in Noviodunum (**Barnea**, I. Sceaux byzantins inedits de Dobroudja.-SBS, 3, 1993, p. 60, no. 6) and Vyshgorod, near Kiev (**Bulgakova**, no. 1.5.7).

c. P. Speck has published one poorly-preserved and illustrated specimen dated to the XIth c., on which the names of Constantine Krateros and the title ὑπατος could be read (see Speck, Berlin, no. 168). Whether it is the same person is uncertain.

### 387-388. Λέων Κρατερὸς σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος καὶ στρατηγὸς (XI c.)

a. Private collection (P. Palahagi from Romania). Find-spot: Silistra, during the Romanian occupation. D. 28-29 mm. Half of a once whole bulla.

*Ed.* **Banescu**, Silistrie, 329-330.

b. Historical Museum, Silistra. Found in the course of regular archaeological excavations in Silistra on 10th August 1989, field no. 17, at a depth of 15.45 m, in square 75, connected with dwelling no. 7. D. 23-24 (over 23) 3 mm. Incomplete imprint. The first line containing the homonym is out of the blank. Its surface is poorly preserved and some letters are missing.

*Unpublished.*

*Both specimens were struck in the same pair of dies.*

*Parallels:* Another specimen from the same boulloterion is preserved in the Zacos collection, III, no. 1480, see **Cheyne**, Les Krateroi, p. 231, fig. 2. Interesting is that this imprint is also incomplete and almost identical with no. 2 from Silistra.

*Obv.* Bust of St. George facing, holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription: -Γ-Ε||-Ρ-Γ' : [ 'O ἄγιος ] Γε[ώ]ργ(ιος).

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

a) ...NT. | . . . ΘΑ. | . . . ΔΔ'Σ. | ... ΙΓ. | ....ΠΑΤ | . .

b) ... . . . | .ΠΑΘΑ. | ΚΑΝΔΔ'Σ. | ...ΤΙΓΟ | ....ΠΑΤ | - ΕΡ'-

[+Λέο]ντ[ι σ]παθα[ρ(ο)]κανδ(ι)δ(άτφ) (καὶ) [στρα]τιγο [τῷ Κ]ρατερ(ῶ)

When publishing the first specimen from Silistra, due to its fragmentary state, the

publishers offered the following variant readings: Theodore, strategos-autokrator (P. Papahagi); Constantine Dalassenos, imperial kandidatos and strategos-autokrator (Banescu). The restoration offered here has also been assumed by Cheynet.

The owner of the seal, who wrote to Dristra at least twice, is unknown from the narrative sources.

On the rest of the representatives of the family Krateros, see **Cheyne**, Les Krateroi, 225-238. Also interesting is the fact that at least three representatives of the family Krateros have written to the Bulgarian lands in the XIth c.

### 389. Λέων Κο..ουλίτος (XI c.)

Historical Museum, Asenovgrad, no. 1818. Find-spot: the fortress near the village of Zlatovruh. D. 18-18 (15) 3 mm. Incomplete imprint. The reading of the patronym is problematic. From the available letters Τ8ΚΟ.. | 8ΙΤ8 (some of which perhaps erroneously seen, since I had a short time at my disposal, not having the opportunity of documenting it by a photo or a cast), the following patronyms, known from other sources, could be read: Κο[ιτ]ουνίτου; Κο[ντ]ουμίτου; Κο[νσ]ουλατοῦ and others.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of a military saint.

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

СΦΡΑΓ | ΛΕΟΝΤ. | Τ8ΚΟ.. | 8ΙΤ8

Σφραγ(ίς) Λέοντ[ος] τοῦ Κο[... ]ουίτου

### 390-393. Ἀναστάσιος Κυρίτζης (second half of XI c.)

a. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 21588. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 17-19 (16) 4 mm. W. 6.10 g. Incomplete and poorly-preserved imprint.

*Ed.* **Йорданов**, Преслав, № 411.

b. Historical Museum, Shumen. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 14-15 (16) 3 mm. W. 3.66 g. Incomplete imprint. The blank was smaller in diameter than the dies.

*Ed.* **Йорданов**, Преслав, № 412.

c. Private collection (Al. Vazov from Sofia). Find-spot: the area of the Pomorie mines. D. 19-22 (16) 3 mm. Good imprint and a bulla in a good state of preservation.

*Unpublished.*

d. Historical Museum, Shumen, no. 14964.5. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 19-20 mm, W. 5.68 g. Good imprint and a bulla in a good state of preservation.

*Unpublished.*

*Parallels:* Seyrig, no. 307; Künker (Osnabruck), no.1092; Unpublished in: Istanbul, serie Osman, no. 16; DO. 55.1.3126 и 55.1.3127; Fogg A. M., no 2194 Zacos, III, no. 1502/6 (the last two come from a different boulloterion).

*Obv.* Facing bust of St. Basil, blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand). Vertical inscription: Θ-RA-CI || Λ-ΕΙ-OC : 'O ἄγιος Βασίλειος.

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

+ KER'Θ' | ANACTA | CΙΩΤΩ | ΚΥΡΙ | ΤΖΗ

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Ἀναστασίφ τῷ Κυρίτζη

The owner of the seal Ἀναστάσιος Κυρίτζης is unknown from the narrative sources. The etymology of the family name Κυρίτζης is debated by investigators: Laurent (*Vatican*,

p. 196, n. 2), proceeding from the information that Byzantine chroniclers used this name for the Turkish sultan Mohamed II, assumes that it is a literal transcription of the Turkish title "kuresci= wrestler"; Kazhdan (*Coy. cocmae*, c. 192) has suggested two other possibilities: from the noun κύριος=mister, master or the verb κυρίσσω = stick.

Known from the XIth-century narrative sources are the following:

1. N., Κυρίτζης is among M. Psellos' correspondents (*S.M.*, II, nos. 209-210);

2. N., Κυρίτζης is attested as a copyist in the XIth c. (see **Coxe, N. O.** *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleiane*, I, Oxpii, 1853, p. 222, no. 110).

3. N., Κυρίτζης πατρίκιος καὶ κριτής is attested in the acts of Ivirion monastery from the mid-XIth c. (*Actes Ivirion*, II, p. 97).

Known from seals are the following:

1. Κυρίτζης τουρμάρχης from the Xth c., according to an unpublished bulla in Shaw collection 1011 (no. 1113):

*Obv.* Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand).

*Rev.* +KV|HTZI|TPOMAP|XHC

2. N., [Γεώργιος] Κυρίτζης, a private person from the last quarter of the XIth c. (see **Laurent, Vatican**, no. 183; *Seyrig*, p. 204).

3. Ἰωάννης Κυρίτζης, a private person from the last quarter of the XIth c., according to his unpublished bulla in IFEB, no. 509 (see *Seyrig*, p. 204).

The dating of the seal of Ἀναστάσιος Κυρίτζης is generally to the second half of the XIth c. and presumably to its third quarter. It is difficult to determine its connection with the above-listed individuals and whether Ἀναστάσιος Κυρίτζης himself is not one of them. But almost all of them are contemporaries with the exception of the tourmarches.

### 394. N. Κυριώτης πρωτοσπαθάριος (?) (X-XI c.)

Private collection (Zh. Biulbiulev from Harmanli). Find-spot: Silistra. D. 19-20(?) 4 mm. The bulla is almost completely obliterated by the deep oxide seats.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Remains of a patriarchal cross with fleurons. Only the end of the invocation is preserved:..... Δ8Λ.

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

..... | ...P'TΩ | .VPIΩ | TH

[ +K(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ει) τῷ σῷ] δούλ[ω Ἰω(άννη) β'(πρωτο)σπαθα]ρ(ίω) τῷ  
[K]υριώτη

From the almost completely obliterated surface of the bulla, the only supporting point is the patronym, provided it is a patronym at all. It is inscribed in the last three lines: TΩ|. VPIΩ|TH. The completion I offer above has more the characteristic of a desire than of a reality. The Dumbarton Oaks collection contains an unpublished bulla (DO. 58. 106. 3052), whose text is also incomplete, but which has better reason to apply to the name Ἰωάννης Κυριώτης:

*Obv.* The Virgin standing frontally.

*Rev.* Θ..R'Θ'|TΩCΩΔ..|..IΩT..|KVPIΩ|-TH-

The etymology of the family name Kyriotes derives from the name of the monastery

Ἰῶν Κύρου in Constantinople (**Amantos, K.** *Κυριώτης.-Hell.*, 9, 1936, p. 539). Its most prominent representative is Ἰωάννης ὁ Κυριώτης ὁ Γεωμέτρης, a poet from the late Xth c., whose poems are also sources for Bulgarian history. From the scanty information on his life, it is known that he was a secular person who had earned the title protospatharios, as indicated by the restored text of the seal, but later entered a monastery and became bishop or metropolitan of Melitene (**Krumbacher, Literatur**, S. 731; **Beck, Kirche**, 553-554).

Even if the restoration above is correct, we could hardly press for an identification between the owner of the present seal and the known namesake and poet. The homonym John is rather too commonplace for an identification like this.

Several groups of seals are known to have belonged to members of the family Kyriotes:

1. Γρηγόριος Κυριώτης ἀσηκρητής, attested by his bulla dated to the Xth-XIth c. (**Laurent, Corpus**, II, no. 112);

2. Μιχαήλ Κυριώτης as a private person, according to two groups of his seals from the late XIth c.:

a) DO. 58.106.3031.

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin facing.

*Rev.* + | TONKVPI |ΩTHNMI | XAΗΛΦVΛ|ATEME

b) DO. 58. 106. 1125.

*Obv.* Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand).

*Rev.* +KER'Θ'|TΩCΩΔ8'| MIXAH.. | KVPI..

With the uncertainty in the reading of the bulla, there is no use in trying to associate its owner with any of the above individuals, except that he was a member of this family.

### 395. Θεόδωρος Λαγωδιάτης ? (XI c.)

Private collection (Kliment Atanasov, Burgas). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 25-30 mm. Incomplete imprint.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Superb bust of St. Theodore holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription: Θ-Θ.-. || Δ-Ω-P : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Θ[εό]δωρ(ος).

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

+ CΦPAΓ'| ΘEOΔΩPO | TOΛA.ΩΛ | AT...

+ Σφραγ(ίς) Θεοδώρο το Λα[γ]ωδ(ι)άτ[η]

Λαγωδιάτης, a family or proper name, is attested in *PLP* no. 93953.

### 396. Ἰωάννης Λαμπιταιωτης ? (XI c.)

National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 30450. Formerly in the possession of Dimitar Dimitrov from Pernik. Found between the villages of Koren and Malevo, Haskovo region. D. 22-25 mm. Incomplete imprint.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion on her chest. No sigla visible.

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

IΩO | ΛAM.I | TAIO | .A.

Ἰωάννης ὁ Λαμ[ψ]ιταιω[τ]α[ς]

A bulla of Ἰωάννης Λαμψιώτης is preserved in the Athens Numismatic Museum (see **Konstantopoulos**, no. 652; **Stavrakos**, no. 140). I cannot be sure whether our seal applies to the same person or to another bearing a similar family name.

**397A Ἀνδρόνικος Λαπαρδᾶς σεβαστὸς καὶ χαρτουλᾶριος** (1166-1183)

Private collection (V. Stankov from Batak). Find-spot: Pomorie (ancient Anchialos). D. 30-32 (30) mm. A good and well-preserved imprint.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with the medallion of Christ on her chest. Sigla:  $\overline{\text{MP}}$  ||  $\overline{\text{ΘV}}$ : Μ(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ.

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

ΣΦΡΑΓΙΣ | ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΩ | ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ | ΧΑΡΤΟΥΛΑΡΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ | ΛΑΠΑΡΔΑ | ΠΑΡΔΑ

Σφραγὶς Ἀνδρονίκου σεβαστοῦ καὶ χαρτουλαρίου τοῦ Λαπαρδᾶ

On the career and person of Andronikos Lapardas, see **Stiernon**, L. Theodora Komnene et Andronic Lapardas, sebastes.-*REB*, XXIV, 1966, 89-96; **Zacos**, *Seals*, I, nos. 2735 and 2735bis

**397. Ἰωάννης Λαπαρδᾶς?** (XI c.)

Historical Museum, Iambol, no. 5428. Found in the stronghold near the village of Zlati Voyvoda. D. 24-24 mm. A whole specimen, but incomplete imprint. The restoration of the missing letters and the reading is to a certain extent a figment fed by the existence of a similar parallel in the collection of the Athens Numismatic Museum (see **Konstantopoulos**, no. 653; **Stavrakos**, no. 141).

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* A bearded saint-martyr with a cross; details unclear.

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

+| ..ΡΑΓΙ. | ...ΘΗΤ. | ..ΛΑΠ. | .....

+ [Σφ]ραγὶς, ἁ]θ(λ)ητ[ᾶ Ἰω(άννη)] Λαπ[αρδᾶ]

**398. Λανδούλφος σεβαστὸς καὶ δούξ** (XI-XII c.)

Historical Museum, Shumen, no. 14644. Offered for purchase by N. Nikolov, a middleman from Razgrad. Thus, the information on its find-spot is not certain; nevertheless southern Bulgaria and the Plovdiv region is plausible. D. 24-25 (23) 4 mm. Weak imprint. Some letters are blotted out and obliterated, but the reading of the text is not problematic.

*Ed.* **Йорданов**, Западни, № 2, 183-185.

*Parallels:* Another specimen struck in the same boulloterion was found in Athens. See **Zikos**, Athenes, p. 82, no. 2. Its publisher has proposed the following reading: + Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) [Δ]αν(ιήλ) δούλ(ω) σεβα[σ]τῶ. A photo of the same seal is used in **J.-C. Cheynet**, **C. Morrisson**. Texte et l'image sur le

sceaux byzantins: les raisons d'un choix iconographique.-*SBS*, 4, 1995, 18-19, who make corrections in the reading of the name: instead of Daniel they propose Landulf. Our specimen, besides allowing a complete reading of the text, also supplements our information on Landulfo's position.

*Obv.* Bust of St. Matthew facing, with nimbus and himation, blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand). Vertical inscription in two columns: Θ-M-AT-ΘΕ-O || Θ-Π-ΟC-ΤΟ-Λ': Ὁ ἄ(γιος) Ματθῆος Ὁ ἄ(γιος) Ἀποστόλ(ης).

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΛΑΝΔΛΑ | ΦΟCΕΡΑC | ΤΟCΔ | ΚΑ

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Λανδούλφο σεβαστο (καὶ) δούκᾳ

The narrative sources mention a person bearing this name.

In the *Alexiad*, the name of Landulfo is reported in connection with the war of Alexios I Komnenos against the Crusaders led by Bohemond of Tarentum: 1098/1099 He put Landulfo in charge of the whole navy and promoted him to the rank of grand doux, because he was the greatest expert in warfare at sea (see *Alexiade*, III, 42.26). In April 1099, Landulfo left the capital at the head of the fleet and arrived at Samos. There they met the Pisan fleet, but did not come to a decisive battle, since a storm broke at the crucial moment and the fleets had to withdraw. The Pisans sailed on to Cyprus and the Byzantine fleet to Rhodes (see *Alexiade*, III, 43). From Rhodes, the latter sailed to Cyprus, where Landulfo along with the other admirals decided to take advantage of the peace overtures with Bohemond. After the negotiations with Bohemond, Landulfo and the fleet returned to the Byzantine capital (see *Alexiade*, III, 45).

1104 Emperor Alexios I appointed Landulfo to guard the western and southern sea ways of the Empire against possible debarking of the Genoese on the islands. Kantakouzenos was at the same time sent overland with the same task to keep watch on the mainland. According to Anna Komnene, because of the terrible storm, Landulfo had to haul the ships on the beach. When Kantakouzenos was informed that the Genoese fleet was in the neighbourhood, he suggested that Landulfo should sail for Malea. Off he went and seeing the huge Genoese fleet, he decided not to fight. Instead he sailed quickly to Korone (see *Alexiade*, III, 46-47).

It seems that in 1105 Landulfo was replaced by Isaakios Kontostephanos, who had formerly been an ordinary doux of the fleet (see *Alexiade*, III, 77.20-21).

Along with that, Anna Komnene informs that Landulfo retained his functions as commander of the fleet and strongly advised Kontostephanos to be continually on guard, but instead the latter went to take the baths not far from Avlona. Meanwhile Bohemond debarked with a huge fleet and army, Landulfo, seeing that it was impossible to fight with so many, altered course slightly from Avlona giving his enemy the right to way and the Normans captured the city [October 1107] (see *Alexiade*, III, 82).

In a letter to the emperor (in 1108), Landulfo accused Isaakios Kontostephanos and his brother that they had been neglectful in guarding the Lombardy strait, which allowed Bohemond to receive from Italy the necessary food supplies (see *Alexiade*, III, 111.26-112). Landulfo's letter, as cited by Anna Komnene, is abundant in strategic advice, revealing at least in theory of Landulfo's vast experience.

There is no further mention of his name in the *Alexiad*.

When writing about him, Anna Komnene uses qualifications rarely applied to a westerner and always takes the opportunity to emphasize his proficiency, but yet finds none of his exploits worthy enough for her praise, instead she always brings forward circumstances, which prevented him from that.



The name of the protosebastos and sebastos Landulfo in his capacity as ktetor is written out in a dedication on a bronze gate made in Byzantium and donated to the cathedral of his native city Salerno (see **M. E. Frazer**, *Church Doors and the Gates of Paradise : Byzantine Bronze Doors in Italy*.-DOP, 27, 1973, 160-161). Obviously it applies to the same individual, since Landulfo had himself and his wife portrayed on the panel with St. Matthew, to whom he dedicated the door. Probably after the events described above, he retired from active work and commissioned the bronze gate in question for the cathedral of his native city.

The only question that should be discussed concerns Landulfo's position. He is a doux on his seal. Anna Komnene reports that in 1098/99 he was appointed megas doux (μέγας δούξ τοῦ στόλου). Further on, the same author reports that in 1107 megas doux of the fleet was Isaakios Kontostephanos, but adds that Landulfo retained his functions of a commander. How can we concur this information? It may well be that in 1107 Landulfo was only doux, a military commander of a part of the fleet, to whom particular military tasks could have been entrusted. Indirect evidence to a similar position can be found in Anna Komnene's account of Kontostephanos' actions who, wishing to block Bohemond's way, decided that "Avlona must be more strongly defended. Accordingly he left with the other dukes and kept careful watch on the straits at that place" (see *Alexiade*, III, 81).

When comparing the data from the narrative sources and the seal, the following cursus honorum of Landulfo should be proposed:

1. σεβαστὸς καὶ μέγας δούξ τοῦ στόλου (1098-1105).
2. σεβαστὸς καὶ δούξ (1105-1108)
3. πρωτοσεβαστὸς σεβαστὸς (1108-?)

The dating of our seal is between 1105-1108. Of course, of interest to us is to determine to whom in modern Bulgaria the sebastos Landulfo sent his correspondence. It is a question of no possible answer due to lack of information on its find-spot.

Finally, according to the custom in such cases, we could assume that identification with another individual, besides the presented one, is also possible. The *Alexiad* again mentions the Saxon leader Landulfo, actually Rudolfo the Swab, count of Reinfield (see *Alexiade* ed. **Любарский**, c. 459, бел. 150). On the basis of this analogy, we could assume that the true name of Landulfo, the owner of the present seal, was Rudolfo.

### 399. Ἰωάννης Λαχανᾶς (XII c.)

Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia, no. 1. Presumably from Plovdiv, judging by the note written by Prof. Gerasimov on the back of the plaster cast, which I used in the original publication of this seal, which says: Plovdiv, 1950. D. 23.5-24 (22) ? mm. Complete imprint but a poorly-preserved surface. It was holed for suspension as an icon, but later the opening was broken.

Ed. **Jordanov**, Plovdiv, no. 21.

*Parallels*: Two unpublished specimens in the DO collection 58.106. 3440 and 58.106. 5747. We will pay special attention to the second one, since it was reprinted on another.

*Obv.* The Virgin Kyriotissa standing frontally. At either side, busts of angels. Vertical inscription: ΜΡ || ΘΥ. Η-ΚΥ-ΠΙ || Ω-ΤΗ-ΧΗ : Μ(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ ἡ Κυριώτης(σ)η.

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

+ ΚΚΕΙ ΠΟΙCΛΑ | ΧΑΝΑΝ | ἸΩ.ΑΡ | ΘΕΝΕ  
+ Σκέποις Λαχανᾶν Ἰω(άννην) [Π]αρθένε

Another bulla of an individual by the same names but with a different text is preserved in

the Fogg A. M. collection, no 1490:

*Obv.* + ΕΙΚΝΥ|ΡΟCΕΡΓΩΝ|ΚΑΙCΦΡΑΓΙ| ΔΑΓΡΑΜΜΑ|ΤΩΝ

*Rev.* ΓΡΑΜ|ΜΑΤΑΤ.|ΠΟΙΛΑΧΑ|ΝΑCΙΩ|.NHC

The bulla mentioned above (DO. 58. 106. 5747) is printed on a huge blank: diameter 55 mm, thickness 4.5 mm and weight 103.33 g. It is punctured in two places: at the upper and lower side. The above text and depiction are printed on its one half with a diameter of the seal 22 mm; another seal is printed on the other half, without overlapping with that of Ἰωάννης Λαχανᾶς, which has the following description:

*Obv.* Sts. Constantine and Helena standing, holding a cross between them.

*Rev.* + |ΚΩΝΦΡΑ|ΓΙCΜΑΤ8|CΠΑΝΟΠ8|-Λ8-

We have here the rare case of printing together two seals on the same blank and presumably sending it to one and the same addressee. This case calls for a certain commentary:

The huge blank with a diameter of 55 mm and a weight of 103.33 g, according to the information I have, was usually ready-made to be used for patriarchal seals or for those of the ekdikoi of Hagias Sophia. The latter seems more likely. It could be assumed that both Ἰωάννης Λαχανᾶς and Κωνσταντῖνος Σπανόπουλος sent a mutual correspondence or a document connected through them with the management of St. Sophia church.

Who was Ἰωάννης Λαχανᾶς ?

His seal is generally dated to the XIIth c.

Among John Tzetzes' correspondents in 1155-1166 is a certain Ἰωάννης Λαχανᾶς εὐλαβὴς διάκονος, of whom we know nothing (**Tzetzes**, *Epistule*, p. 152, no. 105.16-17). In his next letter to τῷ οἰκουμενικῷ διδασκάλῳ καὶ ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ πατριάρχου τῷ Θετταλῷ, Tzetzes already mentions a certain diakonos Lachanas (**Tzetzes**, *Epistule*, p. 153, no. 106.16-19), perhaps the one noted above, who headed the department of bread-making and was connected with the mills of the monastery Παπίου.

Who was Κωνσταντῖνος Σπανόπουλος ?

A similar person is attested in the narrative sources. In 1176, Patriarch Michael III (1170-1178) had sided with Constantine Spanopoulos, bishop of Pyrgion, in overturning the concessions of patriarchal stauropegia which benefactors had obtained for churches they were rebuilding in the bishop's diocese on the grounds that these concessions unfairly diminished traditional Episcopal rights in these facilities (**Grumel**, *Regestes*, 3, no. 1131).

John Tzetzes' letters to Ἰωάννης Λαχανᾶς and Θετταλὸς are generally dated to the mid-XIIth c., and the patriarch's letter to Κωνσταντῖνος Σπανόπουλος to 1176, thus a connection in time could be found between these two individuals. They simultaneously occupied different positions in the church hierarchy, and it is no wonder that fate could have brought them together, i. e. they could already have been in service in the capital and together could have affixed a seal to a document or a letter using a blank from the patriarchal chancellery.

Very few representatives of this family are known from the narrative sources:

1. N., Λαχανᾶς is one of the addressees of Eustathios of Thessalonike (**Eustathios of Thessalonike**, *Opuscula*, 350.83). The time of the correspondence coincides with the activities of Ἰωάννης Λαχανᾶς, but their identification will seem forcing of facts.

2. Μανουὴλ Λαχανᾶς organized a rebellion against Emperor Andronilos I Komnenos in 1183. For him see below.

Attested by seals are the following:

1. Βασίλειος Λαχανᾶς ὕπατος καὶ ἀντιγραφεὺς, from the second half of the XIth c., according to an unpublished seal in DO. 58. 106. 1372:

Obv. St. John the Baptist standing.

Rev. +ΚΕΡ'Θ' | RACIAIΩ | VΠATΩSAN | TIGPAΦEI | TΩΛAXA | NA

2. Γεώργιος Λαχανᾶς as:

a) πρωτοκεντάρχος, according to two unpublished specimens in the Fogg A. M. collection, no. 1854 and Zacos, III, no. 1450/5:

Obv. CΦPAΓIC | MAΓPAΦHC | ΛAXANAΓE | ΩPΓI8

Rev. ΛAX | ONTOC | AΞIΩMA | ΠPOTΩKE | NTAPXΩ

b) a private person, according to an unpublished specimen in the Thiery collection, no. 165:

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with no medallion.

Rev. ΘKE | ROHΘEI | ΓEPΓIΩ | TΩAXA | -NAC-

They dated generally to the late XIth c.

3. Μανουήλ Λαχανᾶς a private person, see no. 400 below.

4. Στέφανος Λαχανᾶς, a private person from the XIIth c., according to unpublished specimens in the collections of DO. 58. 106. 4812 and Thiery, no. 139:

Obv. Standing figure of the Virgin Basiotissa, holding Christ on l. arm.

Rev. ΓPAΦAC | CΦPAΓIC | T8ΛAXA | NATEΦA | N.

5. Νικηφόρος Λαχανᾶς, attested by two groups of seals: in the first one as a private person and in the second one as πρωτονωβελίσσιμος.

The seal of Νικηφόρος Λαχανᾶς as a private person requires a special commentary, since in its original publication he was associated with a person from Bulgarian history.

It was found in Istanbul and published by Panchenko (see **Панченко**, Каталог, № 491):

Obv. HCΦPA | ΓICAVTH | ΛAXANANI | .HΦOP8

Rev. +EΠI | CΦPAΓIC.. | KAIGPAΦΩ. | KAIPPAKT | .ΩN

Ἡ σφραγὶς αὕτη Λαχανᾶ Νικηφόρου ἐπισφράγις[μα] καὶ γραφῶ[v] καὶ πρακτ[έ]ων

Its original publisher, bearing in mind the etymology of the name Λαχανᾶς, derived from “cabbage” “sauerkraut” or generally “vegetables”, assumed that a connection could be sought between the owner of the seal and the person of Ivailo, the leader of the peasant revolt in Bulgaria in 1277-79, since his sobriquet Κορδόκουβας, according to Pachymeres, was synonymous to Λαχανᾶς.

Panchenko’s idea was taken up by N. Mushmov, who, although not concealing his doubt regarding the identification of this seal with the person of Ivailo, included the seal in his book (**Мышмов**, *Монеты и печати*, № 245).

In his monographic study of Byzantine metrical seals, S. Laurent expressed his doubts regarding this identification, despite the authority of both scholars, and pointed out that the family name Λαχανᾶς did not derive from the sobriquet Κορδόκουβας and that it is hardly likely that the usurper to the throne Ivailo used Greek. Thus, the author assumed that the seal belonged to a Byzantine (**Laurent**, *Bulles metriques*, no.151).

We will present new arguments in support of this ascertainment:

1. There is no information that before or after the rebellion Ivailo was in Byzantine service to have been able to impress his correspondence with this seal.

2. The dating of the seal should not exceed the XIIth c., so it could not have belonged to Ivailo.

3. A bulla connected with the one discussed here is preserved in the Dumbarton Oaks collection (DO.58.106.1379):

Obv. + | ΓPAΦΩN | CΦPAΓICMA | ΛAXANA | NIKHΦOP8

Rev. THN | AZIANΔE | ΠPOTONΩ | REΛΛICI | M8

The same Nikephoros Lachanas, but already holding the Byzantine title protonobelissimos, is behind this seal – a fact undoubtedly confirming his belonging to the XIIth-century Byzantine aristocracy (see **Йорданов**, *Корнус*, 173-174)

Let us turn to our seal. It is difficult to determine when and to whom in Philippopolis Ἰωάννης Λαχανᾶς wrote. A possible addressee could have been a relative in service here during the second half of the XIIth c. or the local prelate.

#### 400. Μανουήλ Λαχανᾶς (XII c.)

Private collection of a middleman from Shumen. Found in the region of the Strandja Mountain (in such cases, it most frequently refers to the stronghold near the village of Melnitsa, Elhovo region). D. 30-33 (23) 3.5 mm. Well-centered, but damaged imprint. The first letters of some lines are illegible, and the bulla itself is open along the channel.

Unpublished.

Parallels: Another specimen struck in the same boulloterion is preserved in the IFEB collection, no. 175.

Obv. St. Theodore Stratelates standing frontally, holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground. Vertical inscription in two columns:

Θ-ΘEO-ΔΩ-POC || O-PA-THA-TH-C : Ὁ ἄ(γιος) Θεόδωρος ὁ Στρατιλάτις

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ CON | .AN8HA | . ELAXAN | .NMARTVC | CKEΠOIC

+ Σὸν [M]ανουήλ [μ]ε Λαχαν[ᾶ]ν μάρτυς σκέποις

An individual bearing a similar name is mentioned in the Annals of Niketas Choniates. After the enthronement of Andronikos I Komnenos in 1183, a revolt broke out in Prusa led by Theodore Angelos, Lachanas of the marketplace and the witless Synesios (**Choniates**, 287. 23-25; **Choniates** tr. **Magoulias**, p. 159). After its suppression, Leo Synesios and Manuel Lachanas were hanged on the branches of trees growing along side Prusa (**Choniates**, 289.70-72; **Choniates** tr. **Magoulias**, p. 160).

Could Manuel Lachanas from Choniates be identical to the owner of the seal? It is not impossible. The dating of the seal is generally to the second half of the XIIth c. The depiction of St. Theodore Stratelates on the obverse suggests a military profession of the owner of the seal. This poses the following questions: To whom in the fortress near the village of Melnitsa, Elhovo region did Manuel Lachanas send his correspondence and on what occasion? Has this correspondence anything to do with the revolt?

#### 401. Μιχαήλ Λιπαρίτης πρόεδρος (1070s-1080s)

Historical Museum, Burgas, no. A-144. Find-spot: Anchialos, today Pomorie. D.17-17 (over 17) 3 mm.

Incomplete imprint, since the blank was smaller than the size of the dies. The bulla itself is in a good state of preservation.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Анхияло*, № 10.

Parallels: Other two specimens struck in the same boulloterion as ours are preserved in the collections of the Athens Numismatic Museum (**Konstantopoulos**, no. 1091) and Dumbarton Oaks (DO. 55. 1. 4023).

Obv. Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand). Vertical inscription:

.-NI-KO || Λ-A-OC : [Ὁ ἄ(γιος)] Νικόλαος

p. 196, n. 2), from the Turkish ... 539). Its most ... on his ... as

ΗΛ | ΛΙΠΑΡΙΤ  
Μιχαήλ Λιπαρίτ(ου)

The bulla from the Athens Museum (**Konstantopoulos**, no. 1091) MIX... | ..ΠΑΡΙΤ = [Σφρα]γίς (ιερ)άρ(χης) Μιχ[αήλ]...παρί. one (**Staurakos**, *Korrekturen*, no. 2) has seen ....Α | ΓΙCΑΡ | ΜΙΧΑ. ,αγίς ἄρ[χον(τος)] Μιχα[ήλ] Λιπαρίτ(ου) and has dated it to the c. In his latest publication, he has accepted my reading (see **Stavrakos**, 49).

... iconography, paleography and content of the inscription, the present bulla is dated 1070s-1080s.

A prosopographical study of the family Liparites in Byzantium under the Komnenoi was published in 2001 (see **Seibt**, *Liparites*, 123-131.)

The information below supplements this research and gives a better picture of this family in the Byzantine empire.

The family Λιπαρίτης has a Georgian princely origin. In the XIth c., certain representatives, enjoying the protection of Byzantium, opposed the central king's power, successfully besides.

1. Liparit Bagvashi, son of Ὁράτιος Λιπαρίτης, waged long feudal war against Bagrat IV (1027-1072). He was proclaimed archon of Meskhia through the mediation of Constantine IX (1042-1055). In 1048, he was at the head of the Ivirion contingent, fighting side by side with the Byzantines against the Seljuks, but was taken prisoner. Subsequently he was ransomed by the Byzantines and returned to Meskhia, where the Meskhetian feudal lords rebelled against him. He was forced to leave Georgia. He took the vows under the name of Anthony and died in Constantinople in 1062/1064 (**Копалиани**, *Византия и Грузия*, 45, 51-56, 59-62).

2. Ἰωάννης Λιπαρίτης, son of Liparit Bagavshi, lived in Constantinople. Isaakios I Komnenos (1057-1059) appointed him governor of the Armenian provinces Ashtean and Arsharunik. In 1059, he returned to Georgia (**Копалиани**, *Византия и Грузия*, c.62 и сл.; **Юзбашян**, *Армянские государства*, 187-188).

3. Niania, another son of Liparit Bagashvi, served to the Byzantines in Ani, where he also died (**Копалиани**, **С. У.** Из истории внешних политических взаимоотношений Грузии (II половина XI c.) - *ТТУ*, 127, 1968, c.160; **Лордкипанидзе**, *Грузия*, c. 63 и сл.).

Others switched over to service in Byzantium (on them, see **Seibt**, *Liparites*, 121-131).

4. Βάρδας Λιπαρίτης is mentioned in anonymous verses from the third quarter of the XIIth c. (*Markianos*, 524, p. 31, no. 64; **Seibt**, *Liparites*, no. 4)

5. Βασίλειος Λιπαρίτης κουροπαλάτης καὶ κριτής, whose signature is under a document of Mamantos monastery dated 1171 (**Eustratiades**, *Mamantos*, 309.23-24; **Seibt**, *Liparites*, no. 3)

Known from seals are the following Liparites:

1. Βασίλειος Λιπαρίτης κριτής, according to his metrical seal found in Dobrudja, dated to the second half of the XIIth c. (see **Secasanu**, **C. C.** Sigilii si tessere bizantine gastite in Dobrogea.- *Rasaritul*, 1938/7-8, p.4. no 1; *SBS*, 5, p.66). He could also be identified with the above judge from 1171.

2. A bulla of Κωνσταντῖνος κομμερκιάριος, whose patronym, according to its publisher, could have also been Λιπαρίτης, is preserved in the Orghidan collection (**Laurent**, *Orghidan*,

no. 248 and **Seibt**, **N. and W.**, *revue*, p. 199, no. 248).

3. A bulla of Μανουήλ Λιπαρίτης ἱατρὸς (on him, see **Staurakos**, *Korrekturen*, p. 42; **Seibt**, *Liparites*, no. 2), which could be dated to the first half of the XIIth c., is preserved in the Fogg A. M. collection no. 406.

4. An unpublished bulla of a certain Νικήτας Κοντολιπαρίτης κουράτωρ, which is dated to the Xth-XIth centuries and could apply to the same family, is also preserved in the same collection (Fogg A. M. no. 2117)

*Obv.* Patriarchal cross on three steps; on either side fleuron and invocation.

*Rev.* + ΝΙΚΙΤ' | Κ8ΡΑΤΟΡ' | Τ'ΚΟΝΤΟ | ΛΙΠΑΡ'

As evident from the above survey, the owner of the present seal Michael Liparites is unknown from the other sources. It is difficult to determine his connection with the above individuals, except that he belonged to this family.

To whom in Anchialos did the proedros Michael Liparites write during the period 1070s-1080s? No definite answer could be given to this question, but certain assumptions could be made on the basis of the overall data on the town and the seals found there.

#### 401A. Βασίλειος Λογαρριαστής (XI c.)

Private collection, Pernik. Find-spot: the stronghold near the village of Popovitsa, Plovdiv region. D. 17-18 (15) 4 mm, 5.79 g. Incomplete but well-preserved imprint.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand). Vertical inscription:

..... || Λ-ΑΟ-С : [Ὁ ἄ(γιος) Νικό]λαος

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

ΛΟΓΑ. | ΙΑCΤΗΝ | RACI.... | CKEΠ..

Λογα[ρ]ιαστῆν Βασι[λείου] σκέπ[οις]

#### 401B. Συμεὼν Λογαριαστής (last quarter of the XI c.)

Private collection (V. Pantelev, Varna). Find-spot: the fortress near the village of Blesna, district of Haskovo. D. 18-16 (13) mm, W. 5.3 g. Incomplete imprint in a good state of preservation.

*Unpublished.*

*Parallels:* Another specimen from the same boulloterion is preserved in the Shaw collection, see **Laurent**, *Bulles metriques*, no. 644.

*Obv.* Inscription of three lines:

— — | .ΩΓΑΡ | .CΤ8C V | ΜΕΩΝ | — —

*Rev.* Inscription of three lines:

| CΦΡΑ | ΓΙCΠΕ | ΛΩ | — —

— — | Λ]ωγαρι[α]στοῦ Συμεὼν σφραγίς πέλω

Two bullae struck in different boulloteria of Symeon Logariastes proedros and katepanos Adrianopolis are preserved in the collections of Stamules (see **Konstantopoulos**, *Stamules*, no. 65) and DO (47. 2.1182, see **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 1, no. 44.4). Which stage of Symeon's career is reflected by our seal: an earlier or a later one? It may well be that the seal

representing Symeon as a private person dates from a later period of his life.

#### 402. Νικήτας Λωβακάς (late XI c.)

Private collection (Nikolai Nikolov from Razgrad). Offered for purchase at the Historical Museum, Shumen.  
Purchased from a person arguing that the bulla was found generally in the Targovishte district. D.14.5-17 (15) 3 mm. Complete and a well-preserved imprint.

*Unpublished.*

*Parallels: Schlumberger, Sig., p.674; Laurent, Bulles metriques, no. 60.*

*Obv.* Inscription of three lines:

- + - | ΓΡΑΦΑΣ | ΣΦΡΑΓΙ | ΖΩ

*Rev.* Inscription of three lines:

ΤΟΝΛΩ | ΡΑΚΑΝΙ | ΚΗΤΑ

+ Γραφὰς σφραγίζω τοῦ Λωβακά Νικήτα

A seal having belonged to another representative of the family is preserved in the Shaw Collection 1355 (no. 1316):

*Obv.* Bust of a military saint.

*Rev.* + ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΟΝCΟΝ | Δ8ΛΟΙΩ | ΤΟΛΩΡ | .ΚΑ

In his study of the cadastral list of proprietors from Thebes, dated XIth c., N. Svoronos addresses the question whether the numerous representatives of the family Λεοβάχος from the manuscript (*Svoronos, Cadastre*, p. 13.3) are not identical with the family Λωβακάς from the seal (*Svoronos, Cadastre*, p. 73. n.7).

#### 403. Ἰωάννης Λοῦλος πατρίκιος (1050s-1060s)

Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 13417. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 21-24(24?)3 mm. W. 6.80 g. Once a good imprint, but now with a chipped upper part.

*Ed. Ъорданов, Преслав, № 79.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin holding a medallion of Christ before her chest. Sigla: .. || Θ̅V  
[Μ(ήτη)ρ] Θ(εο)ῦ.

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

.... | .ΩCΩΔ. | ἸΩΠΡΙΠ. || -Λ8ΛΟ-

[Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δ[ού]λῳ] Ἰω(άννη) π(ατ)ρι(κιω) τ[ῷ] Λούλῳ

To supplement the above publication, I wish to add the new information on the representatives of this family and the dignitaries by the same homonym:

1. An unpublished bulla of the following description is preserved in the Dumbarton Oaks collection (DO. 55. 1. 3142):

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin as above.

*Rev.* + ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ. | ΛΩΙΩΤ. | Λ8Λ.

= + Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δ[ού]λῳ Ἰω(άννη) τ[ῷ] Λούλ[ῳ]

Its dating is generally to the second half of the XIth c.; thus this is perhaps another seal of the same dignitary, but in a later stage of his career, since he is represented as a private

person.

2. Another unpublished bulla is preserved in the Shaw collection 589 (no. 1139).

*Obv.* Bird in face with head turned l.; around it remains of the invocation:

+ ΚΕ...ΤΩ...ΟΝΛΩ

*Rev.* .ΙΩ.. | .ΗΑΝ.. | .ΑΤΡΙΚ'.. | .ΠΑΘ'ΕΠΙΤ | ΧΡVС'ΤΩ | ΛΟV.'

= + Κ(ύρι)ε [β(οή)θ(ει)] τῷ [σῷ δ] ούλῳ Ἰω[άννη] ἀν[θ(υ)π(άτω) π]ατρικ(ίω)  
[β'(πρωτο)σ]παθ(αρίω) ἐπὶ τ(οῦ) χρυσ(οτρικλίνου) τῷ Λού[λ(ω)]

In this case, we cannot be completely positive that it applies to the same person. The seal is earlier in the Xth-XIth c. (with our seal, John Loulou possessed the title patrikios in the middle of the XIth c. at the earliest) and its iconographic subject is different.

3. Another unpublished bulla is preserved in the collection of Fogg Art Museum, no. 3074.

*Obv.* Bust of St. Theodore holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

*Rev.* + ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ. | ΕΟΔΩΡ | ΤΟΛ8Λ'

4. A bulla of Λέων Λοῦλος β'σπαθαροκανδιᾶτος καὶ κόμης, dated to the last quarter of the Xth c., is preserved in the Athens Numismatic Museum (see *Stavrakos*, Famielname, no. 150).

5. The name of a certain Γεώργιος Λοῦλος is reported in a sigilion of Emperor Constantine IV Monomachos from December 1051 regarding the new St. Maria monastery on Chios (see *MM*, V, p.7.29).

6. Νικηφόρος Λοῦλε κληρηκὸς was attested in 1042 (see *Vogel-Gardthausen*, S. 340). It is difficult to say whether the last belonged to the same family.

#### 404. Ὑπάτιος Μαγεντηνὸς βεστάρχης (third quarter of the XI c.)

Private collection. (V. Panteleev, Varna). D. 15-20 (15) 2.5 mm. W. 4.00 g. Complete imprint in a good state of preservation.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* The Virgin standing frontally, holding Christ in her l. arm.

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

+ ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | VΠΑΤΙΩ | ΡΕCΤΑΡΧ' | ΤΩΜΑΓΕ | ΝΤΙΝΟ

+ Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) Ὑπατίῳ βεστάρχη τῷ Μαγεντίνο

An unpublished lead seal of Michael Magentinos, patrician and chartoularios, dated second half of the XIth c. is preserved in the Dumbarton Oaks collection (DO. 58. 106. 1067).

*Obv.* Bust of St. Michael with a scepter and globus. Sigla : M || X.

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΜΙΧΑΗΛ | ΠΡΙΧΤ8 | ΤΟΜΑΓΕΝ | ΤΗΝΟ

It is contemporary to our specimen and presumably there is a connection between the two owners: they are either brothers or relatives.

#### 405. Γεώργιος Μαγγάνης (last quarter of XI c.)

Private collection (Angel Radushev from Sofia). Find-spot: Preslav. D.19-19 (19 ? 2.5 mm. W. 4.62 g. Incomplete imprint but a superb state of preservation.

Unpublished.

Parallels: Another specimen struck in a different boulloterion or a different pair of dies, is preserved in DO.58. 106. 2449.

Obv. Inscription of four lines:

+| CΦPAΓI. | MAKAIΓN. | PICMA T.. | .8MAΓ | . . . .

+| CΦPAΓI' | MAKAIΓNO | PHCMAT' | T8MAN | ΓANH [DO. 58. 106. 2449]

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

ΓΕΩΡΓI | ΟΝΠΕΦV. | .NENΓP. | .AICΛO | . . .

ΓΕΩP | ΓI8ΠΕΦV | ΚΕΝΓΡΑ | ΦΕCΛO | ΓΩN [DO. 58. 106. 2449]

+ Σφράγι[σ]μα καὶ γν[ώ]ρισμα τ[ῶν] τ[οῦ] Μαγ[γάνη] Γεωργίου πέφυ[κε]ν ἐν γρ[αφ]αῖς λό[γων]

A dignitary by these names is known in the narrative sources and from seals:

Γεώργιος Μαγγάνης (1):

In March 1081, during the seige of Constantinople by Alexios Komnenos, the name of George Manges was reported in connection with the negotiations between the Komnenoi and Nikephoros Melissenus. "Nevertheless they [The Komnenoi] further promised to let them know their decision on the matter shortly through George Manges, to whose care they had entrusted the ambassadors...However, on the appointed day the envoys were informed of their decision...they [the envoys] asked for written confirmation in a chrysobull (with purple ink).... Alexius, the new emperor, consented and immediately summoned George Manges who served him as secretary, and ordered him to draw up this chrysobull." (*Alexiade*, II, 89.1-2, 20-25; 92.30-93.16; *Alexiade* tr. **Daves**, 61-62,64)

The name of a certain George proedros or protoproedros dikaiophylax and quaestor is reported in a document dated 1082 (**Zacharia**, *JUS*, 3, p. 350.16-18; 352. 2). According to Gautier, he could be George Manges (see **Gautier**, *Blachernes*, p.256, n. 65).

The protoproedros George Manges also assisted at a session of the Synod in Blacherna in 1094 (see **Gautier**, *Blachernes*, p.218. 8; 256, no. 32).

Γεώργιος Μαγγάνης (2):

The protonobelissimos and quaestor George Manges also assisted at a session of the Synod of January 1170 (see **Petit**, *Documents*, p. 479.23-24 ; **Sakkos**, p.332-333.30-1).

Obviously, here we are dealing with two different individuals whose careers developed in the last quarters of the XIth and XIIth centuries.

Known are several groups of seals bearing the name of George Manges, preserved in the Dumbarton Oaks collection:

1. An unpublished bulla from DO. 58. 106. 15:

Obv. TONT' | CΦPAΓI | ΔOCΔECΠO | THNΦP8 | PEIΔOΓ

Rev. ΓΕΩP | PΓIONCON | OIKETHNTON | MAΓΓA | NHN

= Τὸν τ(ῆς) σφραγίδος δεσπότην τὴν φρουρεῖ λόγ(ε) Γεώργιον σὸν οἰκέτην τὸν Μαγγάνην

2. Another unpublished bulla from DO. 58. 106. 1236, the proper name is lacking, but it could also have belonged to George Manges. The following is inscribed on its both sides:

Obv. .ΦPAΓ | .AΦΩN | ΠΕΦV | KA

Rev. TΩN | TOVM | ΓΓAN | -H-

[Σ]φραγ(ίς) [γρ]αφῶν πέφυκα τῶν τοῦ Μαγγάνη

3. The third group consists of unpublished seals from Shaw 1356 (1913) and Vienna MK 428, dated to the end of the XI c. The proper name is lacking too, but they could also have belonged to George Manges.

Obv. Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

Rev. AΘΛHT. | CΩZET. | ΓPAΦHN | T8MAΓ | ΓANH

'Αθλητ[ά] σῶζε τ[ῆν] γραφὴν τοῦ Μαγγάνη

4. Unpublished seals from DO. 58. 106. 1916 and IFEB, no. 161:

Obv. ..MHN | ΓENOCKAI | ΚΛHCINHC | ΦPAΓIC | ΦΕPEI

Rev. ΝΩ.. | ΛΛICIMO. | MAΓΓANH | ΓΕΩPΓI | ΟV

[Τι]μήν γένος καὶ κλῆσιν ἡ σφραγὶς φέρει νω[βε]λλισίμο[υ] Μαγγάνη Γεωργίου

5. DO. 58. 106. 5127, an unpublished bulla of the following text on both sides:

Obv. ...AΦ.. | ..PAΓIZ. | .AΓΓANHΓ. | ΩPΓIOV

Rev. ..EIA. | ONTOC... | TONΩRE... | CIMΩN

[+Γρ]αφ[ὰς] σφ[ραγίδος] M[αγγάνη] Γ[εωργίου] [ἀ]ξία[ς] οντος πρω[τονωβε]λλισίμων

6. In **Zacos**, *Seals*, I, p. 1510.a is mentioned an unpublished seal:

Obv. Σφραγὶς σεβαστοῦ Μαγγάνη Γεωργίου

Rev. ἐξ εὐλαβείας οὐ φέρει θεῖον τύπον

7. In the *Seyrig* collection, no. 495.

Obv. St. George standing holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground.

Rev. + OΔOV | ΔOCTOVC | ERAΦ8ΓΕΩ | ΓIOCOMAG. | .: NHC

+ 'Ο δοῦλος τοῦ σεβαστοῦ Γεώργιος ὁ Μαγ[γ](ά)νης

Do they apply to one or more individuals? The first three seals are dated to the late XIth c. and could be associated with the person of George Manges, close associate of Alexios I Komnenos. The other four are dated to the XIIth c. and could be associated with George Manges, who lived in the second half of the XIIth c. They supplement the information on his person. With the first group, he is nobelissimos, and with the other, he is protonobelissimos, and with third he is already sebastos. Indeed, the seal of George Manges in his capacity as sebastos has been dated by the publishers to the end of the XIth c., but there is no evidence for that. In 1094 George Manges was protoproedros until the end of the XIth c. There is practically no time remaining for him to have been promoted to the rank of sebastos, and generally the sebastoi under Alexios I Komnenos are known and they were basically members of the imperial family.

Seals of other representatives of the family Manges with the view of the future prosopography:

The etymology of the family Manges is usually associated with the name of the neighborhood τὰ Μάγγανα or the monastery Μονὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Γεωργίου τῶν Μαγγάνων in Constantinople, but it is likewise possible to find a connection with the verb μαγγανεύω meaning to deceive by artistic means or play trickery, as hinted by Ann Komnene when she reports the name of George Manges (see *Alexiade*, I, p. 90.2-3).

1. Joanikios Manges imp. spatharokandidatos and vestes (X-XI c.), according to an unpublished specimen from DO. 77. 34. 82.

Obv. Traces of unclear image. Circular inscription: ΘΚΕΡΟΗΘ.Ι.ΩCΩΔΟΝΑΩ

Rev. + ΙΩAN | HK'R'CIΠAΘK | ANΔ'SRECT' | T'M..ΓA'

2. John Manges:



a. sebastos from Rome! XII c., according to an unpublished seal from Fogg A.M., no. 413.

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion. Sigla :  $\overline{MP}$  ||  $\overline{\Theta V}$ .

*Rev.* + | CΦP.ΓICCE | RA<sup>ϥ</sup>.ΜΑΓΚΑ. | 8CΙΩΡΙΖΑΝΓΕ | NOVCEXONTO. | ΕΙΟΧ8ΡΩ  
| ..C

b. a private person, XII c., according to an unpublished bulla from Fogg A.M., no. 1931.

*Obv.* TONTHC | .CΦΡΑΓΙΑ' | .CEΠOTHN | ΦP8PEI | ΛOΓE

*Rev.* TONCON | .KETHN | .ΩΜΑΓ | ΓΑΝΗΝ

3. Constantine Manges:

a. private person, XII c., according to an unpublished seal from Fogg A.M. no. 357.

*Obv.* : | +ΕΠΙ | CΦΡΑΓ'ΜΑ | ΠΡΑΞΕΩΝ | ΤΕΣΛΟ | -Γ'-

*Rev.* -- | οΤΟVo | ΜΑΓΓΑΝΙ | Τ8ΤΥΓΧΑ | ΝΩΚΩΝ

b. a private person, XII c., according to an unpublished seal from Shaw 1357 (1388).

*Obv.* ΓΡΑΦ' | CΦΡΑ | ΓΙΖΩ

*Rev.* ΜΑΓ | ΓΑΝΗΝ | ΚΩΝ

c. a private person, XI-XII c., according to an unpublished seal from DO. 55. 1. 3883.

*Obv.* Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand).

*Rev.* + | ΓΡΑΦΑΣ | CΦΡΑΓΙΖΩ | ΜΑΓΓΑΝΗ | ΚΩΝCΤΑΝ | ΤΙΝΟΝ

4. Michael Manges proedros, end of the XI c., **Seibt, Zarnitz**, S. 141.

5. Theodore Manges, a private person, dated between 1150 and 1180, see **Seibt, Zarnitz**, no. 3.3.5..

5. Christophoros Manges, a private person, XI c., according to his seal found in the region of Danubien, see **Maksimovic Popovic**, 125-126, no. 13.

#### 406. Λέων Μάγνης βεστιάριος

Private collection (S. Pantelev from Varna). Unknown origin. Dimensions: 15-20 (12) 2.5 mm. W. 3.40 g.  
Slight and incomplete imprint. Bulla in a poor state of preservation.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Poorly-preserved bust of a saint with curly hair?

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΛΕΟΝΤ | ... ΤΙΑ | Ρ'Τ'ΜΑΓ | ΝΙΩ

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Λέοντ(ι) [βεσ]τιαρ(ίω) τ(ῶ) Μαγνίω

Due to the poor preservation of the imprint, the reading is insecure. Uncertain is also the supposed family name, for which reason we do not offer any commentary.

#### 407. Χριστοφόρος Μαδαρίτης Δαλασηνός (XIII-XIV c.)

Archaeological Museum, Plovdiv, no. 3389. Found in Mali Bogdan Str. on 28th May 1951. D.29-31 (29?) 3 mm. Incomplete imprint; many letters are left out of the blank. The surface of the bulla is well preserved. The characters are disproportionate, sometimes going into the lower line, inscribed with graphics and ligatures, reminding of shorthand. All that renders the overall reading difficult and insecure.

*Ed. Jordanov*, Plovdiv, no. 39.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Inscription of six lines:

.....| .ΩΝ..ΡΑΓΙ. | ΜΑΤΩΝΧΡΙC | .ΟΦΟΡΟΥΠΙΑ | ΤΡΟΘΕΝΜΑΔ | ΑΡΙΤΟΝ | ΜΕΝ

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

..... | ΗΤΡΟΘΕΝΤ | ΟΝΔΑΛΑCΗ | ΝΩΝΕΚΓΕΝΟ | CΚΑΤΗΓΜ | ΕΝΟΝ

[ Κύριος τ]ῶν [σφ]ραγι[σ]μά των Χρισ[τ]οφόρου

πατρόθεν Μαδαρίτου μέν [καὶ μ]ητρόθεν

τοῦ Δαλασηνῶν ἐκ γένους κατηγμένου

The above characteristics date the seal generally to the period XIIIth-XIVth c. The owner of the seal Χριστοφόρος Μαδαρίτης Δαλασηνός is unknown from the narrative sources.

#### 408. Στέφανος Μαλεῖνος (late XI c.)

Historical Museum, Pernik, no. 930. Found in the course of excavations in the fortress, 3.07.1973, sq. IX 95, depth. 0.20 m. D. 15.5-16 (13) 3 mm. Once a good imprint, but now in a poor state of preservation, mostly the rev. with the text.

*Ed. Юркова*, Перник, 130-131.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion of Christ on her breast. Sigla:  $\overline{M}$  ||  $\overline{\Theta}$  :  
Μ(ήτηρ) Θ(εοῦ).

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

+ ΘΚΕ | CΚΕΠΟΙC | ΜΕ CΤΕΦΑ | ΝΤ..ΜΑ | .....Ν

+ Θ(εοτό)κε σκέποις με Στέφαν(ον) τ[ὸν] Μα[λεῖνο]ν

Due to the obliteration in the last two lines of the text, the overall reading presents certain problems.

The publisher, J. Youroukova, has accepted the following reading: CΤΕΦΑ | ΝΘΕCΜΑ | ...NON= Στέφαν(ον) Θεσ(αλονικέα) Μα[λεῖ]νον.

A closer scrutiny of the bulla will not corroborate the suggested restoration of the missing letters. This calls for a more detailed analysis.

The first letter of line 4, though preserved in outline, is N. Visible from the second one is only its upper part, which could be T, Ξ or Z, but by no means Θ. Two letters at the most could fit in the next free space, and the line ends up with the well-preserved MA. The only certain letter in the following line 5 is the last one, N.

It is difficult to accept that after the homonym Στέφαν(ον), the sobriquet Θεσ(αλονικέως) is inscribed with only three letters ΤΕC. Θεσαλονικέως is always written with Θ, besides, I am not familiar with a case where the sobriquet and the patronym are inscribed together on the same seal.

Taking into consideration the preserved letters and the whole text of the seal, it is more likely that after the homonym Στέφαν(ον), the definite article τὸν and the patronym Μαλεῖνον are inscribed, thus making the text normal and grammatically correct.

The owner of the seal affixed to the correspondence to an unknown addressee in the Pernik fortress is Στέφανος Μαλεῖνος. Its dating is generally to the last quarter of the XIth c. An individual or individuals bearing these names are known in the narrative sources from the second half of the XIth c.:

1. A certain Στέφανος Μαλεῖνος ἐκ προσώπου ἐν θέματι Καλαβρίας is mentioned in a document regarding interior Italy, whose dating is not very precise but nevertheless assigned to 1044, (**Falkenhausen**, *Suditalien*, 102, no. 85; 141, no. 105).

2. A proasteion formerly in the possession of a certain Στέφανος Θεσσαλονικέως τοῦ Μαλεῖνου is reported in a chrysobull of the Lavra from 1084 (*Actes Lavra*, I, no 45.8).

Before trying to determine whether the owner of the seal from Pernik could be identified with any of the above individuals, we should survey the known members of this family.

Most investigators tend to accept that it is a non-Byzantine family, relating its origin to the theme Charsianon (see **Moritz**, *Zunamen*, I, S. 734; **Лопарев**, BBp., 4, 1897, c. 359). Its representatives are attested as early as the Xth c. One of the daughters of Μανουήλ Μαλεῖνος was wife of Bardas Phokas and mother of the future Emperor Nikephoros Phokas. Another representative of the family πατρίκιος Κωνσταντῖνος Μαλεῖνος was Bardas Phokas' brother-in-arms during his tenure in Cappadocia (*Military Treatises*, p. 148.39-40).

According to the Arabian sources, the possessions of the Maleinoi occupied a large area of over 115 km from Claudiopolis to the river Sangari (**Honigmann**, E. Un itineraire arabe a travers le Pont.- *Annuaire de l'Institut de philol. et d'hist. orientale et slave*, 5, 1936, 268-271). Μάγιστρος Εὐστάθιος Μαλεῖνος was a renowned military commander under Emperor Basil II. He had a private estate in Charsianon. The size and amount of his wealth astonished the emperor, and it was confiscated when Εὐστάθιος Μαλεῖνος was accused of conspiracy (**Skylitzes**, 318, 332, 334).

Representatives of the family Μαλεῖνος from the mid-Xth c. are also attested in Italy. One of them, Γεώργιος Μαλεῖνος πρωτοσπαθάριος, belonged to the aristocracy of Calabria (**Falkenhausen**, *Suditalien*, S. 141).

Known from seals are the following:

1. Γεώργιος Μαλεῖνος ? ἀσηκρήτις from the Xth-XIth c. (see no. 409 below).

2. Κωνσταντῖνος Μαλεῖνος :

a. δισύπατος, according to an unpublished specimen in the Hermitage, M-1899, see **Seibt**, *Bleisiegel*, S. 274, n.1);

b. πατρίκιος, according to two specimens from MK 431 and DO. 58. 106. 5005 (see **Seibt**, *Bleisiegel*, no. 142);

c. βέστης, according to an unpublished seal from DO. 58. 106. 1897:

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion. Sigla :  $\overline{M}$  ||  $\overline{\Theta}$ .

*Rev.* ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΚΩΝΡΕC | ΤΙΤΟΜΑ | ΛΕΙΝΟ

d. and κουροπαλάτης (**Laurent**, *Vatican*, no. 40; **Idem**, *Orghidan*, no. 112). They are dated to the middle to the late XIth c.

3. Λέων Μαλεῖνος :

a. βεστάρχης, according to an unpublished specimen from the Zacos collection, III, no 1552:

*Obv.* Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

*Rev.* ΛΕΟΝΤ' | RECTAP | ΤΟΜΑΛΕ | ΝΟ

b. πρόεδρος according to an unpublished specimen in DO. 58.106.2387.

*Obv.* Bust of St. Michael holding a scepter (r. hand) and a globus (l. hand). Sigla M-I || X-A

*Rev.* ΛΕΩΝ | Α'Α'ΕΔΡΟC | ΟΜΑΛΕ | ΙΝΟC

They are dated generally to the last quarter of the XIth c.

4. Μιχαήλ Μαλεῖνος, a private person from the second half of the XIth c. (according to unpublished specimens in DO. 58.106.5543 and Zacos, III, no 1522/5, on the latter, see **Seibt**, *Bleisiegel*, S. 274, n.6).

5. Νικήτας Μαλεῖνος ὑπάτος καὶ στρατηγός from the mid-XIth c. (**Szemioth-Wasilewski**, no. 63).

6. Νικηφόρος Μαλεῖνος:

a. πρόεδρος, according to an unpublished specimen in DO. 58.106.3229.

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin holding Christ on her l. arm. Sigla  $\overline{MP}$  ||  $\overline{\Theta V}$ .

*Rev.* ΘΚΕΡΟ | ΗΘΝΙΚΗΦΟ | ΡΩΠΡΟΕΔΡΩΩΜΑ | ΛΕ..ΝΩ

b. a private person, according to an unpublished specimen in the Zacos collection, III, no 1554:

*Obv.* The Virgin, holding Christ on r. arm.

*Rev.* .ΝΚΕ | .VΛΑΤΕ | .ΙΚΗΦΟΡ | .ΟΝΜΑ | .ΕΗΝ

They are dated to the last quarter of the XIth c.

It is impossible to determine with certainty whether the owner of the seal from Pernik could be identified with the above-listed Στέφανος Μαλεῖνος (1) and Στέφανος Μαλεῖνος (2). Besides its branch in Asia Minor, this family also had one in Italy. As for Στέφανος Θεσσαλονικεὺς ὁ Μαλεῖνος, we cannot say with any certitude either. His social status is unclear, except that he was a land owner.

From the seals with the family name Maleinos presented above, it is clear that almost all representatives lived in the second half of the XIth c. It is possible that a certain Stephanos unknown from the narrative sources was among them.

#### 409. Γεώργιος Μαλεῖνος ? ἀσηκρήτις (XI c.)

Historical Museum, Shumen, no. 13580. Offered for purchase by N. Georgiev from Shumen, which suggests an origin from northeastern Bulgaria (Preslav or Silistra). D.17.5-18 (16.6) 2.5 mm. W. 4.16 g.. Well-centered, but indistinct imprint. The reading of the patronym is problematic. From the insecure letters ΤΩΜΑ | .Η.ΟΝ, various names are possible to read.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Inscription of four lines:

+ ΚΕΡ. | ΗΘΕΙΤΩ | CΩΔ8ΟV | ΛΩ

*Rev.* -- | ΓΕΟΡΓ | ΑCHKPH | .ΤΩΜΑ | .Ι.ΟΝ

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β[ο]ήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Γεοργ(ίῳ) ἀσηκρή[τ(η)] τῷ Μα[λε]ῖ[ν]ον

If the reading is correct, a connection could be sought with Γεώργιος Μαλεῖνος πρωτοσπαθάριος who belonged to Calabrian aristocracy. (**Falkenhausen**, *Suditalien*, S. 141).

#### 410-411. Ἰωάννης Μαλέας πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγός Περσθλάβας or Περσθλαβίτζας (first half of the XI<sup>th</sup> century)

a. Archaeological Museum, Preslav, no. 21552. Find-spot: strategia of Preslav. D.24-25 (22) 3 mm. W. 8.80 g. Well-preserved bulla.

*Ed.* Йорданов, Преслав, № 308; **Jordanov**, G. *Names*, no. 63.4a.

b. Archaeological Museum, Preslav, no. 28625. Find-spot: strategia of Preslav. D.25-26 (22) 3 mm. Well-preserved bulla.

*Ed.* Йорданов, Преслав, № 308a; **Jordanov**, G. *Names*, no. 63.4b.

*The two specimens were struck with the same die.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand). Vertical inscription in two columns : Θ-NI-KO || ΛΑ-OC : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Νικόλαος

*Rev.* Inscription of seven lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8' | ἸΩΑ'CΠΑΘ'S | CΤΡΑΤΙΓ' | ΠΕPCΘΛ'Ρ' | Τ.ΜΑΛΕ | -Α-  
+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δού(λω) Ἰω(άννη) (πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίω) (καὶ)  
στρατηγ(ῶ) Περσθλ(ά)β(ας) τ[ῶ] Μαλέα

The problems in the preceding publication were connected with the patronym. We have supposed that the available letters mean a wrongly written patronym Μαλέσης. Now, in the light of the new finds, since we have an officer named Ἰωάννης Μαλέσης holding a different title, and the subject of iconography is different, and there is some supplementary data, we have to reconsider the problems.

There are two problems: the toponym and the patronym. In the light of the new configuration between Preslav and Preslavitzza, i. e. their identification, the toponym could be Περσθλάβας or Περσθλαβίτζας. The available letters ΜΑΛΕ|Α could be read as a patronym Μαλέα but Μαλέα(νω) is also possible.

The unpublished Zacos collection of seals with family names contains a seal (Zacos, III, no. 1496) of the following description:

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin.

*Rev.* |+ ἸΩΑ|CΠΑΘ'Ω|ΜΑΛΕ|ΑC

Two specimens struck with the same die are preserved in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (DO 58. 106. 1198 and DO 58. 106. 4973). Their description is the following:

*Obv.* Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand).

*Rev.* + ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ἸΩΠΡΩΤ | ΠΡΟΕΔΡ | ΟΤΟΜΑΛΗ | ΑΝΟ

Probably they reflect an earlier or later stage in the career of the strategos of Preslav or Preslavitzza.

#### 412. Ἰωάννης Μαλέσης πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς Περσθλαβίτζας (1030s-1040s)

Historical Museum, Silistra, no. 87. Found on the bank of the Danube near Silistra by Al. Boev. D. 20-30 mm; field 24 mm; thickness 2.5 mm. A half from originally excellent imprint.

*Ed.* Йорданов, Силистра, IV, № 5; *Jordanov, G. Names*, no. 63.5.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Busts of two military saints facing. St. Theodore (on l.) holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Inscription above head: ΘΕΟΔΟΡ. Visible on r. is a portion of the nimbus, short curly hair and spear of another military saint, probably St. George, because his name is inscribed: Θ | Γ | Ε | .... : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Γε[ώργιος]

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

...ΠΑ | ....CΤΡΑ | ....ΕCΘΛΑ | ...ZACO | ..ΕCΙ  
[+ Ἰω(άννης)] πα[τρίκ(ιος) (καὶ)] στρα[τ(η)γ(ὸς) Πρ]εσθλαβίτζας ὁ  
[Μα]λέσι(ς)

Several other seals which belonged to this dignitary are known in the literature. Another specimen is found in the strategia of Preslav having the same description as the one presented here but without a toponym which also specifies the career of this dignitary (see below no.

413). He was a strategos of Preslavitzza during the 1020s-1040s.

#### 413. Ἰωάννης Μαλέσης πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς (1030s-1040s)

Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 17575. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 26-29 (23) 4 mm. W. 16.20 g. Unsuccessful imprint. There is displacement between the *Obv.* and *Rev.* due to looseness of the boulloterion, but nevertheless they are within the frame of the blank. One third of the *Rev.* die is not printed and, in addition, the surface of the bulla is corroded by oxide seats. The restoration of the text is based on the parallel cited below.

*Ed.* Йорданов, Преслав, № 359.

*Parallels:* Another specimen struck in the same boulloterion was found in the village of Derwent on the bank of the Danube, see *Barnea*, Deux gouverneurs, 245-247.

*Obv.* Busts of two military saints facing. St. Theodore (at l.) holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). No details visible. No inscriptions containing their names visible.

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

+ ἸΩ | ...PHK | ....ATH | ...OM. | ..C I  
+ Ἰω(άννης) [πατ]ρίκ(ιος) [(καὶ)] στρα[τηγ(ὸς)] ὁ Μ[αλέ]σι(ς)

A bulla of the same dignitary with the same iconographic subject and text, but containing the toponym Preslavitsa was found in Silistra (see no.412 above).

#### 414. Ν., Μαλέσης πρωτοσπαθάριος-ὑπατος καὶ στρατηγὸς (XI c.)

Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 22171. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 21-23 (over 22) 3.7 mm. W. 10.82 g. Poorly-preserved specimen, covered with thick crusts of lead oxide. The blank is rough, not additionally shaped. The imprint is incomplete. All that renders the reading difficult. The patronym is also uncertain. It could be Μα[λέ]ση, but also Μα[νά]ση. I favour the former possibility, since other seals of the Malesai were also found in the Strategia of Preslav.

*Ed.* Йорданов, Преслав, № 481.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Completely obliterated surface.

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

..... | .CΠΑ ΘΥ. | .SCTPA. | .ΩΜΑ.. | - CH -  
[.....(πρωτο)]σπαθ(αρίω) ὑ[π(ά)τ(ω)] (καὶ) στρα[τ(ηγῶ) τ]ῷ Μα[λέ]ση

#### 415-417. Μιχαήλ Μαναστρᾶς πρωτοβεστιάριος or πρωτοβέστης (late XI c.)

Private collection. I had the opportunity of a short-time examination resulting in uncertainty in the reading of some letters, e.g. whether the patronym is Μαναστρᾶς or Μοναστρᾶς. Unknown origin. Approximately in the same good state of preservation. D. 17-18, 17-19 and 18.5-19 mm.

*The three specimens are from the same boulloterion.*

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with no medallion. Sigla:  $\overline{M} || \overline{\Theta}$  : M(ήτηρ) Θ(εοῦ).

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΜΙΧΑΗΛ | Α'Ρ'ΤΩΜΑ | ΝΑΨΡΑ | C

+ Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) Μιχαήλ (πρωτο)β(εστιαρίω) τῷ Μοναστρᾷς

The abbreviation Α'Ρ' for (πρωτο)β(εστιαρίω) or (πρωτο)β(έστη) presents a certain problem in the reading of the text. I have accepted the former possibility, bearing in mind the parallel with the seal of Theophanes protovestiarios (see *Йорданов, Преслав*, 27-28), but the latter possibility should not be ruled out either. Still, the ligature writing of C+T=Ψ is typical for the end of the XIth c. and the beginning of the XIIth c., which is an argument for a later dating of the seal, when the title protovestiarios was out of use.

#### 418-419. Μιχαήλ Μοναστρᾷς (XI c.)

a. National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 24133. Unspecified origin. D.15-16 (15) 2.5 mm. Well-centered but a low-relief imprint, as a result some letters are indistinct. It is quite possible that they were subsequently damaged.

Unpublished.

b. Historical Museum, Shumen, no. Unspecified origin, but generally from Northeastern Bulgaria (Provadia?). D.15-16 (15) 2.5 mm.

Unpublished.

Both specimens are from the same boulloterion.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Michael facing, with nimbus, wings and ruler's insignia. He holds a scepter (r. hand) and a globus cruciger (l. hand).

Rev. Inscription of three lines:

+ ΜxH | oMoNA | CTPAC

+ Μηχ(αήλ) ὁ Μοναστρᾷς

The paleography of the letters of the text is quite characteristic. Due to obliteration of the second letter of the patronym, we are not sure of its writing Μοναστρᾷς or Μαναστρᾷς. The seal belonged to Michael Monastras as a private person. The above seal, where he is protovestiarios, presumably also belonged to him. No such person is mentioned in the narrative sources.

The type of the seal, its iconography and paleography point to a late-XIth-century dating. In the Alexiad of Anna Komnene, the name of the half-caste Monastras (Μοναστρᾷς) is mentioned several times as one of the military commanders and brothers-in-arms of Emperor Alexios I.

I will briefly go through the events in which he took part (see *Skoulatos, Personages*, no. 139):

In 1090, Further Monastras, Uzas and Synesius who were brave followers of Ares, also arrived at Rusium disabled too, after having traversed the district then called Asprum (see *Alexiade*, II, 120.14-17; *Alexiade* tr. *Dawes*, p. 189).

On 29th April 1091, along with his soldiers, he fought the battle against the Pechenegs at Lebunium, occupying the place to the right of the Cumans (then Byzantium's allies) in the battle formation "On the extreme right of the Cumans stood Monastras with his men under arms" (see *Alexiade*, II, 141.16-17; *Alexiade* tr. *Dawes*, p. 203).

In 1095, at the time of the Cumans' invasion, Monastras (Anna Komnene adds that this

semi-barbarian who had picked much military experience) along with Michael Anemas were put under Katakalon Euphorbenus Constantine's command and received an order to attack the Cumans as soon as they went through the passes of Zygom. During the same campaign Uzas (a Sarmatian), Karatzas (a Scyth) and the semi-barbarian Monastras were also assigned the important role of deceiving the Cumans about the strength of the Byzantine army (see *Alexiade*, II, 194.16; 204.8).

It strikes that very often in military campaigns, he is together with the other barbarian leaders, and most often with Uzas.

During the siege of Nicaea, captured by the Seljuks in 1096, he was taken prisoner together with Radomir. Anna Komnene specifies once again about Monastras that he was a semi-barbarian and understood the Turkish dialect. They managed to persuade the Turks that they would be ransomed by the emperor and released (see *Alexiade*, III, 14.11; 15.1,29; *Alexiade* tr. *Dawes*, 274-275).

In 1103, he was dispatched together with other soldiers to Cilicia to oppose Bohemund of Tarent's intentions. First he was under Manuel Boutoumites' command, and when the latter returned to Constantinople, Monastras was left with a large army to guard these territories (see *Alexiade*, III, 41.20-21,27-28).

In 1104, he was dispatched at the head of an army and Kantakouzenos at the head of a fleet with the task to retrieve Laodikeia from Bohemond. After the capture of Laodikeia, Monastras leading a cavalry occupied the whole of Cilicia (see *Alexiade*, III, 56.24-25).

In 1112, he was reported as governor of Pergamos and the region. The safety of the Orient was entrusted to him and other local strategoi (see *Alexiade*, III, 154.224-25).

In 1113, he took part in the Seljuks' rout by the Byzantine army led by the emperor at Acrocos. Monastras together with Constantine Gabras were in command of the advance guard of the Byzantines (see *Alexiade*, III, 169.1).

This is the last information about Monastras. This warrior, a semi-barbarian, had taken active part in the military campaigns of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos for more than twenty-three years. His career developed from a leader of a group of soldiers to a commander in charge of whole military campaigns and governor of problem-causing regions of the Empire. He was not only a warrior, but also a diplomat.

The question of interest to us is whether the owner of the two groups of seals presented here could be identified with Monastras from the Alexiad.

Considering Anna Komnene's manner of writing, she usually mentions the personages of her work by their patronyms or characteristic names, even in cases when they are Byzantines. And when they are barbarians, she usually reports them by their pagan names, in spite of the fact that service to the Empire involved obligatory baptism and adoption of Christian names, thus leaving the pagan ones as patronyms.

It is possible that the owner of the presented seal was a nomad who had switched over to service in the Empire. At his christening he received the name of St. Michael, whom he presented as his patron. If we accept that the owner of the two groups of seals is one and the same person, his office of protovestiarios fits well into his career. During his late active military service, he could have been granted this honorary office as the emperor's confidant.

We cannot say with certitude whether Michael Monastras and Monastras from the Alexiad are identical. It is a fact, however, that for a long period of his life Michael Monastras maintained correspondence with addressees residing or sojourning in the Bulgarian lands.

#### 420. Γεώργιος Μανιάκης (second half of XI c.)

Private collection. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 17-17 mm. Well-preserved imprint.

*Unpublished.*

*No exactl parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription:  
-ΓΕ || ΟΡ-Γ : [Ο ἄγιος] Γεώργιος).

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

ΚΕΡΟΗΘ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8' | ΓΕΩΡΓΙΩ | ΤΩΜΑΝΙ | .ΚΙ  
Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ει) τῷ σῷ δού(λ)ω Γεωργίω τῷ Μανιάκι

A seal of the same dignitary, but from a different boulloterion, participated in the auctions:  
Hirsh, 212, 22-24. 11. 2000, no. 678; Classical Numism. Group 37, 20.03. 1996, no. 2666;  
22-25.05. 1999, no. 1174; **Stavrakos**, Maniakes, p. 103, no. 3.

*Obv.* Bust of St. George, as above.

*Rev.* ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΓΕΩΡΓΙ. | ΤΩΜΑΝ. | ΑΚΗ

The owner of the seal is George Maniakes, a personage well known in the narrative sources to need any commentary.

Here is the outline of his life course. Ca. 1030 he was a strategos of Telouch, then in his capacity as patrikios he was a katepano of Edessa and from 1035 a katepano of Vaspurakan (see **Skylitzes**, 381.38-39; 387.87; 397.49-52). In 1037, he was sent by Emperor Michael IV to Longobardia in his capacity as magistros and strategos-autokrator. He fell into disgrace with Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (1042-1059) and was recalled, but instead of returning he organized a rebellion and in the following year 1043 he was killed in battle (on him and his rebellion, see **Falkenhausen**, *Suditalien*, S. 97; **Ostrogorsky**, *Geschichte*, S. 275; **Шандровская**, Васпуракан, 155-156; ODB, p. 1285).

It seems, however, that he was not the only one bearing these names in the XIth c. Γεώργιος Μανιάκης πρωτοσπαθάριος is known to have lived in the region of Tiva in the late XIth c. (see **Svoronos**, *Cadastre*, p. 12.35, p.69).

Several groups of seals connected with the person of George Maniakes are known:

1. πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ ἀρχηγέτης τῆς Ἀνατολῆς, according to a lead seal from DO. 58. 106. 3689 (see *DOS*, 3, no. 99.1.)

2. πατρίκιος καὶ κατεπάνω Βασπρακανίας

a. according to a seal offered at the auctions : Künker (Osnabruck), sale 20 (30.09.-02.10. 1991), no. 1089; Münz Zentrum Köln, 73, (22-24. 04. 1992, no. 2056:

*Obv.* Bust of St. George, as above.

*Rev.* ..... | .ΠΙΣΚ. | . ΕΠΑΝ. | ΠΡΑΚΑ. | ΟΜΑΝΙ | ΑΚ

= [Γεωργίω π(ατ)]ρι(κίω) (καὶ) κ[ατ]επάν(ω) [Βασ]πρακκ[αν(ίας) τ]ο  
Μανιάκ(η)

b. according to two lead seals from the private collection of W. Seibt (see *SBS*, 3, p.189, no. 1089) and Zacos, III (**Cheyne**t, Zacos, III, no. 274):

*Obv.* The Virgin standing facing, holding the infant Christ on her left arm.

*Rev.* + ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8Λ' | ΓΕΩΡΓ'ΠΡΠ' | SKATEΠΑΝ | ΡΑCΠΡ'ΚΑΝ | ΤΩΜΑΝΗ  
| -ΑΚ-

= +Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δούλ(ω) Γεωργ(ίω) π(ατ)ρ(ικίω) (καὶ)  
κατεπάν(ω) Βασπρ(α)καν(ίας) τῷ Μανηάκ(η)

Its publisher assumes that it is a seal of the same George Maniakes, when he was a katepano of Vaspurakan. The only inconsistency in all these hypotheses is that a similar way of writing the title ΠΡΠ= π(ατ)ρ(ικίω), according to my observations, is found in the mid-XIth c. at the earliest, thus making it impossible to identify George Maniakes katepano of Vaspurakan in 1035.

3. a further group of seals is connected with the person of this notorious general and rebel (see **Schlumberger**, *Inedite*, V, no. 294). According to **Konstantopoulos**' careful reading of Ἡ σφραγὶς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Γεωργίου Μανιάκη.- *EEBS*, 9, 1932, 123-127, the name of George Maniakes cannot be deciphered in it and it refers to a protokouropalates. From the facsimile of Konstantopoulos' publication, it is evident that the seal should be attributed to the period XIth-XIIth c. and that it really has nothing to do with the person of the rebel of 1042.

It is clear that some other George Maniakes existed in the XIth c., and specifically in its second half, when our seal is dated. According to its iconography and dating, it is very close to no. 2, or perhaps belonged to same person.

The seal, where he is protospatharios and archegetes of the Orient (no. 1), could with greater certitude be associated with the person of George Maniakes.

For the rest of the representatives of the family Maniakai, see no. 422A here.

#### 421. Ἰωσήφ Μανιάκης τουρμάρχης τῶν Μογλενῶν (XIth century)

Historical Museum, Stara Zagora, no. 10C3-1. D. 26-29 mm; field 25 mm; thickness 4 mm. Good imprint but on the reverse slightly doubled because of the slipping of the blank.

*Ed.* **Йорданов**, Брое, № 6; **Jordanov**, *G. Names*, no. 50.1.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand). Vertical inscription in two columns: Θ-NI-KO || Λ-AO-C : Ο ἄγιος Νικόλαος.

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

- ο - | +ΙΩCΗΦ | Τ8ΡΜΑΡ | Χ'ΤΩΝΜΟ | ΓΛΕΝΩΝ | ΤΟΜΑΝΙ | ΑΚΗ  
+ Ἰωσήφ τουρμάρχ(η) τῶν Μογλενῶν το Μανιάκη

In the narrative sources, a person bearing this name is not reported. This seal is the only sphragistic source with the toponym of Moglena. The toponym Μογλενῶν and the patronym Μανιάκης are the starting points for our investigation.

The toponym Μογλενῶν was mentioned above.

Ἰωσήφ ὁ Μανιάκης τουρμάρχης τῶν Μογλενῶν probably was born in the famous family Μανιάκης which was of importance for the development of the Empire during the XIth-XIIIth century. But we cannot rule out another possibility. Anna Komnena wrote that before the battle at Levunium in 1091 a big army of Cumans joined the emperor together with its tribal leaders and one of them was called Μανιακ (see *Alexiade*, II, p. 136.18, 26).

It is possible that this Μανιακ went on to work in the Byzantine army and he was converted and given a Christian name Ἰωσήφ. The heathen name became a patronym as was the usual practice (see **Cheyne**t, *Patronym*, 57-67). It is also possible that Μανιακ was put ahead of the special military detachment which resided in the theme of Moglena.

What was the reason for the tourmarches of Moglena, Joseph Maniakes, to send his letter there? That is difficult to answer. It is also difficult to identify the person to whom the letter



was addressed. But in view of the fact that in 1094 the city of Beroe was a center of important military operations against the invading nomads, these questions could perhaps be answered. The chief of the special military detachment possibly wrote to the generals stationed there: George Palaeologos, John Taronites, Nikephorus Melissinos, etc.

#### 422. N., Μανιάκης (XI-XII c.)

Private collection (V. Pantelev from Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. Dim. 25-27 (17) 3 mm. W. 10.20 g. Well-centered imprint. The first letters of each line are effaced, and the rest are indistinct and weakly impressed. A portion chipped.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion of Christ. Sigla: .. ||  $\overline{\text{V}\Theta}$  : [M(ήτη)ρ]  
Θ(εο)ῦ

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

— + — |  $\overline{\text{MP}}$  ||  $\overline{\text{ΘV}}$  |  $\overline{\text{CKEΠOIC}}$  |  $\overline{\text{METONMA}}$  |  $\overline{\text{NIAKHN}}$   
+ M(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ, σκέποις με τὸν Μανιάκην

#### 422A. Κωνσταντῖνος Μανιάκης πρωτονωβελισσιμοῦπέρτατος (second half of XII c.)

In private possession. It was given to me to document by Emil Kosev (Shumen) on 30th April 1989. The information is that it originates from the region of Topolovgrad implying the village of Melnitsa. Dim. 33-35 mm. The strike is not centered and the imprint is weak. Parts of the die were not imprinted, probably because of a defect in the boulloterion. This renders its entire reading problematic.

Ed. **Jordanov**, Melnitsa, no. 35.

No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of five lines. Border of dots.

+ ΤΩΝΓΡΑΦΩΝ|ΚΩΝ|ΑΝΤΙΝ|Β|ΠΕΡΤΑΤ|ΔΕ|ΠΡΩΤΟΝ...| ΛΙCIMO.

Rev. Inscription of five lines. Border of dots.

+ CΙΔΗΡΟ|ΕΚΤΥΠΩΝ...|ΚΛΕΙCΜΟΛΥ|...ΝΤΟΝ |...ΙΑΚ|  
+ Τῶν γραφῶν Κωνσταντίνου ὑπερτάτου πρωτον[ωβελ]ισίμο[υ] σιδήρ(ῶν) ἐκ  
τύπων [δὲ] κλείς μολυ[βδί]ν(η) τοῦ [Μαν]ιάκου

The owner of the seal is Constantine Maniakes with the title πρωτονωβελισσιμοῦπέρτατος, compounded from πρωτονωβελίσσιμος and ὑπέρτατος, found in documentary sources between 1156 and 1206 (**Dölger**, *Diplomatik*, 32; **Seibt**, *Bleisiegel*, 296-297). I would also suggest dating this seal to that time frame.

The etymology of the family name Μανιάκης has for long been debated. Most scholars accept its Turkic origin (see **Amantos**, *K.-Hell.*, 8, 1935, p. 248; **Moravcsik**, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2, S.181), but its connection with the Greek μανιάκης meaning bracelet, necklace, etc. should not be ruled out either (see **Moritz**, *Zunammen*, II, S.23; **Moritz**, *Zunammen*, I, S.14, 49).

The following XIth-XIIth-century representatives of the Maniakai are mentioned in the narrative sources:

1. Γουδέλης Μανιάκης, father of George Maniakes, see **Skyltzes**, 387.87.

2. Γεώργιος Μανιάκης, the famous military commander and rebel (on him, see no. 420 here)

2. Θεοφύλακτος Μανιάκης, a military commander of the Charsianiton who announced to Emperor Michael VI the rebellion of Isaakios Komnenos in August 1057 (**Skyltzes**, 492.65-66).

3. Κωνσταντῖνος Μανιάκης σεβαστός, a participant in the Blachernae synod in 1094. Nothing more is known about him (see **Gautier**, *Blachernes*, 217.11, 239 no. 7).

4. Γεώργιος Μανιάκης πρωτοσπαθάριος from the late XI c. A land owner in the region of Tiva. According to **Svoronos**, *Cadastre*, p. 69, this is either no. 1 or his relative.

5. Ἀλέξιος Μανιάκης κουροπαλάτης is attested in an inscription from Drama dated 1145. It seems that he was a ktetor of the church of the Mother of God (on him, see **Gianonopulos**, *BCH*, 16, 1892, p. 88; **Guilland**, *Curopolate*, p. 208).

6. Λέων Μανικαῖτης πρωτονωβελίσσιμος καὶ β'πριμικήριος, attested in documents of the Lavra from 1196 (*Actes Lavra*, I, no. 67-68).

The following representatives of the Maniakai are known from seals:

1. Ἀλέξανδρος Μανιάκης βεστάρχης καὶ στρατηγὸς third quarter of the XI c., see **Stavrakos**, *Maniakes*, no. 2.

2. Γεώργιος Μανιάκης: there are several groups of seals bearing these names. For the discussion on their identification, see no. 420 here, where he is as a private person.

3. Εὐδοκία Μανιάκινα πρόεδρος, attested by three lead seals from Zacos collection, III, no. 1522. It is dated to the last quarter of the XIth c. (**Stavrakos**, *Maniakes*, no. 1).

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion before her chest.

Rev. + | ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΕΝΔΟΚΙΑ | ΠΡΟΕΔΡΙ | CATIMANI | AKHNA

4. Θεόδωρος Μανιάκης κατεπάνω τῶν βασιλικῶν attested by his seal in the collection of the Fogg A. M. no 1123. It is generally dated to the XIth c.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin, holding Christ on l. arm.

Rev. ..ΟΔ. | Α'CΠΑΘ' | .ΚΑΤΕΠΙ | .ΡΑCΛ. | OMANI | AK

5. Θεοφύλακτος Μανιάκης πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς, attested by his seal from Vienna (MK, no. 220, see **Wassiliou**, *Seibt*, no. 297).

Obv. Bust of St. Demetrios holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

Rev. +ΚΕ.'.' | .ΕΟΦV | .ΑΚΤΟΠΡ. | SCTPATH | ΓΩΤΩΜ | ANAKH

It is dated after the middle of the XIth c. It could be identified with no. 2 presented above.

6. Ἰωσήφ Μανιάκης τουρμάρχης τῶν Μογλενῶν from the late XIth c., according to his bulla from Stara Zagora (see no. 421)

7. Κωνσταντῖνος Μανιάκης – a private person, according to his unpublished bulla in the Zacos collection, III, no. 1414, dated to the end of the XIth and the beginning of the XIIth c., see **Stavrakos**, *Maniakes*, no. 4.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans type with a medallion before her chest.

Rev. ΚΩΝ | CΦΡΑΓΙC | ΜΑΤ8ΜΑ | ΝΙΑΚΗ

8. Μιχαήλ Μανιάκης, a private person, according to his unpublished lead seals from DO 58. 106. 4307; the Shaw collection 1361 (no 1184) and the Hermitage (M-5797). They dated to the second half of the XIth c., see **Stavrakos**, *Maniakes*, no. 5.

Obv. The Virgin standing, holding Christ with both arms at the level of her chest.

Rev. | ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΜΙΧΑΗΛ | ΤΩΜΑΝΙ | ΑΚΗ

9. N., Μανιάκης - βεστάρχης καὶ στρατηγὸς Χαντιάρτης from the second half of the XIth c. (see **Koltzida-Makre**, no.28, **Seibt**, **Wassiliou**, *BZ*, 91, 1998, S. 146.28).

10. N., Μανιάκης – a private person XI-XII c., see here no. 422.

The purpose of the survey of the dignitaries by the family name Maniakes was to determine a possible connection between them and the owner of seal presented here.

Its dating generally to the second half of the XIIth c. makes impossible his identification with the sebastos Constantine Maniakes, participant at the Blachernae' synods of 1094. He could not be identified with Constantine Maniakes either, since his seal under no. 7 are earlier and are dated to the end of the XIth and the beginning of the XIIth c.

A chronological connection between the owner of the seal and the kouropalates Alexios from 1145 and the protonobelissimos and the primikerios Leo from 1190 could be determined, but without being able to enter into details regarding their lineage.

#### 422B. Κωνσταντῖνος Μαρεῖνος (XI c.)

Private collection (I. Iotov, Iambol). Found in the fortress near the village of Zlati Voyvoda. D. 16-16 mm. Well-preserved imprint.

Unpublished.

Parallels: **Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, p. 676, no. 1. Perhaps the same is now preserved in the Hermitage (M-5641).

Obv. Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand). Vertical inscription: Θ-NI-KO || Λ-A-O' :: [Ὁ ἄγιος] Νικόλαος(ς)

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+ |IERAPX | R'Θ'KΩN | TΩMAP | EINΩ

Ἱεράρχ(α) β(οή)θ(ει) Κων(σταντίνω) τῷ Μαρείνω

#### 423. Ἰωάννης Μαρούλης (1143-1180)

Private collection. Cast of the same was sent to me by D. Aladjov from Haskovo. Found in the fortress at "Blesna" near Dimitrovgrad. D. 16-26 mm. Fragment about a half.

Unpublished.

Parallels: **Панченко**, Каталог, № 423, табл. V,9; **Лихачев**, *Молитвословы*, Тбл. LXXI, 14; **Laurent**, *Bulles metriques*, no. 691. Both specimens were struck in the same boulloterion as ours.

Obv. Part of a monogram containing the letters: M, A, P, 8, Λ, recording the name Μαρούλης.

Rev. Inscription of seven lines:

. | CΦP.... | MAPO.... | VKΛEO..... | ΛOVM..... | TOV..... | TOC..... | T..

[+]Σφρ[αγίς] Μαρο[ύλη ε]ὐκλεο[ῦς Ἰω(άννου) δού]λου Μ[ανουήλ] τοῦ

[κρατοῦν]τος [δεσπό]τ[ου]

For a commentary on the text of the seal and information on the family Maroules, see **Laurent**, *Legendes*, 481-484. John Maroules was an official to Emperor Manuel I Komnenos and his seal is consequently dated to 1143-1180.

A considerable number of seals having belonged to this family are preserved in various collections. With the purpose of not overburdening the text, I would cite only that of Constantine Maroules, protonobelissimos (see **Koltzida-Makre**, no 420, who has proposed a variant reading):

Obv. The same monogram as with our specimen.

Rev. KON|NORE|.ICI|.OV

#### 424. N., Μακρῆς or N., Μαῦριξ σπαθαροκανδιδάτος ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοτρικλίνου (second half of XI c.)

Historical Museum, Panagjurishte. Found in the course of excavations in the Krasen stronghold in 1987. D.18.5-18.5 (12.5) 3 mm. The right half of the text was non-printed and subsequently obliterated.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion on her chest. Sigla: M̄ || .. : M(ήτηρ) [Θ(εο)ῦ].

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ | .KER'Θ' | ...CΠAΘ | ..NΔΔ'ΕΠΙ | ..XKΛTΩ | MAKP'

+ [Θ(εοτό)]κε β(οή)θ(ει) ..... σπαθ(αρο) [κα]νδ(ι)δ(άτω) ἐπὶ [τοῦ]

χρ(υσοτρι)κλ(ίνου) τῷ Μακρ(ῇ) / Μαβρ(ίκη)

Problematic in the reading of the text of the seal proves to be the following:

a) The homonym: All its letters are missing. Judging by the size of the printed field, it must contain two or three characters recording the abbreviated name IΩ, M̄X or KΩN.

b) The patronym: It is inscribed on the last line. Its letters are relatively well preserved but illegible due to their small size, specifically the third letter MA.P. It resembles K or R. These possibilities offer variant readings of the patronym: Μακρ(ῇ) or Μαβρ(ίκη).

Despite the insecure reading of the text, the inquiry should take the following directions:

a. regarding the patronym Μακρῆς: I do not know of representatives of this family bearing the homonym Ἰωάννης, Κωνσταντῖνος or Μιχαήλ.

b. regarding the patronym Μαβρίκης or Μαῦριξ: Members of this family bearing the homonym Ἰωάννης, Κωνσταντῖνος or Μιχαήλ are known in the literature.

1. Ἰωάννης Μαῦριξ, familiar to us from the typikon of Mamantos monastery (1164), where he is reported as gramatikos and kouropalates (see **Eustratiades**, Mamantos, 305.16-17), and from his seal with no title or office, dated generally to the XIth-XIIth c., according an unpublished bulla in the Shaw collection, 1365 (no. 1295).

Obv. Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand).

Rev. + CΦ.. | ΓICMAV | ΠIKOCCK. | ENOVC IΩ | ANNOV

2. Κωνσταντῖνος Μαῦριξ, attested by two groups of seals:

a. a private person, dated first half of the XII c.(see **Laurent**, *Orghidan*, no. 452);

b. prator of Peloponnesos and Hellas, dated second half of the XII c. (see **Laurent**, *Bulles metriques*, no. 305; **Wassiliou**, *Seibt*, no. 217).

3. Μιχαήλ Μαῦριξ from the second half of the XIth c. (on his carrier, see no. 425-426 here).

The dating of the discussed bulla is generally to the second half of the XIth c. With the uncertainty in the reading of the homonym and patronym, any attempts at identification will seem useless. The information above offers a number of possibilities.

#### 425. Μιχαήλ Μαῦριξ βεστάρχης καὶ κατεπάνω Δυρραχίου (1065-1068)

National Historical Museum, Sofia. Find-spot: Silistra. D. 22-24 mm; field (?); thickness 3 mm. Incompletely imprinted and badly preserved specimen. The first two lines of the inscription are out of the blank.

Ed. Йорданов, Силистра, I, № 12; Jordanov, G. Name, no. 25.2.

Parallels: Three other specimens struck in the same boulloterion or die are preserved in the collections of the Numismatic Cabinet in Vienna (M 173); Dumbarton Oaks (DO. 58. 106. 4234) and Fogg A. M. no. 1908. About their publication see M 173 (Mordtmann, Grece, no. 26; Schlumberger, Sig., p. 204, no. 1; Seibt, Bleisiegel, S. 169, n. 7); DO and Fogg A. M. (Nesbitt-Oikonomides, DOS, 1, no. 12.5).

Obv. Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). On either side vertical inscription: -Γ-Ε-Ω || Ρ-Γ' : [ 'Ο ἄ(γίος) ] Γ[ε]ώρ(γίος).

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

..... | ..... | ΡΕCΤΑ... | ....ΕΠΑΝ' | ΔΥΡΡΑΧ'ΤΩ | ΜΑΥΡΙΚ'  
[+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Μιχαήλ] βεστά[ρχη (καὶ) κατ]επάν(ω)  
Δυρραχ(ίου) τῷ Μαύρικ(ι)

The career of this dignitary is well known from sphragistic data, see Seibt, Bleisiegel, no. 58.

Μιχαήλ Μαύρηξ βεστάρχης καὶ κατεπάνω Δυρραχίου sent his correspondence to the region of the Lower Danube and especially to Dristra, where the katepano of Paristrion resided and where the great power of the Empire was concentrated in this period (1064-1065) to stop the invasion of the Uzes. Just at this juncture military units led by the magistroi Basil Apokapes and Nikephorus Botaniates were dispatched there. Letters regarding these military operations were probably exchanged between their commanders.

#### 426. Μιχαήλ Μαύριξ μάγιστρος καὶ κατεπάνω (1068-1070).

Private collection. Unspecified origin. Very good imprint and a bulla in a superb state of preservation.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). On either side vertical inscription: ....||Ω-Ρ-Γ' [ 'Ο ἄ(γίος) ] Γε[ώρ(γίος)].

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'. | ΜΙΧΑΗΛ | ΜΑΓΙCΤΡΩ | ΣΚΑΤΕΠΑΝ' | ΤΩΜΑΥ | -ΡΙΚΑ-  
+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)[θ(ει)] Μιχαήλ μαγίστρω (καὶ) κατεπάν(ω) τῷ Μαύρικα

Another bulla of Michael Maurikes in his capacity as β'οστιάριος is preserved in the Institute of Numismatics in Vienna. In his publication, W. Seibt has collected all data on a person by these names (see Seibt, Bleisiegel, 168-171). But a seal bearing exactly the same characteristics as ours is lacking among them.

#### 427-429. Βασίλειος Μαῦρος πρόεδρος καὶ κριτὴς ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἱπποδρόμου (last quarter of XI c.)

a. Historical Museum Iambol no 5463. Recovered at the stronghold near the village of Melnitsa. Dim. 14-19 (18) 3 mm. Fragment, about one half of the seal is missing.

Ed. Jordanov, Melnitsa, no. 7.

b. Private collection (Vurban Vurbanov, Elhovo). Find-spot: stronghold near the village of Melnitsa, district of Elhovo. Dim. 21-23 (18) 3 mm. Weak imprint, but in a good state of preservation.

Ed. Jordanov, Melnitsa, no. 8.

c. Private collection. Find-spot: Uncertain, but perhaps the same as of the above specimens. D. 20-20 mm.

Good but incomplete imprint. A well-preserved bulla.

Unpublished.

The three specimens were struck from the same die.

Parallels: in the Malbott Collection are preserved two bullae struck in the same boulloterion (see Laurent, Corpus, II, no. 886).

Obv. Inscription of five lines:

a) . . . ΡΑ. | . . . ΑCΙΑΕΙ | . . . ΟΕΔΡ8 | .. ΚΡΙ | . . .  
b) . CΦΡΑ. | .CRACΙΑΕΙ | ΠΡΟΕΔΡ8 | ΑΙΚ .. | .OV

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

a) . ΠΙΤΟ . | ΙΠΠΙΟΔΡ . | ΜΟΥΤΟ . | ΜΑΥΡ.  
b) ΕΠΙΤΟΝ | ΙΠΠΙΟΔΡΟ | ΜΟΥΤΟΝ | ΜΑΥΡ.  
[+] Σφρα[γίς] Βασιλεί(ου) προέδρου [κ]αὶ κρι[τ]οῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἱπποδρόμου τοῦ Μαυροῦ

This coincidence in the names and title of Basil Mauros gives grounds to the assumption that the three cases refer to one and the same person. The question, which poses itself but could not be settled with certitude, is with regard to their chronology. It could be assumed that they are not later than 1094.

When the specimens from the Malbott Collection were published, they were dated generally to the second half of the XIth c. The metrical text of the seal and title of Basil Mauros allows us to date it to the last quarter of the eleventh century.

The Dumbarton Oaks Collection (58.106.2105) contains two unpublished seals of Βασίλειος Μαῦρος in his capacity as πραιπόσιτος.

Obv. Inscription of four lines: + |CΦΡΑ|ΓICRA|CΙΑΕΙ|OV

Rev. Inscription of four lines: ΠΡΑΙ| ΠOCIT8 | T8MAV|POV

Basil Mauros, with the title of πρόεδρος, also took part in the Blachernae synod of 1094 (see Gautier, Blachernes, p. 218.13, no. 37).

This similarity in the names and titles of Basil Mauros provides a basis for assuming that in the third case as well, the same individual is involved. The question arises as to the chronology, which cannot be established with certainty. It is possible to assume that they are later than 1094.

Another question arises itself: what were the reasons for the receipt of at least two or three communications from Basil Mauros in the fortress near the village of Melnitsa? Perhaps they were intended to add strength to some decision or writ from the court of which he was a member and were connected with some person living or staying temporarily at the stronghold. Of course, it is also possible that the communications were of a private nature, sent to some friend or relative.

#### 430. Κάλος Μαῦρος κόμης (XI c.)

Historical Museum, Silistra, no. 20. Find-spot: the town. D.14-15 (?) 3 mm. Incomplete imprint, which renders the reading difficult.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

*Obv.* Traces of a vertical inscription. Unidentified saint, turned three quarters l., his hands outstretched toward hand of God that appears at the upper left side of the field.

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

.CΦΡΑ | .ΗΚΑΛ8 | .ΟΜΗΤΟ | .8ΜΑΥ | ΡΟΥ  
[+] Σφρα[γ]ή(ς) Καλου [κ]όμητο(ς) [τ]οῦ Μαύρου

#### 440. Λέων Μαυροθεόδωρος (last quarter, XI c.)

Private collection. Undetermined origin. D. 13-15 mm. Incomplete imprint.

*Unpublished.*

*Parallels:* Schlumberger, *Sig.*, p.678, no. 1.

*Obv.* Inscription of three lines:

.ΡΑΦ | CΦΡΑ | ΓΙΖΩ

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

.... | .Τ8ΜΑ | .Ρ8ΘΕΟ | ΔΟΡ8  
[Γ]ραφ(ὰς) σφραγίζω [Λέοντ(ου)] τοῦ Μα[υ]ρουθεοδόρου

#### 441. Γρηγόριος Μαυροκατακαλὼν πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς (1050s-1060s)

Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 18071. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 18.5-21 (14) 4 mm.  
W. 9.80 g. Well-centered and a well-preserved imprint, but the letters are nevertheless not so distinct.

*Ed.* Йорданов, *Преслав*, № 354.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* St. Demetrios sanding, holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground. Vertical inscription: .-.-H || M-IT-P: [‘Ο ἄ(γιος) Δημίτρ(ιος)].

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

+ ΚΕΡ’Θ’ | ΓΡΙΓΟΡΙ’ | ΠΡΙΣCΤΡΑ | ΤΙΓΟΤΟΜ’ | ΡΟΚΑΤ’ | ΚΑΛ’  
+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Γριγορί(ω) π(ατ)ρι(κίω) (καὶ) στρατιγο το  
Μ(α)βροκατ(α)καλ(ὼν)

It strikes that, according to its iconography, style and disposition of the letters in the text, the seal is very close to that of Gregory Kladon, patrikios and strategos (see no. ) Maybe they are contemporaries.

#### 442-449. Γρηγόριος Μαυροκατακαλὼν ἀνθύπατος καὶ κατεπάνω (1050s-1060s)

A. κατεπάνω

a. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 20109. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D.19-20 (16) 4 mm.  
W. 7.80 g. Well-preserved but low-quality imprint. More than half of the letters on the *Rev.* are unclear and double-struck.

*Ed.* Йорданов, *Преслав*, № 328.

b. Historical Museum, Silistra, no. 39. Found in the town. D.16.5-17.5 (16) 2.5 mm. Well-centered imprint, but some of the letters are indistinct, presumably later damaged.

*Ed.* Йорданов, *Silistra*, I, № 7.

c. Private collection (N. Nikolov from Razgrad). Find-spot: Preslav. D. 16.5-16 mm. Complete but poorly

preserved imprint. Worn-out surface, particularly of the *Rev.*

*Unpublished.*

*The three specimens are from the same boulloterion.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of St. Demetrios holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription:

Θ-Δ-Η-Μ-Ι|| T-P-I-O-C: [‘Ο ἄ(γιος) Δημίτριος].

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

+ ΚΕΡ’Θ’ | ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΩ | ΚΑΤΕΠΑΝΩ | ΤΩΜΑΥΡΟ | ΚΑΤΑΚΑ | - ΛΩΝ -  
+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Γριγορίω κατεπάνω τῷ Μαυροκατακαλὼν

B. ἀνθύπατος καὶ κατεπάνω:

a. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 22151. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 12-22 (19 ?) 3 mm. Half specimen of what was once a good imprint.

*Ed.* Йорданов, *Преслав*, № 330;

b. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 54. According to T. Totev, supervisor of the excavations, it was found in the Stamboliolou locality, which I doubt. I suppose the same origin as the above. D.20-20 (?) 3 mm. Incomplete imprint, particularly on the *Rev.*

*Unpublished.*

c. Historical Museum, Silistra, no. 86. Find-spot: the town. D. 19-19 mm. Heavily worn-out imprint with almost obliterated letters of the text. Holed to the r. of St. Demetrios and presumably used as a fishing lead.

*Ed.* Йорданов, *Silistra*, I, № 6.

d. Private collection (St. Bilik from Sofia). Find-spot: the village of Vetren, district of Silistra. D. 20-20 (17) 2.5 mm. W. 6.26 g.

*Ed.* Билик, *Фамилни имена*, № 4.

*The four specimens are from the same boulloterion.*

*Parallels:* *Unpublished specimen from DO. 58. 106. 2018.*

*Obv.* Bust of St. Demetrios as above, but struck with a different matrix. Vertical inscription:

Θ-Δ-Η-Μ-Ι||T-PI-OC : [‘Ο ἄ(γιος) Δημίτριος].

*Rev.* Inscription of seven lines:

a) + . . . . | ΓΡΗ . . . . | ΑΝΘV . . . | SKAT . . . | ΝΩΤΩ . . . | ΡΟΚΑ . . | ΚΑΛ .  
b) . . . . . | . ΡΗΓΟΡΙ | . ΝΘΝΠΑΤ’ | .ΚΑΤΕΠΑ | ΝΩΤΩΜΑΥ | ΡΟΚΑΤΑ | ΚΑΛΩ  
d) + ΚΕΡ’Θ’ | ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙ’ | ΑΝΘΝΠΑΤ’ | SKATEΠΑ | ΝΩΤΩΜΑΥ | ΡΟΚΑΤΑ | ΚΑΛΩ  
+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Γρηγορί(ω) ἀνθυπατ(ω) (καὶ) κατεπάνω τῷ  
Μαυροκατακαλὼν

C. ἀνθύπατος καὶ κατεπάνω:

National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 13130. Find-spot: Silistra D. 19-19.5 (17) 3 mm. Once a good imprint, now the bulla is partially preserved. A portion, though small is chipped out of it and some letters are corroded.

*Ed.* Йорданов, *Silistra*, I, № 5.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of St. Demetrios as above, but struck with a different matrix. The saint holds the spear before his chest and not against his shoulder. Vertical inscription: Θ-Δ-Η-ΜΗ||T-

PI-O’ : ‘Ο ἄ(γιος) Δημήτριος(ς).

*Rev.* Inscription of seven lines:

+ ΚΕ.. | ΓΡΗ..ΠΙ | ΩΑΝΘΥ.Α | ΤΩΣΚΑΤ..Α | ΝΩΤΩΜΑΥ | ΡΟΚΑΤΑ | ΚΑΛΩ  
+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Γρη[γο]ρίω ἀνθυ[π]ατω (καὶ) κατ[επ]άνω τῷ  
Μαυροκατακαλῶ(ν)

**450-451. Γρηγόριος Μαυροκατακαλῶν** (last quarter of XI c.)

A.

Private collection (Ivan Iotov from Iambol). Found on the land of the village of Melnitsa, Iambol region. D. 11-14 (11) 2.5 mm. Weak imprint, since the blank was smaller in diameter than the die or just equal to it. In an excellent state of preservation.

Ed. **Jordanov**, Melnitsa, no. 17.

No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of three lines:

+ ΘΚΕ | ΡΟΗΘΕΙ | ΤΩCΩΔ8'

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

ΓΡΙΓΟ | Ρ'ΤΟΜΑ | .ΡΟΚΑ | ...

+ Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δού(λ)ω Γριγορ(ί)ω το Μα[υ]ροκα[λῶν]

B.

National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 30440, formerly in the possession of D. Dimitrov from Pernik. Found on the land of the village of Klokotnitsa. D.15-16 (11?) 2.5 mm. Well-centered imprint, but rather weak or effaced. I cannot say with certainty whether it is from the same matrix as the above specimen.

Unpublished.

Parallels: Five bullae, very close to our specimen, but yet from a different boulloterion or pair of dies, are preserved in the Dumbarton Oaks collection (see DO. 55.1.3168; 55. 1. 3169; 55.1.3170 ;Fogg A. M. no. 1174, 1301).

Obv. Inscription of four lines:

+ ΚΕ | ΡΟΗΘΕΙ | ΤΩCΩΔ8 | ΛΩ

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

ΓΡΙΓΟ | Ρ'ΤΟΜΑΥ | ΡΟΚΑΤΑ | ΚΑΛ

+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλ(ω) Γριγορ(ί)ω το Μαυροκαλ(ῶν)

The owner of the seal is Gregory Maurokatakalon (as a private person). It is generally dated to the last quarter of the eleventh century.

A fragmentary seal was found in Noviodunum bearing the name of Gregory Maurokatakalon (also) as a private person, but the text of the seal is metrical (see **Jordanov**, Deux notables, 95-96). In principle, it would have to be later than the specimen presented here.

The other seals, where he is katepano and strategos, should also have belonged to the same Gregory Maurokatakalon (see nos. 441-449 above).

They reflect an earlier period of his career.

The name of a certain Gregory Maurokatakalon, emperor's adviser during the campaign of Alexios I against the Pechenegs in 1087, was reported several times in Anna Komnene's Alexiade. Before that date the same was prisoner of the Pechenegs and was ransomed by the emperor for the sum of 40,000 nomismae (see **Skoulatos**, *Personnages*, no. 77)

It is possible that the owner of the presented seals could be identified with Gregory Maurokatakalon from the Alexiade. The seals with his title of strategos and katepano

presumably reflect the period, when he took active part in the military operations in the third quarter of the XIth c. While those presenting him as a private person reflect perhaps the period when he was already only emperor's advisor.

At all events, however, the finding of more than ten bullae bearing the name of Gregory Maurokatakalon is a testimony to the fact that his career and fate were closely connected with the Bulgarian lands.

**452-453-453A. Νικόλαος Μαυροκατακαλῶν** (last quarter of XI c.)

a. National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 24829. Found in the stronghold near the present-day village of Zlati Voyvoda, Sliven region. D. 16.5-16 (10) 3.5 mm. W. 5.45 g. Good but indistinct imprint.

Ed. **Jordanov**, Zlati Voyvoda, no. 18.

b. Historical Museum, Shumen, no. 14178. Presumably the same origin as the above specimen. D. 16-18 mm, W. 5.83 g. Complete and a well-preserved imprint.

Unpublished.

c. Private collection (V. Stankov from Batak). Found-spot: uncertain. D. 15-15 (11) 3 mm.

Unpublished.

The three specimens are from the same boulloterion.

Parallels: Another specimen from the same boulloterion is preserved in the collection DO. 58. 106. 2708.

Obv. Inscription of three lines:

Κ'ΕΡ'Θ' | ΝΙΚΩ | ΛΑΩ

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

ΤΟΜΑ | VΡΟΚΑ | ΤΑΚΑ | Λ'

Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Νικωλά(ω) το Μαυροκαλ(ῶν)

The owner of the seal affixed to a correspondence to the fortress is Νικόλαος Μαυροκατακαλῶν. An individual bearing these names is mentioned several times among the personages in the Alexiade (see *Alexiade*, II, 87.10; 88.2; 89.29; 97.19; 126.18; 204.4; 213.12; 215.29; 216.9; and **Skoulatos**' commentary, *Personnages*, no.161).

1087 [spring]. The name of Νικόλαος Μαυροκατακαλῶν is for the first time mentioned in connection with the Pechenegs invasion led by Tzelgu. The Byzantine army was under the command of Νικόλαος Μαυροκατακαλῶν and Bebetziotes. In the battle near the town of Kule, the Pechenegs were defeated and Tzelgu himself was killed. After the glorious victory, the army returned to the capital, where it triumphed, received gifts and honours from the emperor, and then returned again to Thrace along with the newly-appointed domestikos of the Schools of the West Adrianos Komnenos, emperor's brother.

1087 [summer]. The emperor decided to undertake a campaign against the Pechenegs beyond Haemus. He summoned a council of war in Lardea, at which George Palaiologos, Νικόλαος Μαυροκατακαλῶν and some other young military commanders in their primes supported the emperor's wish and advised him to pass the passes of Haemus.

1087 [autumn]. Before the decisive battle with the Pechenegs at Dristra, the emperor entrusted his protection to six men, among which Νικόλαος Μαυροκατακαλῶν, who due to his long service had for long been experienced in warfare.

1090/1091 [winter]. The war with the Pechenegs continued. The emperor returned to the capital because of the winter. The army was divided into two. All the soldiers of higher morale were selected from the whole army to form the operative part. He placed as commanders Joannaces and Νικόλαος Μαυροκατακαλῶν, ..he ordered them to post an adequate number of soldiers as garrison in each town, and to requisition foot-soldiers from



all the country together with wagons and the oxen which drew them. With the coming of spring, he wished to start a larger-scale war against the Scythians on his own.

1095. During the hostilities of the emperor against the Cumans, Νικόλαος Μαυροκατακαλὼν was in his retinue and assisted at the council of war summoned near Avrilievo (north of present-day Shtit, Haskovo region).

1096 [August]. Νικόλαος Μαυροκατακαλὼν was dispatched at the head of a fleet in his capacity as a doux near the coast of Iliria to meet the first Crusaders.

1096 [December]. The emperor ordered Νικόλαος Μαυροκατακαλὼν to intensify the vigilance and secure the sea guard of Dyrrachium in anticipation of the coming Crusaders. Acting according to order, Νικόλαος Μαυροκατακαλὼν pursued the crusading fleet led by count Richard of the Principate and captured him. In this episode, his son Marianos showed great courage in duel.

There is no further information about Νικόλαος Μαυροκατακαλὼν in the Alexiad.

In the so-called Marcian Codex (*Markianos* 524, p. 144, no. 218), it is reported that the protonobelissimos Νικόλαος Μαυροκατακαλὼν was married to Theodore Doukas' daughter Euphrosyne (on them, see **Polemis**, *Doukai*, p. 77). The information refers generally to the XIIth c. and probably applies to another dignitary by the same names.

It is important for us to determine when the correspondence of Nicholas Maurokatakalon was received in the fortress near the present-day village of Zlati Voyvoda. If the identification with the military commander from the Alexiad is correct, then his correspondence should have been received after 1096, when he had retired from active military career. Otherwise, this seal must have been impressed on his correspondence during his active military service as well, and a number of occasions could be found for writing to the forces located in the fortress regarding the coordination of their mutual operations.

#### 454. N., Μαυροκατακαλὼν (XII c.)

Private collection (N. Nikolov from Razgrad). Given to me to document before it was sold. D. 21-31 (25) 3 mm. Half of what was once a good imprint.

*Unpublished.*

*Parallels:* Specimens struck in the same boulloterion are preserved in the collections Zacos, III, no. 1424/25-11 and Shaw 1367 (no. 1193). We restore the missing letters of our specimen on their basis.

*Obv.* Remains of a standing figure of St. Theodore holding a long spear. Part of a vertical inscription: Θ-ΘΕ-||..... : 'Ο ἄγιος Θε[όδωρος].

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

...ΠΑ | ...ΜΑΥ | ...ΚΑΤΑ | .ΑΛΟC  
[ +Σφ]ρα[γὶς ὁ] Μαυ[βρο]κατα[κ]αλός

#### 455. Σαμουήλ Μαυροπόδης χαρτοφύλαξ (second half of the XII c.)

Private collection. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 30-31 (28) ? mm. Superb imprint and bulla in an excellent state of preservation.

*Unpublished.*

*Parallels:* Further three specimens struck in the same boulloterion and of the same quality are preserved in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (DO. 58. 106. 5453 and 58. 106. 5716) (see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, V.2, no. 1615 bis) and the Hermitage (M-6648, see **Шандровская**, В. С. Несколько печатей с редкими изображениями.- *АДСВ*, 34, 2003, 220-221, fig. 13).

*Obv.* St. Samuel standing on a souppendion, blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand).

Inscription in two columns: ..... || CA-M8-ΗΛ : ['Ο ἄγιος] Σαμουήλ

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines.

+ ΟΧΑΡ | ΤΟΦΥΛΑΞ | САΜΟΝΗΛ | ΜΑΥΡΟΠΟ | ΔΗΣ | ο  
+ 'Ο χαρτοφύλαξ Σαμουήλ Μαυροπόδης

Samuel Mauropous is a representative of the family Mauropous, who played an important role in the church of Byzantium.

He started his career in Hagia Sofia at an early age. Initially he was λευίτης, according to the data of a extant seal (see **Панченко**, Каталог, № 106, табл. VI.7; **Laurent**, *Corpus*, V.2, no. 1134).

In 1166 he was already канстри́сий, and was appointed χαρτοφύλαξ after his close relative (brother or cousin) Michael of Anchialos was elected patriarch under the name of Michael III (1170-1178). He was chartophylax until 1177 (2<sup>nd</sup> September), when Theodore Balsamon succeeded him on this post (see **Darrouzes**, *Offikia*, p. 104, 529.5, 530.3).

#### 456. 'Ιωάννης Μελήκ (XII c.)

Historical Museum, Stara Zagora, no. 10 C3-11. Find-spot: the town. D. 35.5-35.5 (28) 4 mm. Good, complete imprint, but made in the lower part of the blank, thus, if the dies had been larger, they would no doubt have been only partially printed. The bulla is well preserved, slightly corroded.

*Ed.* **Йорданов**, Берое, № 5.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion of Christ on her chest. Sigla: ΜΡ || ΘΥ : Μ(ήτη)ρ Θε(ο)ῦ.

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

+ | ΙΩΑΝΗΝ | ΚΕΠΟΙCΜΕ | ΜΕΛΗΚ | ΚΟΡΗ  
+ 'Ιωάνην σκέποις με Μελήκ, Κόρη

The patronym of the owner of the seal Μελήκ is foreign and perhaps connected with the Seljuks in origin.

The name Μελήκ is attested in the XIIIth-XIVth-century Greek sources as the name of a Turkish ruler and emir < ar. *malik* "king", "prince" (see also **Moravcsik**, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, 187-188). It is also inscribed on the Seljuk coins (see *ZfN*, 6, 1879, 45-54). A lot of dignitaries bearing this patronym are known in Byzantium in the XIIIth – XIVth c., but it cannot be argued that they all belong to the same family (for a survey of the representatives of this family or of those bearing this family name in Byzantium, see **Laurent**, V. Une famille turque au service de Byzance: Les Melikes.-*BZ*, 49, 1956, 349-368).

The acts of the Chilandar Monastery contain a document dated 1323-1326 regarding a land purchase from peasants to the monastery. The name of one of them is 'Ιωάννης Μελήκ (*Actes Chilandar*, no. 109). Of course, the owner of the seal could not be identified with this

peasant.

When trying to identify his person, we find difficulties due to both lack of information and difficulty in dating the seal. The text is metrical and the office and title of its owner are lacking in it. As was noted above, in the XIIth c. and later, it became a common practice that on seals of representatives of noble ruling families such as the Komnenoi, Angeloi and others only their belonging to the reigning family was inscribed, which sufficed to secure the owner of the seal a highly prestigious place in the social hierarchy. In this case too, it could be accepted that the name Melek had a similar purpose, i.e. it pertained to a ruler.

Both XIIth and XIIIth c. are acceptable dating for the seal.

With the first dating, the correspondence of John Melek could be connected with the stay of the army headed by Emperor Manuel I Komnenos in Beroe in 1155/56. Ἰωάννης Μελέκ was presumably a Seljuk prince switched over to service in the Empire, where he was baptized adopting the name John and retaining his ruler's name Melek, which served as a patronym or sobriquet.

With the other possible dating in the XIIIth c., the seal could be associated with the events around sultan Izedin's escape that occurred in Thrace and Macedonia. He entered into negotiations with Bulgarians and Tatars against Byzantium (For a commentary on the events, see **Мутафчиев, П.** Мнимото преселение на селджушки турци в Добруджа през XIII c.- *Избрани произведения*, II, С., 1973, 607-617).

It is possible that the seal is an illustration of these talks. We also know that after his escape, his sons were baptized and switched over to service in the army, retaining the ruler's name Melek, which became a patronym.

For the persons bearing the family name or sobriquet Μελέκ in the XIII<sup>th</sup> - XV<sup>th</sup> centuries see: *PLP*, nos. 8242, 1597, 17673, 17761, 17762, 17784, 17785, 17786, 17787, 17788, 17789, 17790, 17791, 17792, 24064, 92662

#### 457. Γρηγόριος Μελιγαλᾶς (X-XI c.)

Archaeological Institute, Bucharest. Originates from the Silistra-Kalarash region, i. e. Silistra. D. 22-33 (15) 3-7 mm. The blank is rather strange, as if the imprint was made on a random piece from a big bulla. The imprint itself is good and complete.

*Ed. Barnea*, Noii sigilii, no 20.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand). Vertical inscription:

☉ -N-I || K-O-A': Ὁ ἄγιος Νικόλαος).

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

+ KER' | ΓΡΗΓ'Ρ' | ΟΜΕΛΗ | ΓΑΛΑ

+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει Γρηγ(ο)ρ(ί)ο Μεληγαλᾶ

A bulla of the following description is preserved in the DO. 55. 1. 3178:

*Obv.* Bust of St. Theodore holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription:

☉-Θ- Ε-Ο || Δ-ΩΡ-ΟС.

*Rev.* + KER'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8' | ΓΡΙΓΟΡΙ' | ΤΩΜΕΛΗ | ΓΑΛ'

It is clear that we are dealing with two groups of seals belonging to one and the same person. Unexplainable, however, are the reasons for which he changed his patron. Which is the earlier group is also unclear.

I am not aware of other representatives of the family Μελιγαλᾶς in the Xth-XIth c., the period to which the seals are dated. On the period XIIIth-XIVth c., see *PLP*, nos. 1774-1777.

#### 458. Λέων Μελισσινός πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν (970s-980s)

Historical Museum, Shumen, no. 13578. Find-spot: strategia of Preslav. D. 24-28 (over 25) 1.5 mm. The blank and the imprint were rather thin and the bulla is poorly preserved.

*Ed. Ъорданов, Преслав*, № 201; *Jordanov, G. Names*, no. 8..3.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Inscription of five lines:

..Ε.. | ..ΕΙΤ | .CΩΔ | .ΛΩ

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

.. ΩΝ. | ΠΑΤΡΙΚ.. | SCTPATHΓ | T'ANAT... | T'MΕΛ... | ..

[+Κ(ύρι)]ε [βοήθ]ει τ[ῶ] σῶ δ[ού]λῳ Λέων[τ(ι) πατρικ[ίῳ] (καὶ) στρατηγ(ῶ)

τ(ῶν) Ἀνατ[ολ(ι)κ(ῶν)] τ(ῶ) Μελ[ισσηνῶ]

About Leon Melissinos see here, nos. 459-461, presenting the latest stage of his career.

#### 459-461. Λέων Μελισσηνός μάγιστρος, ἀνθύπατος, πατρίκιος καὶ δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως (? - September 985)

A. ἀνθύπατος, πατρίκιος καὶ δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως

a. Archaeological Museum, Preslav, no. 17211. Find-spot: strategia of Preslav. D. 13.5-22 (23 ?) 3 mm. Half of an incomplete imprint. The blank was smaller than the dies.

*Ed. Ъорданов, Преслав*, № 161; *Jordanov, G. Names*, no. 26.4Aa.

b. Historical Museum, Shumen, no. 13635. Find-spot: Silistra. D.18-29 (25) 3 mm. About half of an imprint which was good in the past has survived. It is not the other half of the former bulla.

*Ed. Jordanov, G. Names*, no. 26.4Ab.

*No parallels known.*

Although both copies have survived in halves, they have been imprinted with an identical couple of dies. Their comparison led to the following reconstructed text.

*Obv.* Inscription of five lines:

+ KER. | ΗΘΙΤΩCΩ | Δ'ΑΕΟΝΤ. | AN.VII. | ..

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

..ΤΡΙ | .SΔΟΜΕ | CΤΙΚ'ΤΩNC | ΧΟΛ'ΤΗCΔNC | ΤΟΜΕ..CIN.

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β[ο]ήθ(ε)ι τῶ σῶ δ(ούλῳ) Λέοντ[ι] ἀν[θ]υπ[άτ]ω πα[τρικ(ίῳ)] (καὶ)

δομεστίκ(ῳ)] τῶν σχολ(ῶν) τῆς Δύσεως) το Με[λι]σιν[ῶ]

B. μάγιστρος καὶ δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως

Archaeological Museum, Preslav, no. 17093. Find-spot: strategia of Preslav. D.30-33 (25) 3 mm. D. 14.75 g.

The imprint is not very successful. The last letters of the die are missing. The bulla is split and almost cut in half along the line of the channel.

*Ed. Ъорданов, Преслав*, № 162; *Jordanov, G. Names*, no. 26.4Ba.

*No parallels known.*

Obv. Inscription of four lines preceded and followed by ornaments:

—••— | +KVPIE | ROH ΘEITΩ | CΩΔOYΛ. | .EONT. | —••—

Rev. Inscription of five lines preceded and followed by ornaments:

—••— | MAFIC | .PΩCΔΩM' | .ΩNCXOA'T' | .C' | TΩME | .ICH.Ω |

+ Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δοῦλ[ω Λ]έοντ[ι] μαγίσ[τ]ρω (καὶ) δωμ(εστίκω) [τ]ῷ  
σχολ(ῶν) [τῇ]ς Δύσ(εως) τῷ Με[λ]ισση[ν]ῷ

It seems logical that the three groups of seals bearing the name of Leo Melissenos belonged to one person. Besides the same names, there is also continuity in the titles and positions of their owner. They reflect different stages of his career, during which he wrote to Preslav. It has to be pointed out that in 1993, these were the first seals bearing the name of this dignitary and eleven years later, they have remained the latest to date.

An individual by the same names is known in the written sources. Here is a brief summary of the events, regarding which the name of Leo Melissenos was reported:

In the Vienna copy of John Skylitzes, it is reported that in 976, during the siege of Serres, the horse of one of the Cometopoulos brothers, Moses, died struck by a stone thrown from the walls. Others write that it was not by stone..., but that his horse fell, bringing him down and he was slain by one of douke Melissenos' men (see **Skylitzes**, tr. **Wortley**, p. 177).

Investigators are unanimous that it applies to Leo Melissenos. They split regarding the determination of his position. According to V. Zlatarski, Leo Melissenos was strategos of Thrace and Macedonia at that juncture (see **Златарския**, История, I, 2, 613-614), while W. Seibt assumes that he was doux of Thessalonike (see **Seibt**, Kometopulen, S. 91).

According to Yahya, in September 985, Leo Melissenos was magistros and doux of Antiochos (see **Розен**, c. 20.10-25; **Laurent**, Gouverneurs d'Antioch, p. 232). In January-February 986, he was involved in Basil Lakapenos' plot against the emperor (Basil II). After revealing of the conspiracy, Leo Melissenos was not charged with treason, but the suspicion on his loyalty remained (see **Розен**, 170-173, 6.141).

In June-July 986, he accompanied Emperor Basil II in his campaign against Triaditza. He was left in charge of a garrison in Philippoupolis to secure the Byzantines' rear. Skylitzes gives his title – magistros (see **Skylitzes**, 329-330). According to him and Zonaras (see **Zonaras**, 548-549), Stephanos Kontostephanos, domestikos of the Schools of the West, wrongly accused Leo Melissenos that allegedly he had been "envious of the throne and had already gone off [to Constantinople] at a great speed," aiming to force Basil II into a fast retreat from Triaditza (see commentary on the events in **Златарски**, История, I, 636-641).

According to the same authors, after the defeat in Trajan's gate passes on August 16, 986, the emperor found safety in Philippoupolis, where he found that Melissenos had not moved but was carefully maintaining the guard which had been entrusted to him. There was a conflict between the emperor and Stephanos Kontostephanos. The emperor got angry at Konstostephanos' effrontery, leaped from the throne, seized him by the hair and the beard and threw him to the ground (see **Skylitzes**, 331.49-51; **Skylitzes** tr. **Wortley**, p. 178). This episode would suggest that Stephanos Kontostephanos was removed from the position of domestikos of the Schools of the West.

In April 989, Leo Melissenos sided with the usurper Bardas Phokas and in the decisive battle at Abydos was in command of the right wing of the army. A noteworthy fact is that after Phokas' defeat, Leo Melissenos was the only one pardoned and spared the disgraceful parade (see **Skylitzes**, 338.33-43).

In April 993, he was dispatched at the head of auxiliary troops to Michael Bourtzes in

order to help the citizens of Aleppo in their struggle against the Arabs.

In the battle by the river Orontes on September 15, 994, the united Byzantine army was put to rout (see **Розен**, 30-31). After this date, there is no further mention of Leo Melissenos in the sources.

If we assume that the owner of the three groups of seals from Preslav and Leo Melissenos from the mentioned sources are identical, the question that arises is when he held the positions noted on his seals.

If we trust Yahya's information that in 985 Leo Melissenos was magistros and doux of Antiochos, his seals in his capacity as domestikos of the Schools of the West should be dated before that date, since he is anthypatos and patrikios on them. We need to make it clear however that the chroniclers frequently report on a given person using the last and highest title of his career. Thus, it seems logical that Leo Melissenos was appointed domestikos of the Schools of the West after August 986, when Kontostephanos was removed from this position.

#### 462. Λέων Μελίτωνος (late XI c.)

Private collection. Given to me for documentation through E. Marinov from Varna. Unknown origin. D. 19-22 (16 ?) 3 mm. Incomplete imprint, although it was well centered. Some letters are missing.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

Obv. Inscription of three lines:

+ CΦPA | .HCAO | ΓΩN

Rev. Inscription of three lines:

.EON. | .CMELI. | ΩNOC

+ Σφρα[γ]ῆς λόγων [Λ]έον[το]ς Μελί[τ]ωνος

The Dumbarton Oaks Collection contains a seal DO. 55. 1. 3832, which presumably is connected with the one presented here and could possibly solve the dilemma Μελί[σ]ωνος or Μελί[τ]ωνος :

Obv. St. Michael standing holding a scepter (r. hand) and a globus (l. hand)

Rev. + | ΓΡΑΦAC | CΦΡΑΓΙΖ' | ΛEONTOC | MEΛICCI | o NOV o

#### 463. Εὐστράτιος Μελισσοπετριώτης (XI-XII c.)

Historical Museum, Iambol, formerly in Zh. Biulbiulev collection, Harmanly. Originates from Silistra. D. 21-23 (14) 2.9 mm. Successful imprint and a bulla in a good state of preservation.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

Obv. Bust of St. Eustratios in relief, facing, with nimbus, himation, short curly hair and long V-shaped beard. He holds a martyr's cross (r. hand) and a book (l. hand). Vertical inscription: A-ΓI-O || E-V-PA-TI' : 'Ο ἅγιος(ς) Εὐστράτι(ος).

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

+ CON | CVNONVM' | CKEΠOIC | TONMEΛH | ΠETPI | THN

+ Σὸν συνόνυμ(ον) σκέποις τὸν Μελη(σσο)πετρι(ώ)την

No individual bearing these names is mentioned in the narrative sources. Generally, as father Laurent has ascertained, the representatives of the family Μελισσοπετριώτης are not known from other sources. He based his conclusion on the publication of the seal of Constantine metropolitan of Neokaisareia from the XIIth-XIIIth c. (see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, V.1, no 495).

The dating of the presented bulla, according to its paleography (see **Oikonomides**, *Dated*, p. 160), is in the end of the XIth and the beginning of the XIIth centuries.

#### 464. Νικόλαος Μεσαρίτης (XII-XIII c.)

Archaeological Museum, Plovdiv, no. 540. There are no specific circumstances of its finding noted in the inventory book. In 1950, Todor Gerasimov made a plaster cast of it for his collection. D. 26-27 (26 ?) 5 mm. Well-centered, but incomplete imprint. Indistinct letters at some places.

Ed. **Jordanov**, Plovdiv, no. 34.

*Parallels*: Another specimen struck in the same boulloterion is preserved in the Department of Manuscripts at the British Museum (see **Gray Birch**, no. 17097).

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion of Christ on her chest. Sigla:  $\overline{MP} \parallel \overline{\Theta V}$  : Μ(ήτηρ) Θ(εο)ῦ.

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

+ | ΝΙΚΟΛΑ8 | ΣΦΡΑΓΙΣΜΑ | ΤΟΥ ΜΕΣΑ | ΡΙΤΟΥ  
+ Νικολάου σφράγισμα τοῦ Μεσαρίτου

The original publisher of this group of seals (**Gray Birch**, no. 17097) dated it to the VIIth-IXth c. In his special publication, N. Bees corrected the proposed dating and identified the owner of the seal with the celebrated writer and prelate of Ephesus Νικόλαος Μεσαρίτης, who occupied the chair there in 1211/1212 - 1215/1216 (see **Bees**, N. A. *Die Bleisiegel des Arethas von Kaisareia und des Nikolaos Mesarites von Ephesos*.- *BNJ*, 3-4, 1922-1923, S.162). Father Laurent confirmed this dating and identification (see **Laurent**, *Bulletin*, II, p. 818, no 20).

Below I offer a brief survey of the facts known from his life as to determine the period when he sent his correspondence to Plovdiv:

[ For some information on his life abbreviated from various sources, see **Heisenberg**, A. *Nikolaos Mesarites. Die Palastrevolution des Iohannes Komnenos*, Wurzburg, 1907; **Каждан**, А. П. Никифор Хрисоверг и Николай Месарит.- *ВВр.*, 30, 1969, 102-106]

Nicholas Mesarites was the eighth child in the family. He was born ca. 1163/1164. Nothing is known about the beginning of his career. His name was first attested in 1201 in his capacity as ἐπὶ τῶν κρίσεων τὴν ἀγιωτάτης Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας καὶ σκευοφύλακος τῶν ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ παλατίῳ Θείων ναῶν ...περὶ τῶν Φάρον Θεομήτρος περικαλλεστάτῳ ναῶ (Heisenberg, *Mesarites*, 19.1-3, 20-23).

After the capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders, he remained in the city and maintained the contacts between the Greek clergy in the capital and the Nicaean court for some time. He had the reputation of a patriot and literary man. Along with his brother John, he participated in a dispute with the Latin clergy. After his brother's death (5 Febr. 1207), he moved to Nicaea, where he was appointed referendarios by Patriarch Michael III (1206-1216) [ For the meaning of this office, see **Darrouzes**, *Offikia*, p. 373-374]. He was a good diplomat and mediated between the emperor and the patriarch on various questions. In this

capacity, he signed a patriarchal document dated 1208 (see **Grumel**, *Regestes*, I, 3, no. 1203). In 1211, he was already a metropolitan of Ephesus and exarch of the whole Asia [μητροπολίτης Ἐφέσου καὶ ἑξαρχος πάσης Ἀσίας], and in this capacity he signed three extant synodical charters (**Курц**, Е. Три синодалных грамоты митрополита Ефесского Николая Месарита.- *ВВр.*, 12, 1906, 99-111).

In 1214, Nicholas Mesarites headed an embassy to Constantinople for the talks with cardinal Pelagius, but the Nicaean authorities were displeased at his compliance in them (for his report on the negotiations, see the above-cited studies, as well as *ВВр.*, 10, 1903, 679-683). He died ca. 1216.

Along with his activities as a high-ranking prelate, Nicholas Mesarites was also a renowned man of letters. He was a rhetorician follower of the Byzantine traditional school. His literary heritage has come down to us mainly in two extant manuscripts, preserved in the Ambrosian library. Long ago Heisenberg began preparing *Corpus* of the works of Nicholas Mesarites, but he did not succeed to finish it. The main works of Nicholas Mesarites are the following:

1. Description of the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople;
2. Speech on the suppression of John Komnenos' rebellion;
3. Epitaph to his brother and orator John Mesarites;
4. Speech on the talks with Cardinal Pelagius in Constantinople;
5. Charters in his capacity as a metropolitan of Ephesus and epistles to his contemporaries (part of them published by Lampros, *NE*, 1, 1904, 412-415).

On the basis of the presented facts from Nicholas Mesarites life course and career, it is difficult to determine the exact time and recipient of his correspondence to Philippopolis. The dating of the seal has been rendered difficult due to the lack of a title and office. It would be logical for his seal to reflect the period before his ecclesiastical career, since otherwise his clerical position would have obligatorily been inscribed.

With the purpose of correctness, we should also assume the possibility of the seal to have belonged to another representative of the family who lived in the last quarter of the XIIth c. similar to those presented below.

What other representatives of the family from this period are known?

1. Θεόδωρος Μεσαρίτης - imperial secretary, attested in documents from the period 1160s-1170s. He attempted at marrying an aristocrat from the Bryennioi, but the emperor ordered that his marriage was considered invalid (see *PG*, 138, col. 173C). Perhaps he, but already in his capacity as a sebastos and judge, also signed a document of the Lavra dated 1196 (see *Actes Lavra*, I, nos. 67-68). A bulla with a metrical text, with no title or office, dated to the XIIth-XIIIth c. and preserved in the collection of the Athens Numismatic Museum perhaps also belonged to him (**Konstantopoulos**, no. 661b; **Laurent**, *Bulles metriques*, no. 158; **Stavrakos**, no. 174).

2. Ἰωάννης Μεσαρίτης, son of no. 3. Still young he became a teacher of the Psalms and enjoyed the protection of Andronikos I Komnenos (1182-1185). After the fall of this emperor, he took the vows. Under Alexios III Komnenos Angelos (1195-1203) he was again a courtier and teacher of the Psalms. Along with his brother Nicholas, he participated in a dispute against the Latin clergy. He died on February 5, 1207. The author of the epitaph was his brother Nicholas (on his life and activities, see **Beck**, *Kirche*, S. 665; **Browning**, *School*, 2, p. 11).

3. Κωνσταντῖνος Μεσαρίτης κουροπαλάτης, κρητὴς τοῦ βήλου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱπποδρόμου, who assisted at a session of the synod in March 1166 (see *PG*, 140, col. 253D). This is presumably the same dignitary, but already in his capacity as protoasekretis,

mentioned in a synodical act from 1173 (see **Grumel**, *Regestes*, no. 1126).

4. Λέων Μεσαρίτης, of whom nothing else is known, except that he was glorified in a poem of a XIIth-century anonymous author (see *Markianos* 524, p.39, no 73.9).

5. Μιχαήλ Μεσαρίτης, known from a metrical seal with no title or office, dated to the XIIth-XIIIth c. (see **Laurent**, *Bulles metriques*, no. 360).

6. Ν., Μεσαρίτης, diakonos, patriarchal notarios and teacher of the Psalms. His signature is under a synodical resolution from 1196 (see **Grumel**, *Regestes*, no 1125).

7. Ν. Μεσαρίτης, John Tzetzes' close associate, who in 1143 interceded for him when a certain plagiarist credited himself with the authorship of Tzetzes' interpretation of Lykaphon (see **Tzetzes**, *Epistule*, no. 41, p. 60.11; 61.21).

It is difficult to determine which of these relatives resided in Philippopolis and who was the recipient of Nicholas Mesarites' correspondence. It is more likely that it was addressed to the local prelate or some other fellow man of letters in service in Philippopolis. In 1190s, the metropolitan of Philippopolis was the poet Constantine Pantechnes (on him, see no. 556). It is possible that specifically he was the recipient of this correspondence.

#### 465. Βάρδας Μερκολίτης βέστης (1060s)

Private collection (Nikolai Nikolov from Razgrad). Offered for purchase at the Historical Museum, Shumen.

Purchased from a person who claimed that the bulla was generally found in the Targovishte district. D.17-17 (15) 2.5 mm. Complete and a well-preserved imprint.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* St. Demetrios standing, holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground. Vertical inscription: Θ-Δ-Η || ...

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΡΑΡΔΑ | ΡΕCΤΗΝ | ΤΟΝΜΕΡ | ΚΩΛΗΤ

+ Κ(ύρι)ε βο(ή)θ(ει) Βάρδα βέστην τὸν Μερκωλήτ(ην)

#### 466-467. Μιχαήλ Μεσοποταμίτης (XII c.)

a. Private collection (St. Bilik from, Sofia). Find-spot: the Harmanli region. D. 27-31 (20) 2 mm. W. 8.86 g. Incomplete, but a well-preserved imprint.

*Ed.* **Билик**, *Фамилни имена*, № 9.

b. Private collection (D. Dimitrov's collection, Pernik, currently at the National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 16029). Find-spot: unknown place in Southern Bulgaria. D. 28-32 (20) 2-3 mm. Incomplete, but a well-preserved imprint.

*Unpublished.*

*Parallels:* **Laurent**, *Orghidan*, no. 454 and unpublished in the Zacos collection, III, no. 1446. Struck in the same boulloterion as our specimen.

*Obv.* An archangel (presumably St. Michel), standing frontally, holding a long scepter (r. hand) and a globus (l. hand).

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

a) . | .ΦΡΑΓΙC | . ΙΧΑΗΛ | . 8ΜΕCΟ | . . ΤΑΜΙ | Τ8

b) + | CΦΡΑΓ. . | ΜΙΧΑΗΛ | Τ8ΜΕCΟ | ΠΟΤΑΜΙ | Τ8

+ Σφραγίς Μιχαήλ τοῦ Μεσοποταμίτου

The name of the protonobelissimoshypertatos Michael Mesopotamites is reported in the documents of the monastery on Patmos regarding the year 1195 (see *Actes Patmos*, II, p. 94, no. 56.33; p. 124, no. 59.26).

It is possible that the owner of the presented seal and this dignitary are identical, but we should also keep in mind that these are very common names. The name of Michael Mesopotamites was reported in a synodical resolution from Patriarch Theodosios' time (1179-1183), who after spending thirty years as a widower, was again allowed to marry (see **Grumel**, *Regestes*, 3, no. 1160).

#### 468. Ειρήνη Μεταλίνα προέδρισσα (Last quarter of the VI c.)

Private collection (the former collection of D. Dimitrov from Pernik). Find-spot: the fortress near Constantza.

D. 17-17 (14) 5 mm. Slightly off-center. Good state of preservation.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion on her chest. Sigla:  $\bar{M}$  || .. : Μ(ήτηρ) [Θ(εο)ῦ.]

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

... ΕΡ'Θ' | .ΡΕΝΗ | ΠΡΩΕΔΡΗ | .ΗΤΗΜΕ | ΤΑΛΙΝ.

[+Θ(εοτό)κ]ε βο(ή)θ(ει) [Ε(ι)]ρένη προεδρή[σ(σ)]η τῇ Μεταλίν[α]

I am not aware of such a family.

#### 469. Κοτζίλος ὁ τοῦ Μιλκοῦ πατρίκιος (1050s-1060s)

Historical Museum, Dobrich, no. 1280. Find-spot: Silistra. D.18-19(16) 3.1 mm. W. 6.60 g. Very good imprint and a well-preserved bulla.

*Ed.* **Йорданов**, *Silistra*, IV, № 9.

*Parallels:* Another specimen struck with the same pair of dies was found in Noviodunum. Perhaps the author of the publication (**Barnea**, *Dobrudja*, II, no. 4) did not succeed in reading the names of its owner due to its fragmentary state.

*Obv.* Inscription of four lines:

- + - | ΚΕΡΟ | ΗΘΕΙ | ΤΩCΩ | Δ8ΛΩ | - ο -

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

- ο - | ΚΟΤΖΙ | ΛΩΠΡΙ | ΤΟΤΟΝ | ΜΙΑΚ8 | - ο -

+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Κοτζίλῳ π(ατ)ρι(κίῳ) το τοῦ Μιλκοῦ

A person bearing these names is unknown from the narrative sources. These are definitely no Greek names. The owner of the seal affixed on the correspondence to Silistra and Noviodunum is a certain Κοτζίλος, nephew of Μιλκος. The definite article ὁ τοῦ usually denotes kinship, most often a relation between a nephew and an uncle.

The ruler of the whole Pannonia Κοτζέλης is reported in the Greek Vita of Cyril and Methodios (861-874) (see **Милев**, *А. Гръцките жития на Климент Охридски*, София, 1966, c. 88.1; **Илиев**, *И. Byzbulgarica*, 9, 1995, 62-120; *PMBZ*, no. 3663).

Constantine Porphyrogenitos has informed us that the name of one of the Franks archons



in the IXth-Xth c. was Κοτζίλης (*De adm.*, 30.87).

On the etymology of the name Κοτζίλης, see **Moritz**, *Zunamen*, I, S. 47.

The dating of the presented seal is after the middle of the XIth c. Neither Κοτζίλος nor Μιλκος are known from this period. The owner of the seal was presumably of a non-Byzantine origin (a western Slav), who had switched over to service in Byzantium and established his identity in society as being the nephew of a certain better-known Milko.

Who were this Milko and his nephew? At the present stage of research, the question apparently rests.

#### 470. Νικήτας Μιτυλήναιος ἀσηκρῆτης (XI c.)

Archaeological Institute and Museum, Shumen, no. 21570. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 24-25 (19) 2 mm. Well-centered imprint, cracked along the channel.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Преслав* № 120.

No parallels known.

*Obv.* Bust of St. Niketas facing, with nimbus, beardless face and short curly hair resembling a crown. He holds a martyr's cross before his chest. Vertical inscription: Θ-...-... || T-A-C : 'Ο ἄγιος) [Νική]τας.

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

+ NIKH | T'A.HKP' | T'TΩMITV | ΛVNAI | Ω

+ Νικήτ(α) ἀ[σ]ηκρ(ή)τ(η) τῷ Μιτυλυναίῳ

It is reprinted on another bulla, but in reverse direction. Beneath the reverse of the described bulla, part of a double traversed cross with fleurons is visible, and beneath the obverse, there are traces of an inscription of four or five lines, from which visible are: .... A|...P|.... ΩC|.....O

To supplement the cited publication, I wish to add the information subsequently acquired from sphragistic and narrative sources relevant to the person of the owner of the seal.

A bulla presumably of the same Niketas Mytilenaios as asekretis and judge of Aigaion Pelagos reflecting a later stage of his career is preserved in the Dumbarton Oaks collection (see **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 2, no. 40.18)

The family Νικήτας Μιτυλήναιος is related by origin with the namesake city on Lesbos (**Каждан**, *Соч. соств.*, c.192).

The following representatives of this family are known from the narrative sources and seals:

1. Ἰωάννης Μιτυλήναιος:

a. πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ δρουγγάριος τοῦ στόλου (see **Seibt**, *Zarnitz*, no. 4.3.8);

b. πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ κρητῆς τῶν Ὀπτιμάτων (see **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 3, no. 71.24);

c. πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ κρητῆς Παφλαγονίας (see **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 4, no.11.12);

d. a private person, according to an unpublished bulla from DO. 55. 1. 3201:

*Obv.* The Virgin, holding Christ on r. arm.

*Rev.* ΘΚΕΡΟ|ΘΕΙΤΩCΩ|ΔΟΝΑΩ|ΤΩMITV|ΛΙΝΕΩ

2. Κωνσταντῖνος Μιτυλήναιος πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ μέγας χαρτουλάριος τοῦ γενικοῦ is mentioned in a document of the monastery on Patmos dated April 1088 (*Actes*

*Patmos*, I, no. 48, p. 338, B.217). Identified with the same person is the owner of a bulla in the Athens Numismatic Museum, on which he is πρόεδρος καὶ εἰδικός (see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, no. 621; **Stavrakos**, no. 178 and an unpublished one in Zacos collection, III, 1592). It is difficult to say, however, whether a bulla in the DO collection 58. 106. 2846 belonged to the same.

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion.

*Rev.* ΘΚΕΡΟΗΘΕΙΚΩΝ ΧΑΡΤ8ΛΑΡ.ΤΩMITVΛΕΝΑΩ

3. Μιχαὴλ Μιτυλήναιος διάκονος, ρεφερενδάριος καὶ μάγιστρος ρητορικός, author of the short novel about the Beirut cross written after 1071 (*Bibl. hagiogr. graeca*, 3, Bruch, 1957, no. 789b). Two groups of seals, where he is archbishop and metropolitan of Thessalonike, are associated with the same person (see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, V, 1, no. 456; *SBS*, 2, p.195, no. 12).

4. Χριστοφόρος Μιτυλήναιος:

a) Famous poet from the Xth-XIth c., who was also πατρίκιος καὶ κρητῆς τοῦ βήλου καὶ τῆς Παφλαγονίας according to an inscription in the colophon (see **Darrrouzes**, *J. Les calendriers byzantins en vers.* - *REB*, 16, 1958, p. 67) and πατρίκιος ἀνθύπατος, κρητῆς Παφλαγονίας καὶ τῶν Ἀρμενικῶν at the beginning of the XIth c. (see **Kurtz**, *E. Die Gedichte des Christophoros Mitylenaios*, Leipzig, 1903, 26-29). His brother John (perhaps no. 1 above) died at the beginning of the XIth c.

b) Several groups of seals bearing the name of presumably the same Χριστοφόρος Μιτυλήναιος are known:

- β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ κρητῆς Μεσοποταμίας, according to his seal from collection of W. Seibt, no. 326, dated 1020-1040 (see **Wassilou**, *Seibt*, no. 198);

- β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ κρητῆς τῶν Χαρσιανῶν, according to the data of an unpublished bulla in the Zacos collection, III, no. 1534:

*Obv.* -·-·- |+ΚΕΡΟΗ|ΘΕΙΤΩCΩ|.8ΛΩΧΡΙ|.ΤΟΦΟΡΩ| -·-·-

*Rev.* -·-·- |Α'CΠΑΘ|.ΚΡΙΤ'ΧΑ|.ΙΑΝΤ'Τ|.ΜVTVΛΗΝ| -·-·-

- β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ κρητῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου καὶ κρητῆς τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν, according to the data of an unpublished bulla in the Zacos collection, III, no. 1606:

*Obv.* + ΚΕΡΟ|ΗΘΕΙΤΩ|CΩΔ8Λ'ΧΡΙC|ΤΟΦΟΡ'Ρ'Α'|CΠΑΘΑ|- P'-

*Rev.* ΚΡΙΤ'Ε|ΠΙΤ'ΙΠΠΟ|ΔΡΟΜ'Κ'ΤΩΝ|ΑΝΑΤΟΛΙΚ'|ΤΩMITVΛΗ|-ΝΑΙΩ-

- and as a private person (see *Seyrig*, no. 193).

#### 471. Ῥωμανός Μοναστηριώτης μάγιστρος (XI c. second half).

Historical Museum, Shumen, no. 14524. Find-spot: the stronghold near the village of Melnitsa, district of Elkhovo. D.17.1-19 (17) 2.5 mm. Good imprint and good state of preservation.

Ed. **Jordanov**, *Melnitsa*, no. 47.

No parallels known.

*Obv.* St. Demetrios standing frontally, holding spear in r. hand, l. hand set on shield resting on ground. Inscription in two columns: Θ-Δ-Η-. || -T-P-I-O' : 'Ο ἄγιος) Δη[μή]τριος)

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines. Border of dots.

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΡΩΜΑΝΩ | ΜΑΓΙCΤΡΩ | ΤΩΜΟΝΑ | CΤΗΡΙΟΤ'

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Ῥωμανῷ μαγίστρῳ τῷ Μοναστηριότ(η)

Romanos Monasteriotes is unknown from the narrative sources.

The narrative sources do mention other individuals bearing this family name.

The etymology of this family name perhaps comes from the word μοναστήριον meaning monastery (see **Papadimitriou**, *Rev. Moritz*, 2, p. 172). There is less reason to associate it with the toponym Monastery in Macedonia (see **Moritz**, *Zunamen*, II, S. 41) and still lesser with the name Monastras. A recent opinion is that the family name Monasteriotes has an Armenian origin from the name of the lake and city of Van, respectively Vanetsi. In 1021 the city became center of the theme Vaasprachan, and the Vanetses originating from there were referred to as Μοναστηριώτης in the Greek sources (**Бартикян, Р. М. К** византийской просопографии. Μοναστηριώται : Кто они ?- *ΑΝΤΙΔΩΡΟΝ. К 75 летию академика РАН Геннадия Григорьевича Литаврина*, Санкт Петербург, 2003, 40-46).

The following representatives of this family are attested:

1. John Monasteriotes:

a. vestarches and kapetano of Armenia and Iberia (according to an inscription from Ani of 1058/59, see **Бенешевич**, Три анийские надписи, с. 18);

b. magistros and doux of Iberia in 1059 (according to the will of Eusthatios Boilas from the year 1059: see **Lemerle**, *Cinq*, 39, 42, no. 10).

Romanos Monasteriotes had the same title and was a contemporary of John's. It is possible to assume he was a relative, perhaps his brother.

2. Leo Monasteriotes, who in 1088 in his capacity as κρητής τοῦ βήλου καὶ γενικὸς is assumed to have signed a chrysobull of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos regarding the monastery on Patmos. This however refers to a later copy of the chrysobull (see *Actes Patmos*, 1, no. 7, p. 71E) and therefore concerns Leo Monasteriotes from the second half of the XIIth c., about whom the following information is known:

a. in 1164 he signed the typikon of monastery of St. Mamas (see **Eustratiades**, Mamantos, p. 309.10-11; *BMFD*, 3, p. 1035) as κρητής τοῦ βήλου καὶ ἵπποδρόμου;

b. in 1183 κρητής τοῦ βήλου Λέων Μοναστηριώτης is mentioned along with two other judges who tried to defend Empress Maria-Xenia, the mother of the young Emperor Alexios II Komnenos (1180-1183), when the claimant to the throne Andronikos Komnenos wanted to expel her from the Palace and the crowd almost tore them in pieces. It seems that Leo Monasteriotes reoriented himself to become later counselor of Emperor Andronikos I Komnenos (1183-1184) and mouthpiece of the Senate (**Choniates**, 265.3-266; **Choniates** tr. **Magoulias**, p. 148).

c. The name of Leo Monasteriotes was last mentioned in 1187 during the war of the emperor against the Bulgarians:

„On arriving at the queen city Isaakios plumed himself on his achievements, so much so that one of the judges (this was Leon Monasteriotes) said that the soul of Basil the Bulgar-Slayer was aggrieved because the emperor had utterly cast aside his Typikon” (**Choniates**, 373.68-71; **Choniates** tr. **Magoulias**, p. 206).

Thus, throughout the whole period between 1164 and 1187 Leo Monasteriotes was a judge, and he was not a contemporary of Romanos Monasteriotes but perhaps his descendant.

#### 472. Γεώργιος Μονομαχάτος μάγιστρος καὶ δοῦξ (1070s)

Private collection. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 26-27 mm. Incomplete imprint in a good state of preservation.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. The Virgin standing frontally, holding Christ on her l. arm.

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

ΘΚΕ.. | ΤΩCΩΔΟ... | ΓΕΩΡΓΙΩΜΑ | ΓΙCΤΡΩC Δ8 | ΚΙΤΩΜΟΝΩ | ΜΑΧΑΤ'  
+ Θ(εοτό)κε [β(οή)θ(ει)] τῷ σῷ δο[ύλῳ] Γεωργίῳ μαγίστρῳ (καὶ) δοικὶ τῷ  
Μονωμαχάτ(ῳ)

There is an individual bearing these names in the narrative sources. The main source about his life is Anna Komnene. Ca. 1078, he was appointed doux of Dyrrachion by Emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1078-1081) as an escape from the pursuit of the emperor's favorites Borilos and Germanos. In his further actions in the complex political situation he showed much caution and tact, qualities to which Anna Komnene herself gives credit.

When Alexios Komnenos prepared his plot against Botaneiates, he turned to George Monomachatos for help of money and troops. The latter replied that he still preserved his old friendship for Alexios, but along with that he could not break his oath of fealty to Emperor Botaneiates. But if divine providence allotted the imperial throne to Alexios, “then as I have been your friend from the beginning, thus after this event I shall be your most faithful servant.” Later, he did not take side in the battle for Dyrrachion between Alexios I Komnenos and Robert Guiscard and, as a way out after Komnenos' victory, fled to the Serbian prince Michael. Later on, after the receipt of a chrysobull from Alexios I Komnenos, which guaranteed his safety, he returned to Byzantium. Nothing else is known of his life (see **Skoulatos**, *Personnages*, no 67).

Several groups of seals bearing the name of George Monomachatos are known in the literature. Along with our seal, they supplement the information from the Alexiad and define the following cursus honorum:

a. πατρίκιος καὶ κατεπάνω Βασπρακανίας (1050s-1060s), see **Шандровская**, Васпуракан, 155-156, рис. 1-2 and **Wassilou**, **Seibt**, no. 273.

b. βέστης καὶ κατεπάνω, 1060s-1070s, according to the data of two bullae, see **Шандровская**, Деятели Алексиады, 35-36, табл. I. 3; *Seyrig*, no. 206) and unpublished from Zacos collection, III.

c. μάγιστρος καὶ δοῦξ (1070s)

d. πρόεδρος καὶ δοῦξ (?-1078), according to the data from two bullae, see *Seyrig*, no. 210 and unpublished seals from DO. 58. 106. 4698 and Zacos, III (2 specimens).

e. πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ δοῦξ Δυρραχίου (1078-1081), see **Шандровская**, Деятели Алексиады, 35-36, табл. I.2).

#### 473-480. Παῦλος Μονομάχος πατρίκιος, β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ γενικὸς λογοθέτης (mid X c.)

a. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 578. Found in the course of excavations in G dwelling near the Southern Gate of the Inner City of Preslav in 1953. D. 25-26 mm. Poorly-preserved specimen with a portion chipped.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Преслав* № 127.

b. Private collection. Shown to me by S. Savov from Shumen on Nov. 22, 2000. Unknown origin, presumably from Preslav. D. 26-26 (26 ?) 3 mm. Incomplete imprint.

Unpublished.

c. Historical Museum Shumen, no. 14703. It came from a private collection (N. Nikolov from Razgrad). Find-spot: Preslav. Half is preserved. D. 14-26 mm. W. 8.8 g. Good but incomplete imprint. The blank was smaller than the diameter of the dies.

Unpublished.

d. Historical Museum Shumen, no. 14823. It came from a private collection (N. Nikolov from Razgrad). It was given to me for documentation in Feb 2003. Find-spot: Preslav. D. 26-30 (26?) 3 mm. W. 15.54 g. The imprint did not fit into the blank due to looseness of the boulloterion. The bulla itself is corrugated and cracked along the channel.

*Unpublished.*

e. Historical Museum, Shumen, no. Formerly in a private collection (N. Nikolov from Razgrad). It was given to me for documentation in May-June 2003. Find-spot: Preslav. D. 21-24 (?) 2.5 mm. Incomplete imprint due to the small size of the blank. The bulla is covered with white patina.

*Unpublished.*

f. Historical Museum Shumen, no. 14861/1. Formerly in a private collection (N. Nikolov from Razgrad). It was given to me for documentation in November 2003. Find-spot: Preslav. D. 25-29 (25) 3 mm. W. 9.48 g. Incomplete imprint. The bulla is covered with white patina.

*Unpublished.*

g. Historical Museum Shumen, no. 14861/2. Formerly in a private collection (N. Nikolov from Razgrad). It was given to me for documentation in November 2003. Find-spot: Preslav. D. 14-22 (?) 2.5 mm. W. 3.92 g. Half preserved. Good but incomplete imprint. The blank was smaller than the diameter of the dies.

*Unpublished.*

h. Historical Museum Shumen, no. 14904. Formerly in a private collection (N. Nikolov from Razgrad). It was given to me for documentation on 15<sup>th</sup> January, 2004. Find-spot: Preslav. D. 24-28 (?) 3 mm. W. 8.26 g. Only parts of the dies printed. A question poses itself: how could such an imprint have been sent from Constantinople?

*Unpublished.*

*The eight specimens were struck in the same boulloterion.*

*Parallels:* Another specimen struck in the same boulloterion was found in Chersones. See Алексеевко, Печати логофетов, 196-197, № 46.

*Obv.* Between two borders of dots, the invocation:

+ ΚΕΡΟΗΘΕΙΤΩCΩΔΟΝΛΩ

In center, cruciform invocative monogram containing the letters ΠΑΝΛΩ. In the quarters: ΠΑ-ΤΡ' || ΚΙ-Ω.

*Rev.* Between two borders of dots, the inscription from obv. continues:

ΡΑCΙΑΗΚΩΠΡΩΤΩCΠΑΘΑΡΙΩ

In center, cruciform monogram containing the letters: ΤΟ ΜΩΝ(ΟΜ)ΑΧ.

In the quarters: ΚΑΙ - ΓΕ || ΝΙ - ΚΘ.

+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Παύλῳ πατρ(ι)κίῳ βασιλικῷ πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ καὶ γενικοῦ το Μων(ομ)άχῳ

For more information on the person of Paul Monomachos, see no. 481 presenting the later period of his career in his capacity as imperial sacellarios.

#### 481. Παῦλος Μονομάχος ἀνθύπατος, πατρίκιος, β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ β' σακελλάριος (mid X c.)

Private collection. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 30-32 mm. Complete and well-preserved imprint.

*Ed.* Йорданов, Преслав, № 134.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Between two borders of dots, the invocation:

+ ΚΥΠΙΕΡΟΗΘΕΙΤΩCΩΔΟΝΛΩ

In center of the enclosed field, a cruciform monogram recording the name ΠΑΝΛΩ. In the quarters: ΑΝ-ΘΥ || ΠΑ-ΤΩ

*Rev.* Between two borders of dots, the inscription from above continues:

ΡΑCΙΑΙΚΩΠΡΩΤΩCΠΑΘΑΡΙΩΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΩΚΑΙ Ρ'CΑΚΕΛΑΡΙΩ

In center of the enclosed field, a cruciform monogram recording the name:

οΜΩΝ(ΟΜ)ΑΧ.

When unbinding the monograms, straightening the text and connecting it from either side, we can read the following:

+ Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Παύλῳ ἀνθυπάτῳ, πατρικίῳ βασιλικῷ πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ καὶ β' σακελαρίῳ το Μων(ομ)άχῳ

The same dignitary was in an earlier stage a patrikios, protospatharios and logothetes of the genikon (see nos. 473-480 above).

The dating of the two groups of seals is generally to the Xth c. The correspondence impressed with them (particularly active in his capacity as logothetes of the genikon) was received in Preslav, when it was a capital city.

Magistros Paul Monomachos was sent as emissary to Chambdan in 954. He had to arrange an exchange of prisoners between Chambdan and domestikos of the Schools Bardas Phokas. Chambdan however, had murdered Constantine, the son of Bardas Phokas, and the negotiations failed (see Skylitzes, 241.30).

If we accept that it is the same person, then his seals found in Preslav and Chersones reflect an earlier period of his career, prior to 954.

#### 482-511. Λέων Μουκατῆς β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μαγλαβίου (X-XI c.)

1-23. Twenty-one specimens are preserved in the Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav. All twenty-three bullae originate from the Strategia of Preslav.

*Ed.* Йорданов, Преслав, nos. 32-55.

24-29. Recently I examined five other specimens, which are from private collections but perhaps have the same origin as the above twenty-three.

*Unpublished.*

30. Private collection (N. Nikolov from Razgrad). Find-spot: Preslav. Poorly-preserved imprint. All thirty or thirty-one bullae are from the same boulloterion and have the same origin, Preslav.

*Unpublished.*

*Parallels:* In his review in BZ, Seibt reported for another specimen preserved in the Zarnitz collection (no. 491) and wondered whether the patronym had a Slavic origin. This specimen as well as many others from the Zarnitz collection perhaps have a Bulgarian origin, and in this case particularly, Preslav is concerned with greater likelihood.

*Obv.* Bust of Christ, bearded, with cross behind his head; r. hand raised in blessing, and a book in l. hand. On either side the sigla: IC || XC : I(σοῦ)ς Χ(ριστὸ)ς. Circular inscription along circumference: + ΚΕΡΟΗΘΕΙΤΩCΩΔ'

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

+ ΛΕΟΝ | Τ'Ρ'Α'CΠΑ | Θ'ΣΕΠΙΤ'Μ | ΑΓΛΑΡΟ | ΜΘΚΑΤ | οοο

+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δ(ούλῳ) Λέοντ(ι) β'(πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίῳ) (καὶ) ἐπὶ τ(οῦ) μαγλαβ(ίου) (τ)ο Μουκάτ(η)

#### 512-513. Κοσμᾶς Μουσάραφ (second half of XI c.)

a. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 18055. D. 20-20.5 (17) 3 mm, W. 7.10 mm. Successful imprint, well-preserved in its entire, but the surface is slightly corroded.

*Ed.* Йорданов, Преслав, № 413.

b. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, field no. 17238. Dimensions: 16-20 (17) 3 mm. W. 7.10 g. Once a

good imprint, of which only a half is preserved.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 414.

Both specimens are from the same boulloterion.

Parallels: Another unpublished specimen struck with the same pair of dies is preserved in the Hermitage (M-6782).

Obv. Inscription of three lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩCΩ | Δ8ΛΩ | -✕-

Rev. Inscription of three lines:

-✕- | ΚΟCΜΑ | ΤΩΜΟΝ | CΑΡΦ | -✕-

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Κοσμᾷ τῷ Μουσάρ(α)φ

The owner of the seal represented by the bullae from Preslav and Constantinople (in the Hermitage) is a certain Κοσμᾷς Μουσάραφ.

His patronym is not Greek and has an Arabic origin : < Ar. *musharraf* "honoured". The name is Arabic, and the Arab origin of Κοσμᾷς Μουσάραφ himself or his immediate ancestors is quite probable.

A certain Μουσάραφ, who switched over to service in the Empire, is mentioned in Skylitzes and the Arabian sources. He helped the Byzantines during the campaign of Emperor Romanos III (1028-1035) against Aleppo in 1030. He also promised to submit to the katepano of Antioch (Michael Spondyles) and proposed to restore a fortress in the locality called Mani'qa (Μενῖκος) for defence against the emir of Tripolis, but actually he did not want to submit and wished to declare his independence from both authorities. His position was done away with under the new more energetic katepano of Antioch Niketas (in 1031) (on the events, see **Skylitzes**, 379.58-79; 382.61-65; 383.81-88). A seal of Nacr ibn Mousharraf bearing the title patrikios inscribed in Arabic and associated with the person of the aforementioned Μουσάραφ is preserved in collection *Seyrig* no. 395.

A considerable number of Byzantine dignitaries bearing the paronym Μουσάραφ were attested in the XIth c. mainly by seals:

1. Βασίλειος Μουσάραφ, known by his bulla with no title or office in the collection of ΡΑΙΚ (see **Панченко**, *Κατάλογ* № 243). It is dated to the middle and second half of the XIth c.

2. Θεόδωρος Μουσάραφ, known by his bulla with no title or office in the collection of the Athens Numismatic Museum (see **Konstantopoulos**, no 702b; **Stavrakos**, *Korrekturen*, no. 3). It is dated to the second half of the XIth c.

3. Ἰωάννης Μουσάραφ, attested by two groups of seals:

a) ἀνθύπατος, βέστης καὶ στρατηγὸς (according to an unpublished specimen in Shaw 954 (no. 1208) and Zacos, III:

Obv. St. Michael standing with ruler's insignia.

Rev. + ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ἸΩΑΝΘΝΠ' | ΤΩΡΕCΤΙC | CΤΡΑΤΙΓΩ | ΤΩΜ8CΑ | ΡΑΦ

b) πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ κατεπάνω (according to an unpublished specimen in DO. 55. 1. 3194):

Obv. St. Michael standing with ruler's insignia.

Rev.: + ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ἸΩΑ'ΠΡΟ | ΕΔΡΩCΚΑ | ΤΕΠΑΝΩ | Τ'Μ8CΑΡΑ | ΦΑ

Their dating is in the third quarter of the XIth c. with a possible chronological difference of 5-10 years between the two groups.

4. Κωνσταντῖνος Μουσάραφ, known by his unpublished seal with no title and office in the DO collection 55.1.3193. It is generally dated to the second half of the XIth c.

Obv. Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

Rev. + ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8' | ΚΩΝΤΟ | Μ8CΑΡΑ | ΦΑ

5. Λέων Μουσάραφ, known by his unpublished seal with no title and office in the DO collection 58. 106. 2132. It is generally dated to the second half of the XIth c.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin holding a medallion before her chest.

Rev. + ΑΓΝΗΦΥ | ΛΑΤΕΛΕΟΝ | ΑΜΟΝCΑΡ | ΦΑ

6. Νικηφόρος Μουσάραφ :

a. μάγιστρος, βεστάρχης καὶ στρατηλάτης τῆς Ἀνατολῆς (see **Nesbit-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 3, no. 99.12);

Obv. Bust of St. Nikephoros, holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

Rev. ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟ | .ICTP'ΡΕC | .ΕCΤΑΡΧΗ | CΤΡΑΤΗΛΑ | ΤΗCΑΝΑΤΟΛ | ΤΩΜ8CΑ | Φ

b. μάγιστρος καὶ στρατηλάτης τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν according to an unpublished seal from Zacos, III, no.1664. They are dated to the third quarter of the XIth c.

7. Ἄννα Μουσαραφίνη κατεπάνισσα – second half of the XI c., see **Wassilou, Seibt**, no. 270.

It is difficult to establish the direct connection between the above-listed individuals, except in the patronyms. It could be assumed that some of them (there are eight of them, after all) are descendants of Nasr ibn Musharraf, who in 1030 switched over to service in Byzantium, all the more that their dating is to the second half of the XIth c. The absence of titles and offices with five of the seven individuals makes it difficult to determine their social status. However, the iconography of most of the seals (representations of military saints) reinforces the argument for their belonging to the military aristocracy.

#### 514. Νικήτας Μουζάκης (second half of XI c.)

Private collection of a collector from Burgas. The plaster cast was sent to me by Ts. Drazheva from the Historical Museum, Burgas. Found in Pomorie. Dimensions: 22-23 (20) ? mm. Good imprint and a bulla in a good state of preservation.

Unpublished.

Parallels: **Konstantopoulos**, no. 662b; **Stavrakos**, no. 181, struck in the same boulloterion.

Obv. Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΝΙΚΗΤΑ | ΤΟΜ8ΖΑ | Κ'

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Νικήτα το Μουζάκ(η)

An individual bearing these names is unknown from the narrative sources.

Anna Komnene reports in the *Alexiad* that a certain Μουζάκης, in his capacity as a police official, took active part during Nikephoros Diogenes' inquiry and trial in 1094, (see *Alexiade*, II, 178.11-27; **Skoulatos**, *Personnages*, no.140).

A proved fact is that in such cases she usually reports the patronym of the given dignitary, but as evident from below, there are also other representatives of this family known by their seals. It seems that Ἰωάννης Μουσάκης πρωτονωβελίσσιμος has the best chance for identification.

Known by their seals are the following:

1. Ἰωάννης Μουζάκης:

a. πρωτοσπαθάριος-ὑπατος καὶ στρατηγὸς, according to an unpublished specimen

in the Zacos collection, III, no 1526. It is dated to the mid-XIth c.:

*Obv.* Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

*Rev.* + ΚΕΡ'Θ'ΙΩΑΝΝΗΝ|Α'ΣΠΑΘΑΡΙ|ΥΠΙΑΤΣΤΡΑ|ΤΙΓΤΟΜ8|ΖΑΚΙ

b. πρωτονωβελίσσιμος, according to two unpublished specimens in DO. 55. 1. 3196; DO. 58. 106. 2150. They are dated to the late XIth c.:

*Obv.* Bust of a military saint (St. Demetrios?), holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

*Rev.* + ΚΕ|ΙΩΑ'ΝΩΡΕ|ΛΛΙCΙΜΩ|ΤΩΜ8ΖΑ|ΚΗ

2. Κωνσταντῖνος Μουζάκης, known from his unpublished bulla with no title or office in the DO collection 55.1.4168. It is generally dated to the last quarter of the XIth c. (see *SBS*, 4, p. 65, no. 2).

3. Μιχαήλ Μουζάκης, known from his unpublished seals with no title or office in the collection of IFEB. And Fogg A. M., no. 3345. They are generally dated to the last quarter of the XIth c.:

*Obv.* Bust of St. John the Baptist.

*Rev.* ΠΡΟ|ΔΡΟΜ'ΚΚΕ|ΠΕΜΙΧΑΗΛ|ΤΩΜ8ΖΑ|ΚΗ

#### 514A. Ἰωάννης Μουστακάς ( XII c.)

Private collection (V. Panteleev, Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. D.33-35 (23) 3 mm, W. 19.00 g. Complete imprint in a poor state of preservation. Covered with incrustation and oxides.

*Unpublished.*

*Parallels:* Unpublished from Zacos, III, nos. 1530 and 1598.

*Obv.* St. George standing frontally, holding a spear (r. hand), his l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground. Vertical inscription: Θ-Γ-Ε-Ω || Ρ-Γ-Ι-. : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Γεώργι[ο(ς)].

*Rev.* Vertical inscription of three lines:

— + — | ΙΩΟ | Μ8CΤΑ | ΚΑC

+ Ἰω(άννης) ὁ Μουστακάς

For the representatives of this family, see *Stavrakos*, no. 184.

#### 515. Μουχουμέτ βεστάρχης (third quarter of the XI c.)

Private collection (Zheliashko Dimov, Burgas). Find-spot: the stronghold near the village of Melnitsa. D. 16-16 (14 ?) ? mm. Perhaps a weak imprint, but all the letters from the Greek text have been imprinted. Specimen in a good state of preservation.

*Ed. Jordanov*, Melnitsa, no. 42.

*Parallel:* Dumbarton Oaks (DO. 55. 1. 4570).

*Obv.* Three lines of inscription in border of line.

Muhammad /Abu Nasr /Al-Salihi (?)

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

ΡΕC | ΤΑΡΧΙ| Μ8Χ8 | ΜΕΤ

Βεστάρχι Μουχούμετ

It is clear the owner of the seal was bilingual. The name Μουχούμετ points to Arabic origin. During the third quarter of the eleventh century, to which the seal can be dated, there

are a number of cases where given Arabs or Persians were in service of the Empire.

#### 516-518. Εὐδόκιμος Μωροχαρζάνης (last quarter, XI c.)

a. Archaeological Museum Plovdiv, no. 1165. Dim. 21-23.5 (15) 2.5 mm. W. 7.28 g.

*Ed. Jordanov*, Plovdiv, no 13.

b. Private collection (Vurban Vurbanov, Elkhovo). Recovered at the stronghold near the village of Melnitsa, district of Elhovo. Dim. 27-29 (15) 2.6 mm. Struck off-center. Imprint and specimen in superb condition.

*Ed. Jordanov*, Melnitsa, no. 20.

c. Archaeological Museum Sofia, no. 161 (from the former collection of Dr. Vasil Haralanov). Find-spot: Silistra or Preslav. D. 17-21 mm. Specimen in a poor state of preservation.

*Unpublished.*

*All three specimens are from the same boulloterion.*

*Parallel:* Unpublished from DO 58. 106. 5710.

*Obv.* St. Symeon standing as an orant. Inscription in two columns:

Θ-CV-ME-ΩΝ || Ω- ΘΩ-ΔΟ-ΧΟ-C : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Συμεών ὁ Θ(ε)ωδόχος.

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines. Border of dots.

+ ΕΥ | ΔΟΚΙΜ8 | CΦΡΑΓ'ΜΑ | ΜΩΡΟΧΑΡ | ΖΑΝ8C

+ Εὐδοκίμου σφράγ(ισ)μα Μωροχαρζάνου

Representatives of this family are known in Byzantium.

The etymology of the name is unclear. There is a group of names, such as Mauropoulos or Maurogeorge, which are derisive sobriquets meaning literally “the Stupid Paul”, “The Stupid George”, etc. (see *Koukoules*, *Vios*, 6, p. 483). But the first part of the patronym could also be accepted as a distorted Armenianized form of the Greek “black”. In this line of reasoning, the second part of the patronym could be associated with some toponym, for example Charzanan (Chardzan) in Armenia (according to Kazhdan’s commentary).

The representatives of this family played an important role in the life of the Empire as early as the IXth-Xth c. One of them named John was a patriarch in 837-843 (*Grumel*, *Chronologie*, 162-166).

The bullae presented here are dated to the mid-XIth c. at the earliest. Perhaps the XIth-century Morocharsanes are descendants of those of the IXth-Xth centuries. Known among them is Εὐδόκιμος Μωροχαρζάνης β'νοτάριος τοῦ γενικοῦ, who signed the pittakion of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos, dated April 1088, relating to the monastery of Christodoulos on Patmos (see *Actes Patmos*, 1, no. 48, p. 339 B 224). It is not impossible that the owner of the seal presented here and Eudokimos Morocharzanes from the document cited are identical.

Among the correspondents of Michael Psellos we know of a representative of the Morocharzanes family, who held the post of judge of the Boukellaroi after Michael Psellos (see *Psellos*, *SM*, 2, p. 998). Yet whether that is the same Eudokimos or another member of the family cannot be determined with certitude.

The name Κωνσταντῖνος Μωροχαρζάνης πατρίκιος καὶ πρωτονοτάριος τοῦ σεκρέτου β'σακέλλης is also known from the narrative sources; he certified a document of the same monastery on Patmos, dated 23rd May 1088 (see *Actes Patmos*, I, nos. 48 D248; 49 B287; 349).

Another open question: to whom in Philippoupolis and the stronghold near the village of Melnitsa was Eudokimos Morocharzanes writing, and in what capacity? Was it as a private



person to his friends or relatives staying there, or in an official function?

### 519. Ἰωάννης Νεστόγγος πρόεδρος καὶ στρατηγὸς (1070s – 1080s)

Historical Museum, Shumen, no. 14208. Offered for purchase by the middleman N. Georgiev from Shumen. His information is that it was found in Silistra. D.14.8-17 (over 16.6) 2.1 mm, W. 3.71 g.. Incomplete imprint. The blank was smaller in diameter than the dies.

*Ed.* Йорданов, Silistra, IV, № 6.

*Parallels:* Another specimen struck in the same boulloterion is preserved in the Fogg A. M. collection, no. 723 (see **Cheyne**, Nestoggoi, no. 3).

*Obv.* Bust of St. Theodore of Sphorakios. He holds a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). From the inscription on his either side remains: .....||.-O-CΦ.-KA8 : [ Ὁ ἅγιος Θεόδωρος ] το Σφ[ω(ρ)]ακίου.

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

..... | .ΩΠΡΟΕΔ. | .CTPATH.. | ΤΩΝΕCΤΟ Γ | - ΓΩ -

[+Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Ἰω(άννη) προέδ[ρ(ω) (καὶ)] στρατη[γῶ] τῷ Νεστόγγω

The owner of the seal affixed on correspondence to an unknown addressee in Silistra is the proedros John Nestongos. He is unknown from the narrative sources.

Most investigators tend to accept that the family Νεστόγγος has a Bulgarian origin. Its representative is for the first time mentioned in Skylitzes in connection with the capture of the city of Sirmium. It is an interesting ascertainment that further on its representatives are attested in Byzantium in 1136 at the earliest (see **Polemis**, *Doukai*, 150-152, nos 131-134; *PLP*, nos 20197-20201, 20723-20728; **Cheyne**, Nestoggoi, 261-269; **Божилев**, Българите, № 410) in contrast to the great number of seals of representatives of this family.

The seal of John Nestongos preserved in various collection outline the following cursus honorum:

a) ὑπατος καὶ στρατηγὸς (mid-XI c.), according to a specimen offered at the auction Kunker 29 09 - 01.10. 1993 (no. 539), see **Cheyne**, Nestoggoi, 262-263, Pl. I, fig.1.

b) μάγιστρος καὶ στρατηγὸς (1060s), according to a specimen in DO. 58.106.4245 (see **Cheyne**, Nestoggoi, 263-264, Pl. I, fig. 2).

c) πρόεδρος καὶ στρατηγὸς (1070s-1080s)

d) πρωτοπρόεδρος (1080s), according to a specimen in IEFB, no. 1008 (see **Cheyne**, Nestoggoi, p. 264, Pl. I, fig. 5).

What strikes in these four groups of seals?

They all contain a rare iconographic representation: the image of St. Theodore of Sphorakios. This is perhaps a replica of the patron's icon of the church Ἅγιος Θεόδωρος ἐν τοῖς Σφωρακίου in Constantinople (see **Janin**, *Eglises C-ple*, 152-153).

With the three groups of seals, despite his high rank and late dating of the seals, John Nestongos' position is strategos maybe of a maritime theme, but having no particular assignment.

### 520. Νέστωρ πατρίκιος καὶ πραιπόσιτος (second half, XI c.)

Private collection (St. Bilik from Sofia). Find-spot as reported by the former owner: Veliko Turnovo. We can only guess at the truth of this information. D. 17-20 mm. W. 3.804 g. Good imprint and a well-preserved specimen.

*Ed.* Йорданов, Нестор, с. 308.I.

No parallels known.

Obv. St. Demetrios standing, holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield, both resting on the ground. Vertical inscription: . . Γ-Ι || Δ-Ι-ΜΙ-Τ' : [Ὁ ἄ]γι(ος) Δημίτ(ριος)

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΝΕΣΤΟΡΙ | ΠΡΪΚΑΙ | ΠΡΑΙΠΟ | ΣΙΤΩ  
+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Νέστωρ π(ατ)ρι(κίω) καὶ πραιποσίτω

The owner of the seal affixed on correspondence to an unknown addressee in northern Bulgaria is Νέστωρ πατρίκιος καὶ πραιπόσιτος. Praipositos is a eunuch's office (see Bury, *System*, 123-124; Guillard, *Recherches*, I, 333-380; Oikonomides, *Listes*, p.300, n.77-78; Seibt, *Bleisiegel*, S. 172).

The presented seal is generally dated to the second half of the XIth c., and it could be assumed that praipositos is another honorific title, but taking into consideration the person of the owner of the seal, Nestor, it is more likely that it refers to an effective office.

Who was this Nestor?

It is an interesting ascertainment that I do not know of another seal bearing such a homonym, besides that of Νέστωρ ἄνθρωπος ἄνακτος τοῦ Δούκα. I will comment on the position and identification of Nestor further on, after presenting his seals from the second group.

#### 521-522. Νέστωρ ἄνθρωπος ἄνακτος τοῦ Δούκα (1068-1071).

a. Historical Museum, Iambol. Offered for purchase by Zh. Biulbiulev from Harmanli. Find-spot: Silistra. D. 23-27 (22?) 3 mm. Incomplete and low-quality imprint. Dislocation between obverse and reverse. Double struck.

Ed. Йорданов, Силистра, IV, № 14.

b. National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 13141. Find-spot: Silistra. Half preserved. D. 16-22 mm. Low-quality imprint. The same double striking, as the above specimen.

Ed. Йорданов, Силистра, IV, № 15.

Both specimens come from the same boulloterion.

Parallels: The Dumbarton Oaks Collection contains a third specimen struck in a different boulloterion than the Bulgarian finds (see Oikonomides, *Dated*, no. 95).

Obv. Bust of the Virgin turned to l. with hands outstretched toward a medallion in which there is a figure, obviously Christ. On either side, inscription: Sigla: .. || Θ̅V̅. To the r. of the medallion, CX. Along the circumference, between two concentric circles of tight dots, circular inscription starting at the top:

+ ΘΚΕ...ΕΙΤΩCΩΔ8...ΤΟΠΙ

Rev. St. Nestor (at left) and St. Demetrios standing in military dress. Along the circumference, between two concentric circles of tight dots, circular inscription starting at the top: ΤΩ  
.....ΟVKA

=+ Θ(εοτό)κε [β(οή)θ]ει τῷ σῷ δού(λῳ) [Νέσ]τωρι τῷ [ἀν(θρῶπ)ω] ἄνακτο(ς) τῷ Δ]ούκα

According to the publisher of the Dumbarton Oaks specimen, Prof. Nikos Oikonomides, the owner of the seal is the same Nestor who in his capacity as vestarches was dispatched as a katepano of Dristra in 1072/1073 to pacify the rebellious local population. The same author assumes that the qualification "of the Emperor Doukas" covers the person of Michael, the

son of Constantine X Doukas (1059-1067) and his co-emperor who also retained his title of emperor under Romanos IV Diogenes (1067-1071) and from 1071-1078 was monobasileus. Thus, the seal, according to Nikos Oikonomides, is dated between 1067 and 1071.

But let us go back to the question: who was Nestor?

First of all, I must point out that the two groups of seals belong to one person on the following reasons: both groups of seals bear the same proper name, there is continuity in dating, similarity in positions, iconography, etc.

Who was this Νέστωρ and what do we know about him?

I will first present the information of the chroniclers and then we will try to relate it with the data from the seals.

The main source of information about the person of Nestor is *The History* of Michael Attaleiates. According to him, "...Nestor led his lineage from the Illyrians and was a servant of the emperor's father" (see Attaleiates, p. 205.9-10), and at that juncture 1072/1073 emperor was Michael IX Doukas (1071-1078), therefore the meaning of the text of the seal ἄνθρωπος ἄνακτος τοῦ Δούκα could apply precisely to the emperor's father, Constantine X (1068-1071).

I will go on with citations from Michael Attaleiates regarding Nestor: "...the half-barbarian population which lived along the Ister began showing indignation... The emperor's men, wishing to send as satrap one among his closest men, decided to appoint as katepano of Dristra a certain Nestor, who was honored with the dignity of vestarches. He led his lineage from the Illyrians and was servant of the emperor's father (δοῦλον πατρῶν γεγονότα τοῦ βασιλεύοντος) [i.e. Constantine X Doukas (1059-1067)]" The chronicler goes on that when Nestor arrived at Dristra, he found out that his inhabitants "did not at all pay attention the rule of the Roman emperor but had completely placed the control over the fortress in the hands of their chieftain with the sobriquet Tatoush. Nestor united himself with their plan and intentions by contract and oaths either because of fear from them or because he liked their decision due to tribal closeness to their kin or because a rumor reached him and disturbed his mind that his house and property had been confiscated by the treasury on the pretext that he had not spent the gold given him by the imperial treasury for the purpose." (see Attaleiates, 204.18-205.22)

"...Nestor also incorporated the Pechenegs tribe and came to terms with them to start a relentless war with the Romans... He invaded Macedonia and set up camp near to Byzantium." (see Attaleiates, 206.3-7; 207.21-208.4).

The siege and negotiations tightened. The traditional Byzantine diplomacy was perhaps put into operation as a result of which Nestor learned that an attempt at his life was being prepared by his own allies, whereupon "he raised his army and started back ... and fled to the settlements and camps near the Istros..." (see Attaleiates, 209.6-16).

The other basic source for the events and the participants in them is J. Skylitzes, (*Skylitzes*, *Continuates*, p.166.16-17). His account is the following: "...Dispatched to the towns along the bank of Istros...was the vestarches Nestor, who was servant of the emperor's father (δοῦλον πατρῶν γεγονότα τοῦ βασιλεύοντος), and was appointed doux of Paristrion. He entered into an alliance with Tatoush, who along with his adherent and him set out to the capital together with many Pechenegs... since his own people plotted against him, Nestor left these places, plundered Macedonia and Thrace and the lands neighboring to Bulgaria and went over into the Pecheneg country."

Both sources report that Nestor was a close associate and servant to Emperor Constantine X Doukas, but they do not specify in what capacity: δοῦλον πατρῶν γεγονότα τοῦ βασιλεύοντος, according to Attaleiates, and δοῦλος γεγωνῶς τοῦ πατρῆς τοῦ

βασιλέως, according to Skylitzes Continuatus.

The data of the present seal supplement this information. At the time of Constantine X Doukas' reign he held the title πατρίκιος and exercised the effective office of πραιπόσιτος. And as pointed out above, the praeipositos was one of the most confidential men of the emperor. In this sense, he was also a real servant of the emperor and one of his closest eunuchs.

The present seal in his capacity as patrikios and praeipositos reflects precisely the period 1059-1067.

The second group of seals containing the text: Νέστωρ ἄνθρωπος ἄνακτος τοῦ Δούκα, reflects perhaps the period after the death of Constantine X Doukas and prior to his appointment as katepano of Dristra. It is a period of dramatic changes, in which ambitions interwove with legitimacy: after Constantine X Doukas' death on May 29, 1067, the following took turns to govern: initially a regency, later the widow empress Eudokia and from 1068-1071 Romanos IV Diogenes. During this whole period however the sons of Constantine Doukas were co-emperors and on the whole, labeling oneself ἄνθρωπος ἄνακτος τοῦ Δούκα proved to be a good investment for the future estimated after the enthronement of Michael VII in 1071. He and precisely his counselors honoured Nestor with the title of vestarches and dispatched him as katepano of Dristra and doux of Paristrion.

The comparison of the text of the seal with the chronicles outlines the following cursus honorum of Nestor:

- a) πατρίκιος καὶ πραιπόσιτος (?-1067);
- b) ἄνθρωπος ἄνακτος τοῦ Δούκα (1067-1071)- then he was perhaps in the rank of the anthypatoi;
- c) βεστάρχης καὶ κατεπάνω τῆς Δρίστρας or δοῦξ Παριστρίων, (1072/1073-?) - after Michael VII's enthronement, he was perhaps elevated to the rank of vestarches, skipping the title of vestes, thus emphasizing the emperor's benevolence towards him.

#### 523-523A. Λέων Νικερίτης βεστάρχης (third quarter of XI c.)

- a. Historical Museum, Shumen, no. 13539. Found on the land of the village of Liuliakovo, Burgas region, which is located at the exit of the Veselinovo pass. D.19-23(18)3.1 mm, W. 9.31 g. Good imprint and a bulla in a good state of preservation.

Unpublished.

- b. Private collection (V. Stankov from Batak). Find-spot: stronghold near to village of Melnitsa, disc. of Elkhovo. D. 20-21(18) mm. Good imprints.

Unpublished.

Parallels: **Seibt**, *Bleisiegel*, no. 99; DO. 58. 106. 5596 (unpublished). Struck with the same pair of dies as our specimen.

Obv. Inscription of three lines:

- 1.+ KER'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ . | ΛΕONT. | - o -
- 2.+ KER'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8' | ΛΕONTI | - o -

Rev. Inscription of three lines:

- 1.- o - | . ΕCΤΑΡ | . ΗΤΩΝΙ | ΚΕΡΙΘ | - o -
- 2.- o - | ΡΕCΤΑΡ | ΧΗΤΩΝΙ | ΚΕΡΙΘ | - o -
- + Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δού(λῳ) Λέοντι βεστάρχη τῷ Νικερίτη

The owner of the seal affixed on correspondence to an unknown addressee resident in the fortress near the present-day village of Liuliakovo, Burgas region, was the vestarches Leo Nikerites. His life and career were often connected with the Bulgarian lands, which makes a

correspondence like this natural.

For more information on the person of Leo Nikerites, see no. 524 below.

#### 524. Λέων Νικερίτης πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ ἀναγρφεὺς Πελοποννήσου καὶ Ἑλλάδος (last quarter of the XI<sup>th</sup> century)

Private collection, offered for sale to the National Historical Museum, Sofia. Found in the region of Burgas. D. 22-24 mm. Incomplete imprint.

Ed. **Jordanov**, *G. Names*, no. 61.1.

Parallels : unpublished seal from Zacos, III, see **Wassilou**, **Seibt**, p. 133, n. 17.

Obv. Inscription of five lines:

..... | ΛΕONTI. | ΠΡΟΕΔΡ. | ΚΑΙΑΝ. | ΓΡΑΦ..

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

ΠΕΛΟ | ΠΟΝΝΗ.. | .ΕΛΑΔ | ΤΩΝΙΚΕ | ΡΙΤΗ  
[+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει)] Λέοντι [(πρωτο)]προέδρ[ω] καὶ ἀν[α]γραφ[εῖ]  
Πελοποννή[σου (καὶ)] Ἑλλάδ(ος) τῷ Νικερίτη

The owner of the seal was Leo Nikerites. From the narrative sources and seals that have reached us, Seibt (*Bleisiegel*, no. 99) suggests the following cursus homorum:

- a) βεστάρχης (1070s);
- b) πρόεδρος (1070s-1080s);
- c) πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ ἀναγρφεὺς Πελοποννήσου (1080s);
- d) in 1087 he was at the emperor's disposal during the negotiations with the Pechenegs;
- e) [κουροπαλάτης] καὶ δοῦξ Παραδουνάβου (1091);
- f) πρωτονοβελλίσμιος (1103);
- g) πρωτονοβελλίσμιος καὶ μέγας δοῦξ καὶ ἀναγρφεὺς Κύπρος (after 1103);
- h) πρωτονοβελλίσμιος (1103);
- i) commander of the garrison in Dever during the war against the Normans in 1108;
- j) commander of an advanced guard during the war against the Seljuks in 1116.

Since he was an eunuch, he was not honoured with the rank of Sebastos and probably completed his career as protonobelissimos.

In spite of the abundant information about this person, his position of πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ ἀναγρφεὺς Πελοποννήσου καὶ Ἑλλάδος is unknown. It is too close to that presented by the seals of πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ ἀναγρφεὺς Πελοποννήσου. This position could be assumed as just one referred to by the author of the *Life* of St. Meletios: Λέων Νικερίτης πραιτῶρ Ἑλλάδος καὶ Πελοποννήσου.

It is interesting that in the region of Burgas where he had stayed according to the information of the narrative sources, even though during a later period, at least two bullae featuring Leo Nikerites in different periods of his career were found as βεστάρχης (see above) and here as πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ ἀναγρφεὺς Πελοποννήσου καὶ Ἑλλάδος.

To supplement the previous publication, I will add the information from two new groups of seals:

1. Λέων Νικερίτης δοῦξ (end of the XI – beginning XII c.), according to an unpublished lead seal from Fogg A. M., no. 1295.

Obv. + CΦΡΑ | ΓΙCΛΕ | ONTOC

Rev. ΔΟΥ | ΚΟCΤΟΥ | ΝΙΚΕΡΙ | ΤΟΥ

2. Εἰρήνη Νικερίτισσα (second half of the XI c.) according to two lead seals (**Barnea, I.** Sigilli bizantine inedite din Dobrogea.-*Pontica*, 16, 1983, 270-271, Pl. II 7 and unpublished from DO. 58. 106. 3371.

*Obv.* Bust of the St. Theodore holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

*Rev.* + | ΗΡΗΝΗ | ΤΗΝΗΚΕ | ΡΙΤΗΑ

### 525. Κωνσταντῖνος Ξαντᾶς πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς (1050s)

Private collection. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 21-21 mm. Good imprint and a bulla in a good state of preservation.

*Unpublished.*

*Parallels:* Schlumberger, *Sig.*, p. 715, no. 1; Gray Birch, no. 17748; Unpublished from DO. 55. 1. 3400.

*Obv.* Inscription of four lines:

- ο - | + ΚΕΡΟ | ΗΘΕΙΤΩ | ΚΩΔΑΛΩ | ΚΩΝ | - ο -

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

ο ΠΡΙ ο | ΣΤΡΑ | ΤΙΓΩΤΩ | ΞΑΝΤΑ | - ο -

+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Κων(σταντίνῳ) πατρι(κίῳ) (καὶ) στρατιγῷ  
τῷ Ξαντᾷ

### 526. Νικηφόρος Ξιφίας β' πρωτοσπαθᾶριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Θράκης καὶ Ἰωαννουπόλεως (?-986)

Archaeological Museum, Preslav, no. 18512. Find-spot: the stratega of Preslav. D. 27-28 (22?) 2.1 mm. W. 11.00 g. Maybe the imprint was once complete but the copy is badly preserved and broken in two with a piece missing in the upper part. The surface is covered with thick oxides and eroded in some places. All this makes the reading difficult.

*Ed.* Йорданов, *Преслав*, № 250; Jordanov, *G. Names*, no. 35B.18.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Incomplete circular inscription: C . . . P O C || . . H M I continuing in the quarters between arms of patriarchal cross on three steps represented in the middle O..-ΡΩ || ΚΑΙ - T.. = Σ[ταυ]ρός [ε]ημι ο...ρω καὶ τ....

*Rev.* Inscription of seven lines:

+ ΝΙΚ. | ΦΟΡ....Α | Θ'ΣΤΡ... | ΘΡΑΚΗ.... | ΑΝΩ.ΟΛΕ | ΟC ΟΞΙΦΕ |-Α.-

+ Νικ[η]φόρ(ος) [β'(πρωτο)σπ]αθ(άριος) (καὶ) στρ[ατ(η)γ(ός)] Θράκη[ς] (καὶ)  
Ἰω]ανω[π]όλεος ὁ Ξιφέα[ς]

We would like to add a new observation regarding the positions of Nikephorus Xiphias to the publication cited above.

The army dispatched by the emperor in 1000 which was led by the patrikios Theodorokanos and the protospatharios Nikephorus Xiphias, was actually commanded by the duke of Adrianoupolis, the patrikios Theodorokanos and the strategos of Thrace and Ioannoupolis Nikephoros Xiphias, subordinate to the duke. These two local generals mopped up the invaders in the freed territory beyond the Haemus mountain.

### 527. Μιχαήλ Ξηρὸς (?) πατρίκιος (XI c.)

Private collection (Vurban Vurbanov, Elhovo). Deposited by the police in the National Historical Museum, Sofia. It may be from the region. The main group of seals in this collection stem from the village of Melnitsa, district of Elhovo. Dim. 25-26 mm. The reading of the patronym is uncertain due to the weak imprint of the third line.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of St. Theodore, holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Inscription in two columns: ..... || Δ- Ω-ΡΟ : [Ὁ ἄ(γιος) Θεός]δωρο(ς).

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

ΜΙΧΑΗΛ | ΠΡΙΚΙΩ | ΤΩΞΗΡ |- Ω -

Μιχαήλ πατρικίῳ τῷ Ξηρῷ

### 528. Θεόδωρος Οἰναιώτης σεβαστὸς (late XII c.)

Historical Museum, Haskovo, no.518. Found in the course of excavations in the Constantia fortress, near modern Symeonovgrad on 22nd September 1985. D. 36-37 (31) 3.1 mm; of the relief itself 4.1 mm. The engraving of the dies was superb attesting to a pretentious artistic taste. The depiction of the Virgin looks almost statuary. The bulla itself is very well preserved, with the exception of the head of the Virgin, which is the most raised part of the relief and was effaced.

*Ed.* Йорданов, *Тунджа и Марица*, № 6; Йорданов, *Севасти*, № 15.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* The Virgin Hagiosoritissa standing, turned three quarters l., with arms raised in orans toward the *manus Dei* appearing at the upper left side of the field. Inscription on either side: ΜΡ || ΘΥ | ΗΑ-ΓΙ-Ο-Cο || ΡΙ-ΤΙ-C-CA : Μ(ήτη)ρ Θε(ο)ῦ ἡ Ἀγί(ο)σορίτισσα

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

+ | CΦΡΑΓΙC | CΕΡΑϣ8 | ΘΕΟΔΩΡ8 | Τ8ΟΙΝΑΙ | -ΩΤ8-

+ Σφραγίς σεβαστοῦ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Οἰναιώτου

The owner of the seal is Theodore Oinaïotes unknown from other sources. The dating of the bulla, according to its iconography and text, is in the second half of the XIIth c. To whom in the Constantia fortress and on what occasion did he write? To answer that, we need to find information on other representatives of the family Oinaïotes.

1. George Oinaïotes, eunuch, who played an important role in court life and military operations under Alexios III (1195-1203). He took part, playing a decisive role besides, in the military campaign against Dobromir Chrysos in 1198 (**Choniates**, 503-505; **Guiland**, *Recherches*, I, p. 175; on the course and participants of these events, see **Златарски**, *История*, II, 120-130). With the same person could presumably be identified the owner of an unpublished seal in the Fogg A. M. collection, no. 766, George Oinaïotes sebastos and parakimomenos :

*Obv.* St. George Kuperiotes standing frontally, holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand resting on shield set on the ground.

*Rev.* Inscription of seven vertical lines:

+|ΟΜΩΝΥΜΟΝ|CΟΙCΕΡΑϣ|ΟΝ|ΟΙΝΑΙΩΤΗΝ|ΚΑΙΠΑΡΑΚΟΙ|ΜΩΜΕΝΟΝΜΑΡ|  
ΤVCMΕCΚΕ|ΡΟΙC

2. John Oinaïotes, sebastos, known from his pittakion among the documents of the Lavra, dated April 1321 (*Actes Lavra*, II, no. 112, p. 288.45).

3. Constantine Oinaïotes attested as a private person by his unpublished bulla in the Dumbarton Oaks (DO. 55. 1. 3908), dated to the XIth-XIIth c.:

*Obv.* ΚΩΝ | ΣΦΡΑΓΙΣ | ΜΑ

*Rev.* ΤΟΥ | .ΙΝΕΩ | ΤΟΥ

4. Makarios Oinaïotes, Michael Gabras' correspondent from the second decade of the XIVth c. (*Gabras, Briefe*, nos. 118-119; 265; 298; 306). A connection could be found between the sebastos Theodore Oinaïotes and the sebastos and parakimomenos George Oinaïotes. It is quite possible that the sebastos Theodore Oinaïotes also took part in the mentioned campaign of 1198 besides George Oinaïotes. He may have written to the head of the garrison in Constantia in pursuance of an emperor's order for coordination of the joint military operations or to some other high-ranking official located there, and why not to the local prelate (see the chapter of ecclesiastical seals).

### 529-532. Κωνσταντῖνος Οὐμπερτοπούλος (1080s-1090s)

His names are attested on three or four groups of seals from Bulgaria:

A. νοβελίσσιμος καὶ δοῦξ

Historical Museum, Pernik no. 358. Find-spot: Discovered on 18th May 1970 during the removing the grass from the church of the medieval fortress near the modern town. D. 21-21 (20) 3 mm. Good imprint, but still the side letters of the text are indistinct.

*Ed.* Юркува, Перник, 117-118, табл. II.3; Йорданов, Западни, № 3а, табл. XXXI.4.

*Parallels:* Unpublished in IFEB, no. 239. Struck in the same boulloterion. On its basis we correct some of the errors of the original publisher.

*Obv.* St. Michael standing frontally on a souppedion, with nimbus and wide-spread wings, wearing a long chiton and himation. He holds (r. hand) a labarum and a globus cruciger (l. hand).

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | .ΩCΩΔ8Λ' | .ΩΝΝΩΡΕ. | .CIMSΔ8K | ....ΙΕΡ | - Τ -

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δούλ(ω) [Κ]ων(σταντίνω) νωβε[λι]σίμ(ω) (καὶ) δουκ(ι) [τῷ Οὐμ]πέρτ(ω)

B. πρωτονοβελίσσιμος καὶ δοῦξ:

Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 26851. Found in the course of excavations near the residence of the Byzantine strategos of the city. D. 26-26 (18) 4 mm. W. 16.45 g. Good imprint with raised depiction.

*Ed.* Йорданов, Преслав, № 331; Йорданов, Западни, № 3б, табл. XXXI.5.

*Parallels:* Another specimen struck with the same pair of dies was found in the vicinity of Sirmium, see Barisic, Fr. Vizantijski olovni pecat iz Sirmijuma.- *Zb. phil. fakult.*, 8/1, 1964, 183-190.

*Obv.* St. Michael as above, but struck with a different matrix. On either side, the sigla: M-I || X-.

*Rev.* Inscription of seven lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8Λ' | ΚΩΝΑ'ΝΩ | ΡΕΛΛΙCΗΜ' | ΣΔ8ΚΙ ΤΩ | 8ΜΠΕΡ | Τ'

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δούλ(ω) Κων(σταντίνω) (πρωτο)νωβελλισίμ(ω) (καὶ) δουκὶ τῷ Οὐμπέρτ(ω)

C. σεβαστὸς καὶ δοῦξ:

Historical Museum, Pernik. Found in the course of excavations of the medieval fortress near the modern town. D. 26-26 (24) 3 mm. Its left side is more weakly printed.

*Ed.* Юркува, Перник, 119-120, табл. II.4; Йорданов, Западни, № 3в, табл. XXXI.6.

*Parallels:* Further three specimens are preserved in the collections of Dumbarton Oaks (DO. 55. 1. 3059) and Zacos, III, no 1472/2-1. With the last two, the boulloterion seems to have been retooled at a particular point, since the last line ends differently with them: ΤΩ | 8ΜΠΕΡ | ΤΩΛΩ

*Obv.* St. Michael standing frontally on a souppedion with nimbus and wide-spread wings, wearing a short military tunic and a cloak. He props himself on a scepter (r. hand) with trefoil ornament and holds a globus cruciger (l. hand). On either side, the sigla: M-I || X-A.

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8Λ' | ΚΩΝCΕΡΑC | ΤΩCΔ8ΚΙΤΩ | 8ΜΠΕΡ | ΤΩ

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δούλ(ω) Κων(σταντίνω) σεβαστῷ (καὶ) δουκὶ τῷ Οὐμπέρτ(ω)

D.

Historical Museum, Silistra. Found in the course of excavations in the town in 1998. D. 25-26 mm. Poor state of preservation. A portion chipped.

*Ed.* Йорданов, Западни, № 3г.

No parallels known.

*Obv.* St. Michael standing frontally on a souppedion, holding a sword (r. hand) and his l. hand set on his waist.

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

.....' | ..... 8Λ' | Κ.....ΙΑ | Τ.....Ω | Τ...ΙΕΡ | ..

[+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δούλ(ω) Κ[ων(σταντίνω) ..... ] τ[ῷ Οὐμ]περ[τ(ω)]

At the lack of parallels, the text is difficult to restore from the preserved part, but it can be assumed that the owner of the seal is likewise Constantine Houmbertopoulos in his capacity as kouropalates.

Further two groups of seal could be associated with the person of Constantine Humbertopoulos:

1. The collection of the Athens Numismatic Museum contains a seal partially preserved of the following description (see **Konstantopoulos**, no. 498 g):

*Obv.* Bust of St. John the Baptist.

*Rev.* + | ΚΩΝC | ...ΤΗΝ'Α' | ... ΕΔΡ'Ο | ...ΙΕΡ | ΤΟC

= + Κωνσ[ταν]τήν(ος) (πρωτο)[πρό]εδρ(ος) ὁ [Οὐμ]πέρτος

2. The Dumbarton Oaks Collection contains two unpublished bullae (DO. 58. 106. 1089 and 55. 1. 3058) of the following description:

*Obv.* The Virgin standing between two archangels.

*Rev.* + ΚΕΡ'Θ' | .ΩCΩΔ8' | ΚΩΝΑ'Κ8Ρ | .ΑΛΑΤΙ'Σ. | Κ'ΤΩ8Μ | ΠΕΡΤΩ

If we overcome our hesitations about the Athens specimen, it could be assumed that these two groups of seals reflect an earlier stage in the career of Constantine Houmbertopoulos.

In the Alexiad, Anna Komnene reports the name of Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Οὐμπερτοπούλος several times as one of her father's brothers-in-arms. He was a Norman by origin. It is assumed that he was nephew of Robert Guiscard and son of Humbert de Hauteville. Switched over to



service with the Byzantines still under Emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1078-1081).

On 14th February 1081 the future emperor met Constantine Humbertopoulos and received his support for the coming revolt.

That same year, he was in command of a subdivision composed of Franks during the battle against the Normans at Dyrrachium (October 18, 1081) "...and the regiments of Franks were commanded by Panoukomites and Constantine Humbertopoulos (so-called because of his origin)."

Before 1086, he was a governor of Cyzicus. After the death of the *megas domestikos* Gregory Pakourianos in the same year, the Emperor ordered Humbertopoulos to leave a moderate garrison in Cyzicus and, with only the Kelts, to join Taticius in Adrianoupolis. After being partially successful against the Pechenegs, the Kelts were left to spend the winter in Adrianoupolis.

In the decisive battle against the Pechenegs at Levunium (29th April 1091) he was again in command of the Kelts on the west wing of the Byzantine army next to the Cumans.

In 1093/1094 the name of Constantine Humbertopoulos is reported in connection with the conspiracy of the Armenian Ariebeas. The leaders of this plot, Constantine Humbertopoulos and Ariebeas, were convicted and condemned to exile and their property confiscated. Zonaras claims that both leaders were condemned to make "a disgraceful tour" round Constantinople, while Anna Komnene explicitly notes that the emperor decided not to enforce the penalty demanded by the laws.

In any event, perhaps due to former merits, Constantine Humbertopoulos was pardoned, because we encounter him among the participants at the Blachernae synod in his capacity as *sebastos*.

In 1095, Constantine Houmbertopoulos was in command of a military unit against the Cumans. It was to protect the mountain-passes through the Zygum.

In the previous publications of seals bearing the name of Constantine Humbertopoulos, it was accepted that he is identical with his namesake from the *Alexiad*. I do not see any practical reasons to differentiate myself from them. That however does not solve the problems around his person and *cursus honorum*. It is due to the fact that Anna Komnene has not in any place mentioned his titles and positions.

In the light of the above groups of seals, the following *cursus honorum* could be proposed:

1. πρωτοπρόεδρος – before 1081, provided, of course, the restoration of the Athens seal is correct.

2. πρωτοκουροπαλάτης καὶ δοῦξ (after 1081)

3. νοβελίσσιμος καὶ δοῦξ (the mid-1080s)

4. πρωτονοβελίσσιμος καὶ δοῦξ (early 1090s)

5. σεβαστὸς (ca. 1094)

6. σεβαστὸς καὶ δοῦξ (after 1094)

Constantine Humbertopoulos had a brilliant career. As far as his position is concerned, he was all the time a commander of mercenaries, most often Kelts (Normans), or *doux*, as written out on his seal.

a) πατρίκιος, στρατηγὸς καὶ δομέστικος τῶν οὔζουν ? (DO.55.1. 3159):

*Obv.* Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding book (l. hand).

*Rev.* + KER'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8Α' | ΟVNΠΙΕPTΩ | ΠΡΙ|CTPAT'Γ' | ΣΑΟΜΕCTI | ΚΩΤΟΝΟV | ΖΟVN

b) βέστης καὶ στρατηγὸς (DO. 55.1. 2374):

*Obv.* Bust of St. Nicholas as above.

*Rev.* + KER'Θ' | ΟVNΠΙΕP | TIRECTH | SCTPA | THΓΩ

Provided they do not apply to some other Norman by the name Humpert, these seals generally dated to the third quarter of the XIth c. could have belonged to Constantine Humbertopoulos' father.

The present seals besides enlightening Constantine Houmbertopoulos' career, pose the question of the relationships of this dignitary to the Bulgarian lands. He sent his correspondence to various addressees in Pernik, Preslav and Silistra.

### 533. Urso imperialis protospatharius (911-932)

National Historical Museum, Bucharest? (formerly in a private collection). Found in the region of Kalarash-Silistra before 1938, which means in Dristra. D. 20-21 (13) 3-4 mm. Well-centered and well-executed specimen.

*Ed.* Banescu, Colectie, no. 4.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Cross potent on three steps. Two radiant rays come out of the arm crossing. Two floral ornaments different from the cross-with-fleurons type arise from the base of the lowest step.

*Rev.* Inscription of three lines:

+ | VRSO | IMPER' | PRO'SP | +

+ Urso(s) imper(ialis) pro(to)sp(atharius) +

Its publisher assumes that the owner of the seal was some Byzantine governor of an Italian theme.

The dating of the bulla has been rendered difficult by its unusual appearance, but according to its iconography, provided it is a Byzantine seal, it should be in the late IXth or Xth centuries.

Regarding the owner of the seal, another solution could also be suggested. It is known that the doges of Venice and their successors were traditionally dignified with Byzantine titles, which differed during different periods.

Usually the respective doge, after taking over the governing of the republic, dispatched his son and future doge to Constantinople to pay his respects to the emperor, in return of which he was granted the title *hypatos* (in the first half of the IXth c.) and received handsome gifts (for this convention, see **Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, p. 224. It was a life title and he presented himself with it in the Byzantine Palace and the rest of the world within the boundaries of the Empire.

In 911, Ursus with the sobriquet *Patriciacus* was elected doge of Venice. Probably, according to the tradition, he also visited Constantinople and was honored with the Byzantine title *protospatharios*.

What connection can be found between this Ursus and the discovery of the bulla of Ursus *protospatharios* in the region of Dristra?

According to the cited Venetian chronicler John the Deacon, as soon as Ursus became doge, he sent his son named Peter to Constantinople to Emperor Leo? The emperor received him with honors, made him *protospatharios* and after presenting him with handsome gifts, let him return to his country. On his way back, when he wanted to go through the lands of the

Croats, he was captured with deceit by the Slav prince Michael, who deprived him of all his gifts and punished him with exile sending him on to the Bulgarian ruler Symeon. His father, deeply grieved for losing him, could not retrieve him until finally he ransomed him with his own gifts through his envoy Dominikus Metamancenses (**Diaconus, Ioannes**. *MGH, SS*, VII, Hannoverae, 1846, 22.52-23.29).

The discovery of a bulla of Ursus imperial protospatharios in Dristra is perhaps in connection with the attempts of the doge father to ransom his son from the Bulgarian tsar. Peter was perhaps imprisoned in Dristra fortress or Urses sought here the mediation of the head of the Bulgarian church whose see was located in Dristra.

It is logical to accept that he impressed his correspondence with a seal in his capacity as imperial protospatharios, a title better known in Bulgaria than that of a doge of Venice.

### 533A. Ἰωάννης Ὁφεομάχος βεστάρχης καὶ στρατηλάτης (1060s-1070s)

Historical Museum, Iambol, no. II 6030. Found between the villages of Mlekarevo and Elenovo, Nova Zagora region, in 1992. D. 17-17 mm. Whole specimen, but fragments missing.

Ed. Йорданов, Новозагорско, с. 173, № 10.  
No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of four lines:

+ KER'Θ' | TΩCΩ | IΩREC | .APXI

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

..TPA | ...ATH | TΩOΦE. | .AXI

+ K(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ [δ(ούλω)] Ἰω(άννη) βεσ[τ]άρχι [(καὶ)  
σ]τρα[τηλ]άτῃ τῷ Ὁφε[ομ]άχῃ

If John Opheomachos' position is real and not honorific, the dating of the seal must be to 1071 at the latest, after which date the corps of the stratelatai is no longer mentioned in the sources (see **Oikonomides**, *Evolution*, p. 143).

1. In the Shaw collection, 264 (no. 1205) is kept an unpublished seal with Dim. 16-16 (12) mm:

Obv. + | CΦPAΓ' | IΩMAΓ. | CTP8

Rev. TOV | OΦIOMA | XOY

+ Σφραγ(ις) Ἰω(άννου) μαγ[ί]στρου τοῦ Ὁφ(ε)ιομάχου

It reflects a later stage of John Opheomachos' career (1070s-1080s).

2. Two of the letters of Theophylaktos of Ohrid were addressed to John Opheomachos. Neither his title nor office were noted in them. They are also impossible to date. But nevertheless they must date from 1092. From their content, it is clear that they refer to a certain unknown mission of John Opheomachos' to Bulgaria, regarding which the Bulgarian Archbishop reproaches Opheomachos for his conduct (see **Theophylacte d'Achrda**, *Lettre*, 97.28, nos. 69, 71).

All these cases perhaps cover one and the same person and outline his career from 1070s to 1090s.

Michael Opheomachos vestarches and grammatikos was also present at a session of the synod in Blachernae, in the late 1094 (see **Gauter**, *Blachernes*, no. 47). He was perhaps a relative and contemporary of the one discussed here, maybe a parent as suggested by P. Gautier (**Theophylacte d'Achrda**, *Lettre*, p. 97.28), but that is hardly likely. John Opheomachos

started his career in the 1070s at the earliest with the title vestarches.

### 534-535. Ἀσπιέτης Πακουριάνης (XI-XII c.)

a. Historical Museum, Shumen. Find-spot: stronghold near to village of Melnitsa, dist. Elkhovo. D. 19-21 (15) 3 mm. Good imprint, but broken along the channel.

Ed. **Jordanov**, *Melnitsa*, no. 5.  
No exactly parallels

Obv. Inscription of three lines, a cross above:

+ | CΦPA | ΓICAC | ΠΙET'

Rev. Inscription of three lines, preceded and followed by a row of three dots:

ooo | TΩ | ΠAKOV | ΠIAN' . . .  
+ Σφραγίς Ἀσπιέτ(η) τῷ Πακουριαν(ῶ)

b. Private collection. Perhaps the same find-spot. D. 18.5-20 mm. Complete imprint in a good state of preservation.

Unpublished.  
Parallels: Unpublished specimen from DO. 55.1.3980.

Obv. Inscription of three lines:

+ CΦPA | ΓICACΠI | ETOV

Rev. Inscription of three lines, preceded and followed by a row of three dots:

ooo | TOV | ΠAK8PI | ANOV  
+ Σφραγίς Ἀσπιέτου τοῦ Πακουριάνου

In the photo archives of the Commission of Byzantine Studies in Vienna, I examined photos of bullae which have belonged to the same individual:

1. Collection Zarnitz no. 665, prior to that offered in the Auktion Munchen, 19, (Sept. 24-28, 1996), no. 1610.

Obv. Two standing military saints.

Rev. ...ER'. | ACPIET. | KΩPOΠAΛ | ATHTOΠA | K8PIANO

2. Collection Zarnitz no. 665, prior to that offered in the Auktion Hirsch (Munich), 191, (Sept. 24-28, 1996), no. 1610.

Obv. Saint George standing frontally, holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground. Vertical inscription : .... || Γ-Ε-ΩΡ-Γ'

Rev. KEROHΘ' | .ΠIETH | .NΩPEΛH | MOTΩΠAK8 | ΠIANΩ.

3. In the collection Zacos, no 1598, a bulla is preserved of the following description:

Obv. Saint George standing frontally, holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground. Inscription in vertical lines: . Γ-Ε || Ω-ΡΓ-Γ'

Rev. +KER'Θ' | ACΠI.TH | K8POΠA | AAT.TΩ | ΠAK8PI | ANΩ

The owner of the seal affixed to a correspondence to the fortress near the village of Melnitsa is Ἀσπιέτης Πακουριάνης. His both names are clearly Armenian. It is evident that the first is private, and the second is connected with the large family of Pakourianos.

Among the sixteen representatives of the Pakourianos family familiar to me from various sources, none bears the name Aspietes. Moreover, it is not possible to establish a concrete family tie between Aspietes Pakourianos and the other members of the family. Presented

above are his seals reflecting his career at the end of the XIth c. or the beginning of the XIIth c. He bore one of the highest of all titles in the Empire given to personages outside the royal family. The only famous representative of this family is Gregory Pakourianos, the *megas domestikos* of the West; he bore the title *sebastos*, but that was due to his exceptional role in the coronation of Alexios Komnenos.

Without claiming there was a concrete tie, I would like to call attention to the report of Anna Komnene regarding general Ἀσπιέτης who, according to her, was proud of his royal stock, linking it with the Arsacids. In 1081 he fought against the Normans at Dyrrachion, where he was badly wounded. Later he was appointed governor of Tarsus. At the end of his career he was *stratopedarches* of the East (see **Каждан**, *Армяне*, no. 14.1; **Skoulatos**, *Personnages*, no. 19). It is true that Anna Komnene reports more often on her heroes using their patronyms than their baptismal names, but in this instance it cannot be ruled out that we are dealing with an exception and that the owner of the seal under discussion is identical with this person.

The seal dates to the end of the XIth c. or the beginning of the XIIth c. and presents its owner as a private person, without title or office, perhaps already of an advanced age.

### 536. Μουσέλιος Πακουριάνης πρόεδρος (1070s-1080s)

National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 25494. Find-spot: uncertain. Purchased through the General Department of Archives at the Council of Ministers of Republic of Bulgaria. D. 21-23 (over 21) 3 mm. The blank was smaller than the diameter of the dies, and as a result parts of the depiction and inscription are out of the blank.

*Unpublished.*

*Parallels:* Another specimen from the same boulloterion is preserved in the *Seyrig* collection, no. 51

*Obv.* The Virgin seated on a high-backed throne, holding a medallion of Christ before her chest.

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

..... | ΤΩΩΩ... | Μ8CΕΛ.. | ΠΡΟΕΔΡ. | ΤΩΠΑΚ8 | ..ΑΝΟ  
[+Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει)] τῷ σῷ [δούλ(ω) Μουσελ[ίω] προέδρ[ω] τῷ Πακου[ρι]άνο

The homonym on our specimen as well as on the *Seyrig* one is not completely preserved and its ending could only be assumed, but, bearing in mind the patronym and the origin of its owner, it could be accepted that it derives from the Armenian Μωσηλέ, Μουσηλης, etc., attested both in the narrative sources and on seals, but mainly as a patronym (see **Каждан**, *Армяне*, № 1). It is also close to the name of the emirate (see *De Adm., Imp.*, 25.73).

Among the sixteen or more representatives of the family Pakourianos familiar to me from various sources there is none bearing this partonym. It is likewise impossible to establish the particular kinship relations between Mouselios Pakourianos and the rest of the representatives of this family.

### 536A. Τατοῦλης Πακουριανὸς πρωτονωβελλίσιμος ὁ ἄρχων τῶν ἀρχόντων (ca. 1100)

Private collection (V. Stankov from Batak). Found by a treasure-hunter in the vicinity of Plovdiv at the road fork to the village of Markovo. D. 26-27 (23) 3 mm. Once a complete good imprint. Currently effaced in the lower part.

*Ed.* **Йорданов**, *Нобелисими*, № 12, 118-119

*Parallels:* **Cheyne**, *Zacos*, III, no. 129.

*Obv.* St. Theodore standing, holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand set on a shield resting on the ground. Vertical inscription visible at l. and r.: ...- ΘΕ-|| ΔΩ-P-O-C : [ἽΟ ἄ(γιος)] Θε[ό]δωρος

*Rev.* Inscription of seven lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΑΤ8ΛΗΑ' | Ν8ΡΕΛΙCΙMΣ | ΑΡΧΟΝΤ'ΤΩΝ | ΑΡΧΟΝΤΩΝ | ΤΩ..  
Κ8Ρ | ...Ω  
+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Τατοῦλη (πρωτο)νουβελισίμ(ω) ἄρχοντ(ι) τῶν ἀρχόντων  
τῷ Πα[ακ]ουρ[ιαν]ῷ

The narrative sources report the name of Thathoul archon of the *archontes*, an Armenian Halchidonite by origin. In 1100, he governed in the name of Alexius I Komnenos, the town of Marash (Germanicea), which controlled one of the main Byzantine military roads through the Anti-Taurus mountains to Antioch. The Normans under Bohemond and Richard of Salerno, while participating in the First Crusade, rested at Marash on their way to Antioch and confirmed Thathoul in his authority as governor. Spring of the 1104 another crusader force, this time under Bohemond and the recently arrived Joscelin of Courtenay a cousin of Baldwin II, occupied Marash and Thathoul was this time obliged to give up to town to Joscelin. He retired to Constantinople.

The name of Thathoul is attested by two groups of seals. In the first one, he is *protonobelissimos* and archon of the *archontes* (see **Cheyne**, *Thatoul*, 233-242), while in the second, to which our specimen belongs, the family name Pakourianos is also added. This fact is of supreme importance, since it incorporates Thathoul into the family Pakourianos. Another important fact is the discovery of our specimen near the Bachkovo monastery founded by one of the prominent representatives of the family Gregory Bakourianos.

Thathoul's correspondence was perhaps received here after the aforementioned events, when he had retired from active service.

An individual named Thathoul and the title the prince of princes is mentioned twice in Matthew of Edessa:

"In this period (1100/1001) the roman general, the prince of princes, resided in the city of Marash, which was under the control of the Greek emperor Alexius; during the previous year this city was handed over to Alexius by the Frankish chiefs, but they were soon to disavow what they originally promised. The great Frankish count Bohemond and Richard, his sister's son, rising up, collected troops and went against the city Marash to give battle to the prince of princes whose name was T'at'ul...However, the prince of princes, who was a valiant man and a warrior and who also had many noblemen with him in the city, had nothing but scorn for Bohemond's attempted assaults (**Mathew of Edessa**, p. 176.133).

In this same year (1104/1105) the city of Marash was taken from the Greeks; for the prince of princes left this city and gave it to Joscelin. For a large sum of gold he sold an icon of the Theotokos to the great Armenian prince T'oros, the son of Constantine, son of Ruben; then he went to Constantinople (**Mathew of Edessa**, p. 195.24).

If we accept that the owner of the two groups of seals is identical to the governor of Marash, in addition to his family name, we also learn from them the Byzantine title he held – *protonobelissimos*. Matthew of Edessa reports him as the prince of princes, a title or position unrelated to Byzantine administration. As Cheynet has noted, it was granted to some Armenian princes as a token of supremacy compared to their "colleagues"

(Cheynet, Thatoul, p. 240).

Most investigators assume that Thathoul was an Armenian Halchidonite, in spite of the fact, as noted by V. Stepanenko, that there is no irrefutable evidence in favour of this assumption. Matthew of Edessa just calls him ромейским зорапет” (see **Степаненко, В. П.** Пакурианы в Византии.- Сборник “Христианский Восток, 2 (VIII), под ред М.Б.Пиотровского. Спб., 2001, с.271; **Idem.** Армяне в Византии XI века в свете новых данных сигиллографии.- Сборник “Мир Александра Каждана”. М., 2003, 184-186). Cheynet assumes that Thathoul could be grandson of Thathoul, asat of Gagik from Kars, who was killed by Togroul-beg in 1053 (**Cheynet**, Thatoul, p. 236).

Last but not least is the question about the possible addressee of Thathoul Pakourianos’ correspondence and whether it was sent before or after the described events. Of course, no certain answers should be expected. Perhaps Thathoul’s correspondence was received here after the above events, when he retired from active military service, and must have been addressed to the abbot of the monastery or to some sojourning representative of the family Pakourianos, and why not to the steward of his estate located in the vicinity of the present-day Plovdiv.

### 537. Ἀλέξανδρος Παλαιολόγος πρόεδρος (1070s-1080s)

National Historical Museum, Sofia, no.13136. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 19-20 (over 20) 3 mm. Incomplete imprint. Bulla in a good state of preservation.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* St. Demetrios standing frontally, holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand resting on a shield set the ground. Vertical inscription in two columns: Θ-Δ-Η-Μ || ..... : Ὁ ἄγιος Δημ[ήτριος]

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

+ ΚΕΡ’Θ’|ΑΛΕΞΑΝ|ΔΡΩΠΡΟΕ|ΔΡΩΤΩ|ΠΑΛΕΟ|ΛΟΓ’

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Ἀλεξάνδρω προέδρω τῷ Παλεολόγ(ω)

The owner of the seal is a certain Alexander Palaiologos, holding the title of proedros. As evident from his patronym, he is representative of the large family Palaiologos. In the prosopographical study on the early Palaiologoi, he is included under no. 5, the only information on him being from seals: his two bullae, on which his title nobelissimos is inscribed. (**Vannier**, Paleologues, no. 5).

The data of the present bulla introduce a new unknown element of his career, provide we accept that both groups of seals belong to one person. The coincidence, besides in the names, is also in the iconography and continuity of the titulature and dating.

In addition to those, we present the information from other previously unknown bullae, which, considered together with the already known, throw better light upon Alexander Palaiologos’ career :

1. as νωβελίσσιμος, attested by three groups of seals :

a. Warsaw, no. 220159 and Fogg A. M. no. 1480:

*Obv.* St. Demetrios standing, holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground.

*Rev.* .....|Θ’ΑΛΕΞΑΝ|ΔΡΩΝΩΡΕΑ|CΙΜΩΤΩΠΑ|ΛΕΟΛΟΓ’|-Ω-

b.DO. 55.1.3213;

*Obv.* St. Demetrios, as above.

*Rev.* .....|ΔΗΜΗΤΡ’|Ρ’Θ’ΑΛΕΞΑΝ|ΔΡΩΝΩΡΕΑ|CΙΜΩΤΩΠΑ|ΛΕΟΛΟΓ’|-+-

c. DO. 55. 1. 3215;

*Obv.* St. Demetrios, as above.

*Rev.* .....|...ΑΛΕΞΑΝ|ΔΡΩΝΩΡΕΑ|CΙΜΩΤΩΠΑ|ΛΕΟΛΟΓ’

2. as πρωτονωβελίσσιμος, according to an unpublished bulla from DO. 55. 1. 3214:

*Obv.* St. Demetrios standing facing, represented with ruler’s insignia.

*Rev.* ΑΓΙΕΔΗ|ΗΤΡΙΕΡ’Θ’|ΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΩ|Α’ΝΩΡΕΑΙ|ΜΩΤΩΠΑ|..ΟΛΟΓ’

The publishers of the first bulla with the title nobelissimos (**Szemioth-Wasilewski**, Varsovie, I, no. 24) assume that the owner of the seal could possibly be the unknown son of the sebastos George Palaiologos mentioned in one of the letters of Theophylaktos of Ohrid and who was then governor of the theme Vardar. In the prosopographical study on the early Palaiologoi (**Vannier**, Paleologues, no. 5), this possibility was ruled out with the argument that George Palaiologos’ sons would have had the same rank as their father’s. The data from the presented bullae do not solve the question about their owner; however, they undoubtedly suggest new ideas for solving it:

At the Blachernai Synod of the early 1094, besides the sebastos George Palaiologos, the protonobelissimos George Palaiologos was also present (**Gautier**, Blachernes, no. 11). He is assumed to have been first cousin of the sebastos George Palaiologos and son of the unknown brother of his father, Nikephoros Palaiologos (**Vannier**, Paleologues, no. 2). If we proceed our assumptions along these lines, it is not unlikely that this unknown brother of Nikephoros Palaiologos was Alexander Palaiologos, presented here by his seals.

Nikephoros Palaiologos died in 1081 reaching the title proedros (**Vannier**, Paleologues, no. 1). It could be assumed that his brother had the same career. Until 1081 he was proedros, as represented on our bulla. After Alexios I Komnenos’ ascension in 1081 and when the Palaiologian star was on the ascendent, Alexander Palaiologos could have been directly promoted to kouropalates or nobelissimos as to reach in 1090 the rank of protonobelissimos. His son and successor George Palaiologos was presented with the same title at the Synod of 1094. It may well be that his father was already deceased by that time.

In the light of this information, we propose the following cursus honorum of Alexander Palaiologos:

1. πρόεδρος – until 1081;

2. νωβελίσσιμος (mid-80s of the XIth c.).

3. πρωτονωβελίσσιμος (1090s).

### 538-540. Ἀλέξιος Παλαιολόγος σεβαστὸς (XII c.)

a. Archaeological Museum, Plovdiv, no.5469. Find-spot: the town. D. 28-31 (26?) 2.5 mm. W. 11.70 g. Once a good imprint, now in a poor state of preservation.

*Ed.* **Jordanov**, Plovdiv, no. 2; **Йорданов**, Севастия, № 2.

b. Archaeological Museum, Plovdiv, no.5370. Find-spot: the town. D. 34-35 (25) 3 mm. W. 27.68 g. Superb imprint and a bulla in an excellent state of preservation.

*Ed.* **Jordanov**, Plovdiv, no. 3; **Йорданов**, Севастия, № 3.

c. Private collection. I learned about this specimen and its documentation from Dimitar Yankov, Historical Museum, Stara Zagora. Find-spot: stronghold near the village of Dobri Dol, Plovdiv region. Half of the seal is in a poor condition.

*Ed.* **Jordanov**, Dobri dol, no. 2.

*Parallels:* A specimen struck in the same boulloterion as ours b and c is preserved in the Dumbarton Oaks

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion of Christ on her chest. Sigla:  $\overline{\text{MP}}$  ||  $\overline{\text{ΘV}}$  :  
Μ(ήτηρ) Θ(εο)ῦ.

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

- a) . | ΘΚΕΡΟ . | . ΕΙΑΛΕΞΙ . | CΕΡΑϣΩ | ΤΩΠΑΛΑΙ . | ΛΟ ΓΩ  
b) + | ΘΚΕΡΟΗ | ΘΕΙΑΛΕΞΙΩ | CΕΡΑϣΩΤΩ | ΠΑΛΑΙΟΛΟ | ΓΩ  
c) . | ΘΚΕΡΟΗ | ΘΕΙΑΛΕΞΙΩ | CΕΡΑϣΩΤΩ | ΠΑΛΑΙΟΛΟ | ΓΩ  
+ Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθει Ἀλεξίω σεβαστῷ τῷ Παλαιολόγῳ

In the above-noted publications, it was assumed that the owner of this group of seals was Alexios Palaiologos sebastos and future gambros of Emperor Alexios III after 1200. Regarding the person of Alexios Palaiologos, see comments below. The following group of seals probably also belonged to the same individual.

#### 541. Ἀλέξιος Κομνηνὸς Παλαιολόγος δεσπότης καὶ γαμβρὸς (ca. 1200-1203)

Historical Museum, Shumen, no. 14659. It was offered for purchase by a treasure-hunter who found it in the stronghold near Dobri dol, Plovdiv region. Dim. 22-42 (37) 3.5 mm. Half of a specimen that once had an excellent imprint.

*Ed.* Йорданов, Комнини-Ангели, № 9.

*No exact parallels known.*

The other three specimens, struck in a different boulloterion or from a different pair of dies, are stored in the collections of the Hermitage (M-8212), Fogg A.M. (nos. 535 and 1699) and DO (58. 106. 3572). See **Laurent, V.**, A propos d'un sceau inedit du despote Alexios (+1203).- *Byzantion*, 8, 1933, 125-130; **Лихачев**, *Молитвословы*, Таб. LXVI.13; **Zacos**, *Seals*, I, no. 2752; **Oikonomides**, *Dated*, no. 130.

*Obv.* Inscription of seven lines:

....ΞΙΘ | ....ΓCMA | ....ΙΟΛΟΓΘ | ....ΟΦV | ....CΠO | ....HNA | ..AN  
[+Ἀλε]ξίου [σφρά]γισμα [Παλα]ιολόγου [Κομνην]οφυ[οῦς δε]σπό[του τ]ῆν  
ἀ[ξί]αν

*Rev.* Inscription of seven lines:

ΓΑΜ...|ΚΡΑΤΘ...| ΓΗCΠΑ...| ΜΑΙΔΟ...| ΤΟΠΑΙ...| ΛΙC...| -:...: -  
γαμ[βροῦ] κρατοῦ[ντος] γῆς πά[σης] Ῥω[μαί]δο[ς] εἰς πρωτόπαι[δα]  
βασί]λυσ[σαν Εἰρήνην]

The owner of the seals on correspondence to some unknown person in the stronghold near Dobri dol was Alexios Komnenos Palaiologos, who died as despotes and gambros of the emperor (Alexios III), married to his eldest daughter, the basilissa Eirene (see **Vannier**, *Premiers Paleologues*, no. 29).

Who was he and what do we know about him?

First we will examine his seals bearing the title sebastos or only the name Alexios Palaiologos:

There is virtually no information about him before 1200. We know nothing about when he was born or his prior career before becoming the emperor's son-in-law. All that is known is that he was son of the grand hetaireiarches George Palaiologos and the great-grandson of the famous George Palaiologos, brother-in-law of the founder of the Komnenoi dynasty, Alexios I Komnenos. We have information that his portrait and that of his father were painted on

either side of a depiction of St. Michael in a church in Triaditza (*Markianos* 524, p. 143.213). His father died in 1167-1168 (aged 40-45), so that Alexios must have been born before that date and most likely possessed the title sebastos. The fact that he is represented together with his father in the church in Sofia indicates that Alexios may have accompanied him on his missions in that part of the country or that they had family interests there connected with their rule; or perhaps there was another factor. In any event, there was time aplenty and sufficient reason between 1167-68 and 1199 for correspondence bearing the seal of sebastos Alexios Palaiologos to have been received in Plovdiv and the stronghold near Dobri dol.

As to his seal, in his role as despotes and gambros of the emperor, he already identified himself as a member of the imperial family, the Komnenoi.

It is probable that the high birth of Alexios Palaiologos and his own personal qualities were the reasons behind the changes in his life in the spring of 1199. From that time on, he becomes an object of interest for chroniclers and information on him is more detailed.

Thus, in the spring of 1199, on orders from the emperor (Alexios III Komnenos Angelos), he divorced his wife and married the older daughter of the emperor, Eirene (the widow of Andronikos Kontostephanos). The younger daughter, Anna (widow of sebastokrator Isaakios, who died in captivity in Bulgaria), was wed to Theodore Laskaris, the future Nicaean emperor. Their wedding was exceptionally magnificent. Eirene Komnenos wore purple shoes and was proclaimed basilissa, while Alexios Palaiologos was promoted to the rank of despotes and proclaimed successor to the throne.

Soon the two brother-in-laws, together with the protostrator Manuel Kamytzes, were dispatched to deal with the rebellious governor of Philippoupolis, Ibankos-Alexios. According to N. Choniates, they went in hot pursuit of the rebel and at an opportune moment, his enthusiasm faded. After a dogged siege, the stronghold Kritzinis was taken. Soon Ibankos laid an ambush for the Byzantines, as a result of which the high-ranking protostrator Manuel Kamytzes was taken captive and sent to Bulgaria. "The Byzantines returned satisfied to Philippoupolis, which Alexios Ibankos had at least left to them." And he capitalized on that, arranged his affairs of state and remained ... poised at a distance, now more dangerous than before.

At the head of the subsequent campaign, he personally confronted the emperor. He arrived with his troops in the Philippoupolis region and set up camp across from Stenimachos, which he surrounded and took by force. From there the Emperor Alexios III entered into negotiations with Ibankos, who refused to appear before him. As the negotiations dragged on, the brother-in-law of the emperor, Alexios Palaiologos, was sent to mediate. He carried with him a sacred Bible as a guarantee for the sanctity of the promises given by the emperor. But when Ibankos finally came before the emperor, the latter ordered him seized and shackled in chains (see **Choniates**, 507-508; on the events, see **Златарски**, *История*, III, 140-141).

But the biography of Alexios Palaiologos did not end there. In 1201-1202, with his energetic intervention, two rebellions in the capital were thwarted, the more serious of which was that led by John Komnenos, who proclaimed himself the successor to the Emperor John II (see **Choniates**, p. 526).

In February 1202, Alexios Palaiologos was injured in a powerful earthquake that also destroyed the imperial tent (see **Choniates**, 530. 65-67).

Despite his weak physical condition as a consequence of that injury, he was dispatched in the summer of that same year, 1202, against the rebellious successor to Ibankos and the governor of Smolena theme, John Spyridonakis. As N. Choniates notes, Alexios, the emperor's brother-in-law, prevailed against Spyridonakis with little trouble and forced the pigmy-like humunculus to flee to Mysia (see **Choniates**, 534.79-85; **Choniates** tr. **Magoulias**, p. 293).



Alexios Palaiologos died of unknown causes in 1203, roughly simultaneous with (though in any event prior to) the fall of Constantinople to the Crusaders.

We also have his gravestone epitaph, which states that the deceased was “handsome and red-haired like David, strong and courageous like Solomon, virtuous like Joseph.” (see **Lampros S.** Αλεξίου Κομνηνοῦ Στίχοι ἐπιτάφιοι εἰς τοὺς γονεῖς καὶ ἐπιτύμβιον ἐπίγραμμα“, *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 12, 1915, 439-444.

How can we connect his biographical facts with the discovery of his seal in the stronghold near Dobri dol? The seal can be dated to the years 1200-1203. During that period, the despotes Alexios Komnenos Palaiologos was sent on missions on two separate occasions that took him to Bulgaria (and to that specific area).

The first was during the rebellion of Alexios-Ibankos. The presence of Alexios Palaiologos in Philippoupolis and the surrounding area is attested on several occasions. It is probable that he wrote to the commander of the garrison at the stronghold near Dobri dol in order to coordinate operations. It is also feasible that that garrison was entrusted with a special task: to protect the back of the Byzantine army from the Bulgarian side.

His second mission was connected with the campaign of Alexios against John Spyridonakes. Despite the fact that the theater of combat lay a bit further south, that was undoubtedly a good reason to be in written touch with the garrison at the stronghold near Dobri dol.

Overall, it would seem that Alexios Komnenos Palaiologos dispatched correspondence to the stronghold at various points of his career.

#### 542. Ἀνδρόνικος Κομνηνοδούκας Παλαιολόγος σεβαστὸς (XII c. second half).

National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 30074. Find-spot: the stronghold near the village of Dobri dol. D.21-32; field 28 mm; thickness 4.6 mm. One-third missing.

Ed. **Jordanov**, Plovdiv, no. 4; **Йорданов**, Севасті, № 7; **Jordanov**, Dobri dol, no. 4.

*Parallels:* Further two unpublished specimens struck in the same boulloterion are preserved in the collections: DO. 55. 1. 4029; and Zacos, III, no. 1406.

*Obv.* Inscription of four lines:

..| CΦPAΓIC | CΕΡΑϞOV | ..ΝΓΡΑΦΩΝ| ....ONI | ...

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines.

KOMNHNO | ΔΟΝΚΩΝ | ΠΑΛΑΙΟΛ. | ΓΩ.... | ...

[+] Σφραγὶς σεβαστοῦ [τῶ]ν γραφῶν[Ἀνδρ]ονί[κου] Κομνηνοδουκῶν

Παλαιολ[ό]γω[ν κλάδου]

In our previous publication, we connected this seal with Andronikos Doukas Komnenos Palaiologos, the father of the future Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos. Now, in the light of new findings from the stronghold near the village of Dobri dol, that must be ruled out. The seals discovered here do not extend beyond the Crusader attack of 1203 on Constantinople. If we accept the earlier identification with Andronikos Komnenos Palaiologos, a grandson of Alexios Palaiologos, it is difficult to explain its presence in the stronghold. It is more acceptable to return to the identification proposed by Vannier (see Paleologes, no. 23).

#### 543-544. Γεώργιος Παλαιολόγος πρωτονωβελίσσιμος (1090s).

a. Historical Museum, Pernik, no.937. Found in the course of excavations in the fortress near the town. D. 21-21 (over 21) 3 mm. Incomplete imprint, both due to the smaller blank and to the looseness of the

boulloterion. The depiction, mostly the face of the saint, is almost effaced, as well as the letters on the reverse.

Ed. **Юркова**, Перник, 121-123.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Facing bust of St. George. He holds a spear in his r. hand placed before chest and a shield in his l. hand. The plates of his armor are visible. Vertical inscription:

Θ-ΓΕ-Ω-Ρ || ..... : Ὁ ἄ(γιος) Γεώρ[γιος].

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

..Ω.ΓΙΟ. | .POTONOR. | .HCHMONT. | ΠΑΛΕΟΛΟ | ΓΟΝ

[Γε]ώ[ρ]γι[ο]ν π[ρ]οτονοβ[ε]λήσημον τ[ὸ]ν Παλαιολόγον

b. Private collection (V. Pantelev from Varna). Find-spot: unknown. D. 18-19 (19.5 ?) 3 mm. W. 5.8 g. Incomplete imprint. The first line of the text is out of the blank.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Facing bust of St. George, holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription: A-ΓΙ-Ο-Γ || .-ΩΡ-ΓΙ-.. : Ὁ ἄγιο(ς) Γ[ε]ώργι[ος].

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

..... | ΓΕΩΡΓΙ. | Α'ΝΟΡΕΛ. | CΙΜΩΤΩ | ΠΑΛΕΟΛ | -ΓΩ-

[+Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει)] Γεωργί[ω] (πρωτο)νοβελ[ι]σίμω τῷ Παλαιολ(ό)γω

Two unpublished bullae struck in a third boulloterion or with a third pair of dies are preserved in the Fogg A.M., nos. 1355 и 1508.

*Obv.* Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

*Rev.* .ΕΡΟΗΘ'.ΕΩΡΓΙΩΝ|.ΡΟΤΟΝΟΡ|.ΛΙCΙΜΟΝΤ'|.ΑΛΕΟΛΟ|ΓΟΝ

An unpublished bulla of an individual by the same names, with the same iconographic subject, but with a different title, kouropalates, is preserved in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (DO. 55.1. 3216):

*Obv.* Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

*Rev.* .....|ΓΕΩΡΓΙΩ|ΚΩΡΟΠΑΛ'Τ'|ΤΩΠΑΛΕΟ|ΛΩΓΩ

These coincidences give us reason to assume that both groups of seals belong to one person – George Palaiologos. The continuity of his titulature also gives grounds for that.

The protonobelissimos George Palaiologos also attended a session of the synod of 1094 at Blachernai (**Gautier**, Blachernes, no. 15). His distinction from the sebastos George Palaiologos in attendance of the same synod and his identification with the owner of the present bulla was done in the aforementioned original publication.

The Dumbarton Oaks seal with the title kouropalates reflects an earlier stage of George Palaiologos' career, maybe the late 80s and the early 90s of the XIth c.

When presenting the bulla of Alexander Palaiologos (no. ), the assumption has been made that he was the father of the protonobelissimos George Palaiologos.

#### 545. Γεώργιος Παλαιολόγος πρωτονωβελίσσιμος (before 1094).

Private collection (V. Stankov from Batak). Find-spot: the village of Fakia, district of Burgas. D. 18-19 mm. Incomplete imprint but a well preserved specimen.

Unpublished.

Parallel. Unpublished specimen from DO. 58. 106. 3131.

Obv. Between two borders of dots the inscription: .....ΗΘΕΙΓΕ.. In center, bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion of Christ on her chest. Sigla: || Θ̄V : [M(ήτηρ)] Θ(εοῦ).

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

..... | ΝΩΡΕΛΙ | ΣΙΜΩΤΩ | ΠΑΛΑΙ. | ΛΟΓΩ

[+Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθει Γε[ωργ(ίω) πρωτο[νωτβελισίμω τῷ Παλαιολόγῳ]

On the person of George Palaiologos, see below

#### 546-549. Γεώργιος Παλαιολόγος σεβαστὸς (1094-1119)

A.

National Historical Museum, Sofia, no.24817. Find-spot: the stronghold near the village of Zlati Voyvoda. D. 20-20(19) 4 mm. W. 8.28 g. Good imprint and a good state of preservation.

Ed. **Jordanov**, Zlati Voyvoda, no. 3; **Йорданов**, Севастии, № 11.

Parallels: Three specimens struck with the same pair of dies are preserved in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (DO. 58.106.1353; 58.106. 1368; 55. 1. 3220).

Obv. Between two borders of dots the inscription: ..... ΕΙΤΩCΩΔΟΝΛΩ

In center, bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion of Christ on her chest. Sigla: M̄ || Θ̄ : M(ήτηρ) Θ(εοῦ).

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ ΓΕΩΡ | ΓΙΩCΕ | ΡΑCΤΩ | ΤΩΠΑΛΑΙ | ΟΛΟΓ'

[+Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Γεωργίῳ σεβαστῷ τῷ Παλαιολόγῳ(ω)]

B.

National Historical Museum, Sofia, no.24818. Find-spot: the stronghold near the village of Zlati Voyvoda. D. 15-16.5(?) 3.5 mm. W. 6.31 g. Incomplete imprint. The blank was smaller in diameter than the dies. The bulla itself is of poorly-preserved surface.

Ed. **Jordanov**, Zlati Voyvoda, no. 4. **Йорданов**, Севастии, № 12.

No parallels known.

Obv. Circular inscription: ΘΚΕΡΟΗΘΕ..... and a depiction as above.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

..... | .ΙΩ.. | .ΑCΤΩ | .ΩΠΑΛΑΙ | .ΛΟΓΩ

+Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Γεωργίῳ [σεβ]αστῷ [τ]ῷ Παλαι[ο]λόγῳ

C.

Private collection (V. Stankov from Batak). Find-spot: the village of Fakia district of Burgas. D. 23-23 mm. Incomplete imprint and specimen in a poor state of preservaton.

Unpublished.

Parallel : unpublished from DO. 55. 1. 3217.

Obv. Between two borders of dots the inscription: ..... ΕΙΤΩCΩ....

In center, bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion of Christ on her chest. Sigla: M̄ || Θ̄ : M(ήτηρ) Θ(εοῦ).

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

..... | ΩCΕΡΑϣΩ | ΤΩΠΑΛΑ. | ΟΛΟΓΩ | - - -

[+Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθει τῷ σῷ [δούλῳ Γεωργίῳ] σεβαστῷ τῷ Παλαι[ο]λόγῳ]

D.

Private collection (S. Bilik, Sofia). Find-spot: uncertain, at 10-15 km from Haskovo. D. 26-25 (25) 3 mm. W. 11.235 g. Incomplete but well-preserved imprint.

Ed. **Йорданов**, Севастии, № 13; **Билик**, Фамилни имена, № 1.

Parallels: **Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, p.685, no. 5; **Лихачев**, *Молитвенные*, табл. LXIV.6; **Barnea**, Dobrudja, no. 5; **Henning-Muller**, Bizans, no. 11; DO.55. 1. 3984; Fog. A. M. no 1189; IFEB, no 652. For a summary of the seals of this type, see **Vannier**, *Paleologues*, p. 140, n. 34. It is hard to determine whether they were struck in one and the same boulloterion.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin, as above.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ | CΦΡΑΓΙ. ΓΕΩΡΓΙ. | CΕΡΑϣΤ. | ΠΑΛΑΙΟΛ. | Γ.

+ Σφραγι[ς] Γεωργί[ου] σεβαστοῦ [τ]οῦ Παλαιολ[ό]γ[ου]

When identifying the owner of the seal, investigators differ at some points. **Barnea**, Dobrudja, no. 5 assumes that the seal covers Gorge Palaiologos' grandson by the same name (on him, see **Vannier**, *Paleologues*, no 18).

The owner of the seals affixed on the correspondence to unknown addressee: in the fortress near the village of Zlati Voyvoda, in an unknown place in Haskovo region and in the Lower Danube is the sebastos George Palaiologos.

Other seals bearing these names are preserved in various collections around the world:

1. (**Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, no.12.2)

Obv. As above.

Rev. + ΘΚΕΡ'Θ'ΓΕΩΡΓΙΩ|Κ8ΡΟΠΑΛΑ|Τ'8Δ8Κ'ΔV|.ΑΧΙ8ΤΩΠ|.ΑΛΟΛΟ|.Ω

2. Protonobelissimos, see above, no. 545

3. (DO.55.1.3218; 55.1.3219; 55.1. 3220 and in Fogg A.M., no. 1189)

Obv. As above.

Rev. + ΓΕΩΡΓ | ΩCΕΡΑϣΩ | ΤΩΠΑΛΑΙ | ΟΛΟΓΩ |

It is clear that these six (our three inclusive) groups of seals belonged to one person. In addition to the iconographic subject and the names, they also share the chronological continuity evident in the titulature, paleography and the overall appearance of the seals.

The owner of these groups of seals is the well-known Byzantine military commander and statesman George Palaiologos.

Here in brief is his life course (the information is abbreviated from the prosopographical studies of: **Gautier**, Blachernes, no. 4; **Skoulatos**, *Personnages*, no. 69; **Vannier**, *Paleologues*, no. 6):

George Palaiologos was son of Nikephoros Palaiologos and it is assumed that he was born ca. 1057. His name was first reported in 1077 in connection with Nikephoros Botaneiates' revolt. Initially, he and his father were loyal to Emperor Michael VII Doukas (1071-1078), but subsequently sided with Nikephoros Botaneiates (1078-1081).

1080: dispatched against the rebellious Nikephoros Melissenos under the command of the eunuch John;

1081: (prior to the revolt of the Komnenoi) married Anna Doukaina, daughter of Mary, granddaughter of tsar John Vladislav;

1081 (February-April): involved in the plot by his brother-in-law Alexios Komnenos, taking active part in it until Alexios I Komnenos' final ascension to the throne on April 1, 1081;

1081 (May-October): Dispatched to Dyrrachion to defend the city and area against the Norman invasions led by Robert Guiscard (the first group of seals presented above stems from this period);

1082: some investigators tend to accept that because of the successful defense of Dyrrachion and on the occasion of his father's death he was granted the title sebastos (see **Vannier**, *Paleologues*, p. 139, n. 22. But as evident from the seals presented below, at the time of the defense of Dyrrachion, he was kouropalates and doux of the city and with the following group of seals he is protonobelissimos. Thus he was not promoted directly from kouropalates to sebastos, but passed at least through protonobelissimos).

1083 (October): supported the emperor in the battle for capturing of Kastoria from the Normans;

1087: took part in the expedition of Alexios I Komnenos against the Pechenegs in northern Bulgaria. His name is mentioned among the young military commanders, who advised the emperor to proceed with his campaign, but before the decisive battle at Dristra he advised the emperor to withdraw and shut himself in the fortress of Velki Preslav. In this battle of a dismal end for the Byzantines, George Palaiologos made a narrow escape from death.

1091 (February-April): took active part in the hostilities against the Pechenegs. He was in charge of the right wing of the Byzantine army in the decisive battle at Levunium on April 29.

1094: participated at the Blachernai synod; reported as a member of the imperial family with the title sebastos.

1095 (first half): dispatched along with the caesar Nikephoros Melissenos and John Taronites to Beroe "to keep watch there and ensure safety for that town and its neighbours" as part of the whole military campaign of the Empire against the Cumans;

1097 (end of July): after the Byzantines captured Nicaea with the help of the Crusaders, a wild brawl between Tancred and George Palaiologos followed, which would need the mediation of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos and Bohemond.

1105/1106 : there are two extant letters to George Palaiologos from Theophylaktos of Ohrid having no exact date, but referring to this period;

1110 : mentioned as a worshipper of the canonized saint Cyrille Phileotes, whom George Palaiologos did a favor and offered money;

1119-1136: we do not know the exact date of his death, but the period 1119-1136 is generally accepted on the basis of two documents: the one is the typikon of Irene Doukaina written in 1116/1118, where George Palaiologos is not mentioned as deceased, and the other one is the typikon of the Patokrator monastery of 1136, where George Palaiologos is mentioned among the deceased. The opinion that he died during the early years of John II Komnenos' reign (1118-1143) prevails.

The purpose of this survey was to see when, to whom and on what occasion the sebastos George Palaiologos sent his correspondence to the fortress near the present-day village of Zlati Voyvoda, Facia and others.

First of all, we should try to date the bullae discovered there. He was represented with his title sebastos on them, consequently we should look for the moment of his career when he was granted this title. The year 1094 is terminus post quem, when he was reported as sebastos, and the year ante quem is 1081, when he defended Dyrrachion with the title kouropalates.

It is impossible to determine the exact date when George Palaiologos was conferred the title of sebastos, but since 1081 he had to pass through the ranks of protokouropalates, nobelissimos, protonobelissimos and only then to become sebastos. It is true that he was a close relation to the emperor and had certain merits, but nevertheless from the present seals we are left with the impression that he did not pass directly from kouropalates to sebastos. This is the reason for accepting the year 1094 as a firm limit. The problems however remain.

George Palaiologos was a sebastos until his death and his seals bearing this title should be dated until 1119. It is important for us to know the exact date when he sent his correspondence to Zlati Voyvoda. The ligature C + T = 9, which appears after 1099 on the dated seals, offers a possibility for chronological distinction between the seals bearing the title sebastos. The absence of the ligature on the Zlati Voyvoda seals gives us reason to date them between 1094 and 1110.

Within this chronological span, it would seem most acceptable that the correspondence of the sebastos George Palaiologos was received in the fortress near the village of Zlati Voyvoda in 1095, when he was dispatched to Beroe to secure the safety of the town and its surrounding area. The fortress near the village of Zlati Voyvoda is at 48 km from Beroe and it is quite possible that the head of the garrison located there received orders from George Palaiologos for the coordination of the joint operations.

As was already pointed out many times, the correspondence of other military commanders of Alexios I Komnenos was also received there.

#### 550. Κωνσταντῖνος Δούκας Κομνηνὸς Παλαιολόγος δεσπότης (XIII-XIV c.)

Historical Museum, Iambol, no. II 4783. Find-spot: the land of the village of Sedlarevo, Sliven region, in the Sheitansko Kale locality. D. 31.5-33(30)4 mm. Good imprint, despite some letters which were left out of the blank. A bulla in a very good state of preservation.

Ed. **Йорданов, И. - Д. Драганов**, Новооткрит моливдовул на деспот Константин Дука Палеолог. - *ИМЮБ*, XIII, 1990, 47-52.

Parallels: **Konstantopoulos**, no. 622; **Zacos**, *Seals*, I, no. 2758 a-c; **Лихачев**, *Моливдовулы*, табл. LXXXI.6. They were struck with two different pairs of dies. Ours is from the same pair as the Zacos seal no. 2758a.

Obv. Constantine, nimbate, beardless, standing facing; wears skiadion (decorated with cross on its front part), divition and chlamys of lozenge pattern; r. holds scepter with jeweled top. In field l. and r. vertical inscriptions:

+ | ΚΩ | ΝϞ'Α | ΝΤΙ | ΝΟC | ΔΕCΠ | ΟΤΙC -  
ΠΟΡ | ΦΝΡΟΓ | ΕΝΝΗΤ | ΟCΔ8ΚΑ | CΚΟΜΝΗ | ΝΟCΟΠΑ | ΛΑΙΟΛ | ΟΓΟ |.  
+ Κωνσταντῖνος δεσπότης πορφυρογέννητος Δούκας Κομνηνὸς  
Παλαιολόγο[ς]

Rev. Inscription of eight lines:

+ CΦΡΑΓΙC | ΟΧ̄CΚΑΙΦΥΛΑ | ΚΤΗΡΚΑΙCΚΕΠΗΑΝ | .ΚΤΟΠΑΙΔΟCΔΕCΠ |  
.Τ8ΚΩΝϞ'ΑΝΤΙΝ8 | ΚΑΙΠΟΡΦΥΡΑΝΘ8 | .ΔΟ.ΚΑΠΑΛΑΙ | ..ΟΓΟΝ  
+ Σφραγίς ὁ Χ(ριστὸς) καὶ φυλακτὴρ καὶ σκέπη ἀν[α]κτόπαιδος δεσπ[ό]του  
Κωνσταντίνου καὶ πορφυρανθοῦ[ς] Δο[ύ]κα Παλαι[ολό]γου

In the present publication we will survey once again the investigators' opinions in the interpretation of this group of seals.

Konstantopoulos assumed that it generally applies to a representative of the Doukai

Palaiologoi; Laurent (*Bulles metriques*, no. 424) associated these seals with Constantine XI, but from the time when he was despotes of Morea; close to his is Shandrovskaja's determination, Сфрагистика, № 1024; while **Polemis**, *Doukai*, no. 148, Zacos and Lihachov accepted that it applies to the son of Michael VIII Palaiologos Constantine.

In addition to the above, a possible identification is also that with the person of Constantine Doukas, second son of Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos (1277-1329), who is known to have been granted the rank of the despotes. In 1321, he was appointed governor of Macedonia and Thessalonike. During his stay, he fell in love with a woman, a certain Eudokia, and married her. In the spring of 1322 he was arrested by his nephew Emperor Andronikos III (1320-1341) and banished to Didymoteichon. After some time he took the vows under the name of Kallistos. The exact date of his death is not known but the last information on him dates from the year 1329 (**Papadopoulos**, Palaiologen, no. 60).

In our above publication, we favored this last one. The discovery of the bulla in the Sheitansko kale fortress could be connected with the military expedition of the Byzantines led by Michael IX Palaiologos (1295-1320), brother of the Constantine in question, in the Bulgarian lands in 1304. The emperor, in the words of the chronicler, crossed the area between Sliven and Kopsis twice. The emperor's brother, despotes Constantine, either took part in this expedition or maintained contacts with it by exchange of correspondence. If he had taken part in the campaign, his functions would have involved writing to this fortress for the coordination of joint operations. Otherwise, he could have written to his friend or relation participating in the campaign and why not to the emperor himself, who could have stayed in the fortress after its capture.

In any case, his bulla discovered in the Sheitansko Kale bears witness to these events.

### 551. Κωνσταντῖνος Παλαιολόγος (XI c.)

National Historical Museum, Sofia, no.28690. Find-spot: Kazanluk area. D. 17-18 (?) 14 mm. Incomplete imprint, which makes the reading problematic. If the restoration is correct, then there are known representatives of the Palaiologoi bearing this name (see **Vannier**, *Paleologues*, nos 15, 19).

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with medallion. On either side, the sigla:  $\overline{MP} \parallel \overline{\Theta V}$  : M(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ.

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

.. ΕΡ'Θ' | .ΩΝΤΩ | .ΑΛΕΟ | ΔΟΓΩ

[+Θ(εοτό)κ]ε β(οή)θ(ει) [Κων(σταντίνω) τῷ [Π]αλεολόγῳ

A XIth-century representative named Constantine has not been recorded in the prosopographical study on the early Palaiologoi (see **Vannier**, *Paleologues*, 133-152).

### 552. Μιχαήλ Παλαιολόγος (XII c.)

Private collection (V. Panteleev from Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. D.26-33 mm. Incomplete and poorly-preserved imprint with a portion cut, as it seems.

*Unpublished.*

*Parallels:* Unpublished specimen from DO. 58. 106. 5429.

*Obv.* Hardly discernible bust of the Virgin.

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

.. | ΦΡΑΓΙ. | .ΙΧΑΗΛ |.. ΛΕΟΛΟ | ..... | ..

[+ Σ]φραγί[ς Μ]ιχαήλ [Πα]λεολό[γου πέ]λω

The Dumbarton Oaks Collection (DO. 58. 106. 3269) contains an unpublished bulla of the same text but nevertheless coming from a different boulloterion.

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin with both hands open in front of her. Sigla:

*Rev.* + CΦΡ... | ΜΙΧΑ.. | ΠΑΛ.... | Γ8.. | ΛΩ

+ Σφραγ(ίς) Μ]ιχα[ήλ] Παλ[εολό]γου [πέ]λω

### 553. Θεοφύλακτος Παλατίνος (last quarter of the XI c.)

Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia, no. 49. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 31-31 (28) 3 mm. Good imprint, but some letters as well as some parts of the depiction are effaced.

*Ed.* **Мущмов**, Печати, № 38.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans, with a medallion on her chest. Sigla:  $\overline{MP} \parallel \overline{\Theta V}$  : M(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ.

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

+ | ΘΕΟΦΥ | ΛΑΚΤΟΝ | ΠΑΛΙΤΗΝ | ΑΓΝΙΚΚΕ | ΠΟΙC

+ Θεοφύλακτον Παλιτῆν(ον) Ἀγνί σκέποις

The etymology of the family name Παλατίνος, according to Kazhdan, has a Latin origin (**Каждан**, *Соч. состав*, 200-201).

The following dignitaries bearing this name are known in the XIth c., to which period the seal is generally dated:

1. Βασίλειος Παλατίνος, attested by three groups of seals dated to the second half of the XIth c.:

a) πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς (**Laurent**, *Vatican*, no. 145);

b) ὑπατος καὶ πραιτωρ τῶν Ἀρμενιακῶν θεμάτων (XI c., see *DOS*, 4, no. 56.12);

c) βέστης, according to an unpublished specimen in the Zacos collection, III, no. 1422:

*Obv.* + RE|CTHNTON|CONΠΑΛΑ|TINON

*Rev.* RACI|ΛΕΙΟΝ|CΩΖΕΙ|...

3. Εὐστάθιος Παλατίνος πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ κατεπάνω Ἰταλίας in 1045-1046 (see **Falkenhausen**, *Südtalien*, no. 64, S. 92).

4. Νικηφόρος ὁ τοῦ Παλατίνος, who appeared as a witness at the trial against the Bogomils in the early XIIth c. (see **Grumel**, *Regestes*, no. 1012).

What is the connection between these individuals bearing the same family names? Did they belong to one family or, as in the case with the Phrangopouloi, we are dealing with different persons of western Latin origin? These questions will remain open.

### 554. Θεόδωρος Πανηγύρης (XIII c.)

Private collection (N. Nikolov from Razgrad). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 43-44 (41) 3 mm, Imprint of superb engraving and execution. The paleography of certain letters, for example Δ, Μ, etc., is typical for the

XIIIth c. One end of the bulla was bent and subsequently straightened.

*Unpublished.*

*Parallels:* Hirsch Sale 206 (24-26 November 1999), no. 618, see *SBS*, 8, 2003, p. 229.

*Obv.* St. John Prodromos standing nimbate with long hair and beard. He wears a cloak of camel's fur, whose hairs are visible. He raises his r. hand in benediction and holds an extended scroll (l. hand) with some identifiable letters. Behind him, a cross with a long shaft. Inscription on either side: O-A-Γ-.O-s I Ω-o || o- Δ-M-OC : 'Ο ἄγ[ι]ος Ἰω(άννη)ς ὁ (Πρ)όδ(ρ)ομος

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

ΩCENΨV | XHΦEPΩCE | ΦΩNHΤ8ΛΟΓ8 | ..CΦPAGHΔIΘE | ΟΔΩPOCΠA | NHΓVPHC

ἽΩς ἐν ψυχῇ φέρω σε, φωνὴ τοῦ Λόγου, [τῇ] σφραγίδι Θεόδωρος Πανηγύρης

Who was this Theodore Panagiris and how did his seal get into Bulgaria? We cannot determine that at the present stage of research.

### 555. Λέων Παξηνός (XI c.)

Private collection (Ivan Iotov from Iambol). Find-spot: the stronghold near the village of Melnitsa or that near the village of Zlati Voyvoda. D. 15-19 (14) mm. Complete imprint, but with some damaged letters, which makes the reading of the text uncertain.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription: Θ-Γ-Ε || Ω-P-Γ : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Γεώργ(ιος).

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

ΟΠΑΞΙΝ' | ΛΕΟΝΤ.. | ΕΙΝ... | ΤΑΩ

The IFEB collection, no. 232 contains an unpublished bulla of Leo Paxenos of the following description:

*Obv.* Bust of a beardless saint.

*Rev.* ΤΟΝΠΑ|ΞΕΝΟΝ..| ΛΑΤΤΕΛΕ|ΟΝΤΑΜΑ|ΡΤVС

Leo Paxenos is unknown from the narrative sources. On the rest of the representatives of this family, see *Seibt, Bleisiegel*, 1, no. 122.

### 556. Ἰωάννης or Μιχαήλ Παντεχνῆς κουροπαλάτης (XI c., end).

Archaeological Museum Plovdiv, no. 770. D. 19-24 (24?)3.5 mm, W. 5.80 g. Weak imprint; poor state of preservation. All that renders the reading of the text difficult.

*Ed.* *Jordanov*, Plovdiv, no. 22.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with the medallion of Christ before her. Sigla:  $\overline{M}$  ||  $\overline{\Theta}$  : Μ(ήτηρ) Θ(εοῦ). Circular inscription, beginning at 12 o'clock, between two borders of dots: ..... ΗΘΕΙΤΩCΩΔΟΝΑΩ

*Rev.* Bust of St. Demetrios holding a spear (r. hand) and a round shield (l. hand). Remains of a vertical inscription at r.: .... || Δ-H-M : ['Ο ἄ(γιος)] Δημ(ήτριος).

Circular inscription between a double border of dots: .....ΠΑΛΑΤ...ΠΑΝΤ....

Joint and completed, the inscription reads as follows: [+Θ(εοτό)κε βο]ήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ ['Ιω(άννη) or Μιχ(αήλ) κουρο]παλάτ[η τῷ] Παντ[εχνῇ]

Because of the uncertainty in the reading, any search in the narrative sources would be useless. The more so as representatives of the family Pantechnes bearing these proper names are known from the late XIth c., the period to which the present seal should be dated. Both names are attested:

Ἰωάννης Παντεχνῆς μάγιστρος is attested in a letter of Theophylaktos of Ohrid dated 1108 (see *Theophilacte d'Achrida, Lettres*, no. 120.1, 104-109).

Μιχαήλ Παντεχνῆς, son of John and physician of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos. He was one of the three physicians who were present at the emperor's decease: his principal physicians were three, the excellent Nicholas Calices and the second, Michael Pantechnes (*Alexiade*, 236.21-22; *Skoulatos, Personages*, no. 135). At least ten letters of Theophylaktos of Ohrid were addressed to him, in some of which the proper name is missing, but is supplemented by the title proedros and proximos (*Theophilacte d'Achrida, Lettres*, 104-109, nos. 39, 48, 50, 94, 99, 102, 114, 120, 128, 129, 130 and 131).

Also known are seals of representatives of this family bearing the homonyms Ἰωάννης or Μιχαήλ:

a) Ἰωάννης Παντεχνῆς for him see below, no. 557.

b) Μιχαήλ Παντεχνῆς as :

- μάγιστρος, according to two unpublished specimens in DO.58.106. 2555; 58.106.1121.

*Obv.* Bust of St. Demetrios holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

*Rev.* CΦPAG|MIXAHΛ|ΜΑΓΙΤ|ΤΟΠΑΝΤ|XNH

- πρόεδρος (see *Schlumberger, Sig.*, p.687 and unpublished in DO. 58. 106. 5184; 55. 1. 3224; 55. 1. 3225; 55. 1. 3226).

- πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ ἀκτουάριος (see *Laurent, Corpus*, II, no. 1147).

- a private person, according to unpublished specimens in DO. 55. 1. 4053; 55. 1. 4054 and 55. 1. 4055 and *Zacos*, III, no. 1416.

*Obv.* Bust of St. Demetrios holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

*Rev.* +|ΤΟΝΠΑΝ|ΤΕΧΝΗΝΜΑΡ|ΤVСMEMIXA|ΗΑCΚΕΠΕ

They all are dated to the last quarter of the XIth c.

With which of the above seals could we identify the owner of the seal who sent his correspondence to Plovdiv in the late XIth century? It remains a question of no satisfactory answer.

### 557. Ἰωάννης Παντεχνῆς σκευοφύλαξ (1150s-1160s)

Archaeological Museum, Sofia, no.138. Find-spot: uncertain. The reported information is that it had been purchased from a citizen of Sozopol. D. 26-29(28) 3 mm. Successful imprint. Bulla in a good state of preservation.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin holding a medallion of Christ before her. Sigla:  $\overline{MP}$  ||  $\overline{\Theta V}$  : Μ(ήτηρ) Θ(εο)ῦ.



Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+ | ΟΚΕΥΟ | ΦΥΛΛΑΞΙΑΝ | ΤΕΧΝΗC | - ΙΩ -  
+ 'Ο σκευοφύλαξ Παντεχνῆς 'Ιω(άννης)

The owner of the seal affixed to a correspondence to Sozopol is 'Ιωάννης Παντεχνῆς in his capacity as skevophylax.

At least two representatives of this family named John are attested in various written sources from the XI-XIIth centuries:

'Ιωάννης Παντεχνῆς (1) was a correspondent of Theophylaktos of Ohrid and held the title magistros. On him, see above, no. 556

'Ιωάννης Παντεχνῆς (2) held high posts in the ecclesiastical hierarchy in the third quarter of the XIIth century. The analysis of various documentary sources determine the following cursus honorum (see **Darrouzes**, *Offikia*, p. 105; **Laurent**, *Corpus*, V.1, p. 52):

a) χαρτοφύλαξ in the years of Patriarch Kosma II (1146-1147). He remained on this post until 1156 at the earliest, since in this capacity he signed a synodical act of 26<sup>th</sup> January 1156 (see **Grumel**, *Regestes*, no. 1038).

b) μέγας σκευοφύλαξ – a short time after the synod of 1158 until 1166.

c) οικονόμος τῆς Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας – after 1166 until the end of the reign of Manuel I Komnenos. There is his seal known from this period (see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, V.1, no. 59 and unpublished from Zacos, III, no. 1696).

d) We cannot say with absolute certainty whether a metrical seal preserved in DO.58. 106. 5716 and dated to the end of the XI c. belonged to him.

Obv. Jesus of the Chalke standing. On either side vertical inscription: IC || XC || O-X-A-A || KI-TH-C.

Rev. + | ΤΟΙCΙΑΝ | ΤΕΧΝΗΓΑΜ | ΜΑCΙΧΑΡΙΤΩ | ΝΥΜΦΟΧCΑΥ | ΤΟCΘΡΑΓΙC | ΑCΦΑΛΕΨΑ | -TH-

The coincidence of names and positions give us no reason to dissociate the owner of the bulla from Sozopol from the person of τῷ μεγάλῳ σκευοφύλακι τῆς Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας κυρῷ 'Ιωάννῃ τῷ Παντεχνῇ, mentioned in one of George Tornikes' letters (see **Darrouzes**, *Tornikes*, no. 26, 169-171).

In order to try to determine the possible addressees (relatives or colleagues) of skevophylax John Pantechnes, we need to make a survey of the known representatives of this family and the individuals sojourning in Sozopolis at this juncture

According to Koukoules, the etymology of this family name derives from the epythet 'deft' (see **Koukoules**, *Vios*, VI, p. 477).

Known from various sources are the following:

1. 'Αλέξιος Παντεχνῆς and his brother whose name is not mentioned, attested by a letter of John Tetzels, dated mid-XIIth c. (**Tzetzes**, *Epistule*, no. 93, 134-136).

2. Γεώργιος Παντεχνῆς, known as a fiscal official ca. 1171 (**Darrouzes**, *Tornikes*, p. 50, n. 34).

3. Θεόδωρος Παντεχνῆς πρωτοκουροπαλάτης and πρωτονωβελίσσιμος. In the period 1148-1182, he was νομοφύλαξ, κοιαίστωρ, δικαιοδότης, πρωτοδικαιοδότης and finally ἑπαρχος of the capital (see **Darrouzes**, *Tornikes*, 50-51). In the time of the young Alexios II Komnenos (1180-1182), he was the chairman at the trial against the conspirators. According to Choniates, he had 'a splendid home' in the capital Constantinople, ransacked during the rebellion against the protovestres Alexios Komnenos (see **Choniates**, p. 235. 14-17).

4. Κωνσταντῖνος Παντεχνῆς, metropolitan of Philipopolis 1179-1180 (**Grumel**, *Regestes*, nos 1179-1180). He was a literary man (see **Miller**, E. Description d'une chasse a l'onie par ecrivain byzantin du XII siecle de n.e.- *Annuaire de l'association pour l'encouragement des etudes Grecques*, 6, 1872, 47-52; **Данчева-Василева**, A.- **Илиев**, И. Реч на Никита Хоният, адресирана до Константин Пантехни, митрополит на Филипопол.- *Ист. Преглед*, 52, 1996, 5, 108-141), and some investigators are likely to see in his face the addressee of one of Choniates' speeches (**Ditten**, *Reden*, S. 167).

5. Μιχαήλ Παντεχνῆς for him see above, no. 556

6. Νικόλαος Παντεχνῆς, private person according to an unpublished seal from DO. 55. 1. 3226:

Obv. Bust of the Virgin nimbate, seemingly hands upraised between sigla: MP || ΘV.

Rev. ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΝΙΚΟΛΩ | ΤΩΠΑΝ. | ΕΧΝΗ

7. Φιλίππος Παντεχνῆς, known by his private seal from the late XIth c. (**Schlumberger**, *MA*, no. 93; **Konstantopoulos**, no. 677; **Stavrakos**, no. 203).

8. Several groups of bullae are known bearing only the toponym Παντεχνῆς (**Schlumberger**, *Inedite*, V, no. 248).

The above survey ascertains that representatives of this family played an important role in the life of the Empire and the church both in the turn of the XIth c. and from the mid-XIIth century to its end.

It is difficult to determine the character of skevophylaktos John Pantechnes' correspondence. Whether it was addressed to the locale prelate and who he was are questions dwelled upon in the last part of this research.

#### 558. Γεώργιος Πάρδος (XI c.)

Archaeological Institute, Bucharest. Find-spot: Silistra-Kalarash area. D. 22-22 (14) 2 mm. Incomplete imprint and a bulla in a poor state of preservation.

Ed. **Barnea**, *Noi sigillii*, no. 19.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin with both hands raised before her.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+ ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΓΕΩΡΓ. | ΤΟΠΑΡ | ΔΟ

+ Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) Γεωργ[ί(ω)] το Πάρδο

#### 559. Λέων Πάρδος πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγός (XI c.)

Archaeological Museum Sofia, no. 146 (from the former collection of Dr. V. Haralanov from Shumen). Find-spot: presumably northeastern Bulgaria or Silistra. D. 26-28 mm. Incomplete imprint in a poor state of preservation.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of an unknown military saint.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+ ΛΕ.. | Α'CΠ.. | SCTP.T | ΟΠΑΡ' | - ο -

+ Λέ[ον] (πρωτο)σπ[αθ(άριος)] (καὶ) στρ[α]τ(ηγός) ὁ Πάρ(δος)

Πάρδος is found both as a homonym and as a patronym in various sources and periods. The dating of the present seals is within the XIth c.

John Skylitzes reports of some Πάρδος πρωτοσπαθάριος who was sent to succeed George Maniakes as a doux of Italias (**Skylitzes**, 428.71-72).

I could not find any direct link between this Πάρδος and the owner of the present seals. As it is known, in similar circumstances, the chroniclers very often report the patronym or the sobriquet, and Πάρδος translated literally means “leopard” and could have been the sobriquet of many different persons.

#### 560-561. Λέων Πεδιάσιμος ταξιάρχης (XI c.)

a. Historical Museum, Shumen, no. 14646. Purchased from N. Nikolov from Razgrad. Formerly in the collection of Dinko Tanev from Stara Zagora. Find-spot: presumably southern Bulgaria. D. 25-27 (21) 3 mm. W. 10.20 g. Weak imprint, double struck slantwise.

*Unpublished.*

b. Private collection. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 21-21 mm. Incomplete but well-preserved imprint.

*Unpublished.*

*Both specimens were struck in the same boulloterion.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of an unidentified military saint facing.

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

a. + ΛΕΟΝ | .ΑΞΗΑΡΧ | ΟΠΕΔΗ. | CHMOC

b. . . . . | . . . HAPX | . ΠΕΔΗ. | . HMOC

+ Λέον [τ]αξηάρχ(ης) ό Πεδη[ά]σημος

The chronicle of Leo the Deacon mentions a certain Leo Pediasimos from the retinue of Emperor John I Tzimiskes (969-976), who along with Michael Bourtzes took part in the assassination of Nikephoros II Phokas in the night of December 11, 969 (see **Diaconus**, 85.20-21). The titles and positions of the conspirators are not mentioned in the chronicle, but Michael Bourtzes is assumed to have been patrikios and taxiarches (see **Cheyne**, Bourtzes, no. 1). It is quite possible for Leo Pediasimos to have held the same positions.

The possibility of identifying the owner of the present seal with Tzimiskes' close associate Leo Pediasimos seems quite inviting. What disturbs us is the question of the dating of the seal. It is rather unusual. The paleography of some letters, specifically the  $\text{H}$ , points to a dating much later than the events under discussion.

There are known seals bearing the name Λέων Πεδιάσιμος :

1. The following collections contain seals of Leo Pediasimos as a private person: IFEB (see **Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, p. 688); the Athens Numismatic Museum (see **Koltzida-Makre** no. 315) and Dumbarton Oaks (DO. 55.1.4161; 55.1.4156; 55.1.4154; 55.1.4155; 55.1.4157; 55.1.4158 and 55.1.4159).

—•— | +ΓΡΑ|ΦΑССΦΡΑ|ΓΙΖΟ - ΛΕΟΝ | ΤΟCΤ8 | ΠΕΔΗΑ | CHM8

They were all struck in the same boulloterion and their dating is to the late XIth c.

There is greater possibility for identification of Leo Pediasimos from our seal with the one from Paris, Athens and Dumbarton Oaks.

#### 562. Ίσαάκιος Πεδιάδιτης (XI-XII c.)

Private collection (Al. Peikov from V. Turnovo). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 20-32 (30) 4.5 mm. Half of a once good imprint. Broken along channel. Punctured at one side and obliterated, which renders the reading hypothetical.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion of Christ on her chest. Sigla:  $\overline{MP}$  || .. : M(ήτη)ρ [Θ(εο)ϋ].

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

+ | ...ΚΙ8 | ...ΑΓΙC | ...Τ8Π. | ..ΑΤΙ | Τ8

+ [Ίσαα]κίου [σφρ]άγισ[μα] τοϋ Π[εδι]ατίτου

The restoration and reading of the inscription is problematic. The family name Pediadites is only one possible variant.

In the Dumbarton Oaks collection kept the unpublished seal of Constantine Pediadites, dated second half of the XI c. (DO. 58. 106. 2899).

*Obv.* Bust of St. Theodore holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

*Rev.* +ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΚΩΝΤΩ | ΠΕΔΙΑ | | ΔΙΤΙ

#### 563. [Βασίλειος] Πεκούλης κριτής καὶ κοιαίστωρ (XII c.)

Private collection (St. Bilik, Sofia). D. 22.5-23 (22) ? mm. W. 14.114 g. Good and complete imprint, but the last line of the obverse is obliterated.

*Unpublished.*

*No exact parallels.*

*Obv.* Inscription of four lines:

+ | ΤΙCΦΡΑ | ΓΙCΕΝΓΡΑΜ | ΜΑCΙΔΕΙΚΝ | .... ΕΓΕ

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

ΚΡΙΤΗΝ | ΠΕΚ8ΛΗΝ | ΚΟΙΑΙCΤΩΡΑ | ΠΡΟΓΡΑΦΕΙ

+ Τί σφραγίς ἐν γράμμασι δείκν[υσι] λέγε κριτήν Πεκούλην κοιαίστωρα προγράφει

Further three specimens that could be associated with the same individual are preserved in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection:

1. DO. 55.1. 4040:

*Obv.* + | ΤΙCΦΡΑ | Γ'ΕΝΓΡΑΜ | ΜΑCΙΔΕΙ | ΚΝVCI |

*Rev.* ΚΡΙ | ΤΗΝΠΕ | Κ8ΛΗΝΚΟΙ | ΑΙCΤΩΡΑ | ΠΡΟΓΡΑ | ΦΕΙ

2. DO. 58.106. 5352:

*Obv.* + | ΗCΦΡΑ | ΓΙCΕΝΓΡΑΜ | ΜΑCΙΝΔΕΙΚΝ |  $\circ\circ\circ$

*Rev.* ΚΡΙΤΗΝ | ΠΕΚ8ΛΗΝ | ..ΙΑΙCΤΟΡΑ |  $\circ\circ\circ$

3. Fogg, A. M. no. 299:

*Obv.* + | ΕΚΤΗC | CΦΡΑΓΙΔΟC | .CΘΙΤΟΝΓΕ | .ΡΑΤΟΤΑ

*Rev.* ΚΡΙΤΗΝ | ΠΕΚ8ΛΗΝ | ΟCΘΕΛΕΙ. | ΩΡΙΖΕΤΩ

The proper name is absent on them, as on our specimen. The publisher of the two of them (**Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, no. 1120; **Idem**, *Bulles metrique*, no. 128) identifies the owner of the seal with Βασίλειος Πεκούλης attested in the XIIth-century sources.

The signature of Βασίλειος Πεκούλης δισύπατος καὶ χαρτουλάριος τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ is under a pittakion of Alexios I to the Monastery on Patmos dated 1088 (see *Actes Patmos*, I, no.48, p. 339.Γ239).

The name Βασίλειος Πεκούλης is found under another document of the same monastery, but dated 1145, where he is κριτῆς τοῦ βήλου καὶ κοιαίστωρ (see **Zacharia**, *JGR*, III, p. 422; *Actes Patmos*, I, no. 19, p. 192.28). Hanging on the same document is his bulla with a metrical text, where only his position κριτῆς is written out (see **Laurent**, *Bulles metriques*, no. 128).

Βασίλειος Πεκούλης is attested before 1166 (see **Grumel**, *Regestes*, no. 1058) or ca. 1169 (see **Dolger**, *Regesten*, no. 1484), when in his capacity as a judge he passed judgment on various questions posed by the metropolitan of Side Niketas regarding the administration of his predecessor Theodosios (see *PG*, col. 119, 901D). Then he had the rank of kouropalates.

A tomb-stone epigram praises the deeds of Βασίλειος Πεκούλης, who was given the extreme unction on his deathbed under the monastic name Varlaam, as a judge and quaestor (see *Markianos* 524, p. 157.267).

It is hard to determine the exact dating of the seal presented above, but it should most probably be after 1145 until 1147, when Βασίλειος Πεκούλης combined his both offices of κριτῆς καὶ κοιαίστωρ. If the seal were later, then it would undoubtedly reflect his higher title of kouropaletes.

Βασίλειος Πεκούλης δισύπατος καὶ χαρτουλάριος τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ from 1088 is perhaps his relative - grandfather, father or uncle of the quaestor represented on the seal.

In the Dumbarton Oaks collection are kept two lead seals of George Pekoules, dated to the XI c. : DO. 58. 106. 901 a protomandator (see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, no. 256) and DO. 58. 106. 1283 as a private person:

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin holding Christ on her l. arm. Sigla :  $\overline{MP}$  ||  $\overline{\Theta V}$ .

*Rev.* +  $\Theta KE$  |  $R' \Theta' T \omega C \omega$  |  $\Delta' \Gamma \epsilon \omega \rho \Gamma'$  |  $T O \Pi \epsilon K$  |  $8 \Lambda H$

#### 564. Ἰωάννης Πενταίλας πρωτοσπαθάριος-ὑπάτος (mid-XI c.)

Historical Museum, Shumen, no.12340.7. Find-spot: Silistra. D. 17-19 (over 20) 2.5 mm, W. 5.31 g. Perhaps once a good imprint, but now in a poor state of preservation. The obverse is completely obliterated, as it seems melted. There are broken fragments on the reverse and the surface is effaced. All this renders the reading difficult. Problematic are lines 5 and 6 presumably containing the patronym.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Completely obliterated surface.

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

..ER'. | .ΩCΩΔ. | .ΩΑ'CΠAΘ | .VΠAT'T. | . ENT..| Λ

[+K(ύρι)]ε [β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῶ [δού(λφ) Ἰ]ω(άννη) (πρωτο)σπαθ(α)[ρ(ίφ)]

ὑπάτ(φ) τ[ῷ Π]εν[ταί]λ(α)

From the available letters of the patronym: .ENT..| Λ, I have proposed the following

possible restoration: [Π]εν[ταί]λ(α). This idea was suggested to me by a seal in the Zacos collection, III, no 1614 bearing the same name and a similar patronym (**Cheyne**, Zacos, III, no. 257):

*Obv.* +CΦPA|ΓICTVΠ8|CATACTPA|ΦACIΩ

*Rev.* T8ΠEN|TAIΛATA|ΓMATO.|TΩNKEN|CΩPΩN

It should reflect a later stage in the career of John Pentailas.

Seals of other representatives of the family Pentailas:

1. An unpublished seal in the Zacos collection, III, no 1422, with the following inscription on both sides: CΦPA|ΓHCΘE|OΔΩP|OV - TOV| ΠENT|AIAA

2. An unpublished bulla in the Fogg A. M., no. 798.

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans. Sigla:  $\overline{M}$  ||  $\overline{\Theta}$ .

*Rev.* +KER'Θ'|.IKOΛA|TΩΠEN|TAHAA

They all have similar dating with our specimen.

The name of a certain monk Pentaktenes with the sobriquet Πενταίλας, who was a Byzantine candidate for the autocephalous archbishopric in Rosano, Italy, is mentioned in the years of patriarch Nicholas III Grammatikos (1084-1111) (see *PG*, col. 119, 908B; **Grumel**, *Regestes*, p. 990; **Falkenhausen**, *Südtalien*, S. 150).

#### 565. Νικόλαος Πεντακτένης μοναχός..... ? (XI c.)

Historical Museum, Stara Zagora, no. 10SZ. Find-spot: presumably the town. Well-centered imprint. The *Obv.* is completely printed. The *Rev.* was effaced or the r. part containing the inscription was not printed. All that renders the reading difficult. D. 21-23 (13) 2.5 mm.

*Ed.* Ъорданов, Берое, № 15.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* St. Nicholas standing blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand). On either side above :  $\Theta$ -NI || K-O-Λ' : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Νικόλ(αος). In horizontal lines below: + KΕ-ROH-Θ'NI-KOΛ'-AX || TΩ-ΠEN-TA-KTE-NI = + K(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ει) Νικολ(άφ) (μον)αχ(ῶ) τῷ Πεντακτένι

*Rev.* St. Michael standing holding a long scepter surmounted by a trefoil ornament (r. hand) and a globus cruciger (l. hand). On either side above :  $\Theta$  || M-X. At r. below horizontal lines of small hardly legible letters: ... - .. - ΔOP - TH - MO - N || ..... = [Θεο]δορ(ί)τη μον(αχῶ) τῷ .....

As in the previous publication, the main problem here is the reading of the reverse. Certain from the deciphered text is solely the name of the monk Nicholas Penktanten. The text on the other side either gives information on his other titles and positions or relates to another individual also a monk.

#### 566. Μιχαήλ Περδίκης βέστης (third quarter, XI c.)

Historical Museum, Pernik. Found in the course of excavations in the fortress near the town, 1961, sq. V/134. depth. 0.60 m. Currently in the exposition of the National Historical Museum, Sofia . D. 16-17.5 (15) 4 mm. Successful imprint and a bulla in a good state of preservation.

*Ed.* Юрукова, Перник, II, с. 120, табл. II.5.

*Parallels:* Three unpublished bullae struck with the same pair of dies are preserved in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (DO. 55.1.3856; 55.1.3857 and 58. 106. 1489).

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion of Christ on her chest. Sigla:  $\bar{M} \parallel \bar{\Theta}\bar{V}$ :  
M(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ.

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

+ | ΔΕΣΠΟΙ | ΝΑΚΕΠ | ΜΙ<sup>Χ</sup>ΡΕCΤΙ | ΤΩΠΕΡ | ΔΙΚΗ  
+ Δέσποινα σκέπ(οις) Μιχ(αήλ) βέστι τῷ Περδίκη

Michael Perdikes is unknown from the other sources. There are no other known representatives of this family for the period under discussion.

The Dumbarton Oaks Collections contain certain bullae which could be associated with this family:

1. DO. 58.106. 3466, see: **Nesbitt-Oiokonomides**, *DOS*, 3, no. 99.2. Dated to the Xth-XIth c.

*Obv.* ΧΑΡ | Τ8ΛΑΡΗ | ΟCΤΗCΑ | ΝΑΤΟΛ' | -.-

*Rev.* -.- | ΤΟΝ. | ΡΗΘΜ.Ν | ΟΠΕΡΔ. | ΚΗC

2. Unpublished (Fogg A.M., no.3020). Dated to the late XIth c.

*Obv.* Completely obliterated depiction.

*Rev.* + CΦΡΑΓ' | ΠΕ..ΙΚ' | Τ8Θ8Θ8 | ΚΩΝ

#### 567-568. Μιχαήλ Περδίκης (last quarter, XI c.)

a. Currently preserved in the Historical Museum, Iambol. Formerly in the collection of the Serbezov brothers from Nova Zagora. It was discovered by them in the area of the stronghold near the village of Zlati Voyvoda (?). D. 18-20 (18?) 3 mm. Good imprint and a bulla in a good state of preservation.

*Unpublished.*

b. Private collection. Find-spot: presumably the same as above. D. 20-20 mm. Good imprint and a bulla in a good state of preservation.

*Unpublished.*

*Both specimens were struck in the same boulloterion.*

*Parallels.* Another specimen struck in the same boulloterion is preserved in the IFEB collection, no. 165 (unpublished).

*Obv.* St. Michael standing frontally, holding a long labarum (r. hand) and a globus cruciger (l. hand).

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

ΚΕΠΟΙ | ΑΡΧΗΓΕ | ΜΙΤΟΝΠΕΡ | ΔΙΚΗΝ  
Σκέποι(ς) ἀρχηγέ Μιχ(αήλ) τὸν Περδίκη

A commentary on the person of Michael Perdikes was presented above to his seal with the title vestes.

One of the problems concerns the chronology of both groups of seals. At the succession of similar cases, we accept that seals bearing no title and office reflect a later stage of the life of the given dignitary.

The discovery of Michael Perdikes' bullae in the Pernik fortress and in the fortress near the village of Zlati Voyvoda attests to his relationships to these lands. His relatives or close friends were located in these fortresses.

#### 569. Λέων Περινός τοποτηρητής τοῦ Ὀφικίου (X<sup>th</sup>-XI<sup>th</sup> centuries)

Private collection. Delivered to the National Historical Museum, Sofia, where we have documented it. Find-

spot: uncertain (but surely on the territory of Bulgaria). D. 18-18 mm. Good imprint but struck a bit off-center.

*Ed.* **Jordanov**, *G. Names*, no. 56.2.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book of the Gospels (l. hand).

Vertical inscription: ..... || Κ-Ο- Λ' : [Ῥ ᾠ(γίος) Νικ]όλ(αος).

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

ΛΕΟΝ | ΤΟΠΟΤΙ. | Τ'Τ8ΟΨ. | Κ'ΤΟΠ. | ΡΕΝ'

Λέον(τι) τοποτι[ρ(ι)]τῇ τοῦ ὈΨ[ι]κ(ίου) το Π[ε]ρεν(ῶ)

If the filling in of the text is correct, the owner of the seal was Λέων Περινός τοποτηρητής τοῦ Ὀφικίου. The seal bearing the name of the same person is known as μάγιστρος καὶ δούξ πάσης Δύσεως (see here no.570).

If the person was identical, then his career developed logically. He was earlier a topoteretes of the tagma in the Opsikion theme and later he was put in general command of the Byzantine army in the Balkans.

#### 570. Λέων Περηνός μάγιστρος καὶ δούξ πάσης Δύσεως (third quarter of the XI<sup>th</sup> century)

Kept in Romania [MIRSR, 48/41]. Before that it was part of the Papahadji collection. Originates from Silistra. D. 25-25 mm. A badly preserved specimen covered with lead oxide. The lower end of the obverse is heavily damaged or seems to have been retouched on the photograph.

*Ed.* **Barnea**, *Durostorum-Dorostolon*, no. 6; **Barnea, I. and Seibt, N.** *Byzantinische Bleisiegel aus Rumänien eine Nachlese zu Stücken mit Familiennamen*, *JÖB*, 49, 1999, 92-93, no. 4; **Jordanov**, *G. Names*, no. 26.5.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Visible bust of the Virgin holding a medallion before her.

*Rev.* Inscription of seven lines:

Zacos, III, 1586 and 1706

+ ΚΕΡΟΗ | ΘΕΙΛΕΟΝΤ' | ΜΑΓΙCΤΡΩ | ΚΑΙΔΟΝΚ | ΠΑCΗCΔ'C | ΤΩΠΕΡΗ | -Ν'-

+ ΚΕΡΟΗ | ΘΕΙΛΕΟΝ | ΜΑΓΙCΤΡΩ | . ΑΙΔΟΝΚ | . ΑCΗC . . | . ΩΠΕΡ . | -.-

+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει Λέοντ[τ(ι)] μαγίστρω [κ]αὶ δουκ(ι) [π]άσης [Δ(ύ)σ(εως) τ]ῷ

Περ[ηνῶ]

Probably due to the seals' poor state of preservation, the first publisher suggested the reading: +Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει Λέοντ[τ(ι)] μαγίστρω [κ]αὶ δουκ(ι) Ἀσίας and dated it to the X<sup>th</sup> century. Such a dukedom is not attested in the sources of that time.

The filling in of the missing letters and the complete deciphering has been made thanks to the specimens in the G. Zacos collection, III. It is difficult to say whether they have been imprinted with the same boulloterion because there is additional retouching on the photograph from Bucharest. These specimens still enable a correction to be made in the reading of the seal from Silistra which can be connected with the person of Leon Perenos.

He is unknown from the narrative sources.

The name of a representative of this family (Περηνός) is reported during the wars against the Normans in 1068. He was doux of Dyrrahium (see *Anonyme de Bari*, p. 152) and Italy (see **Skylitzes**, *Cont.*, p. 169).

A seal of Leon Perenos as τοποτηρητής Ὀψικίου has been found on the territory of Bulgaria and is generally dated to the XI<sup>th</sup> century (see no.569).

A bulla of Leon Perenos in his capacity as a private person from the late XI<sup>th</sup> century is kept in the collection of the Numismatic Cabinet in Vienna (MK, no. 465).

If we accept that an identical person is referred to, his career seems logical. In the mid-XI<sup>th</sup> century Leon Perenos was a topoteretes of the tagma dislocated in the Opsikion theme. During the Norman invasions of 1068 he was doux of Dyrrachion and Italy and at a later stage (1070s-1080s), quite logically, he was entrusted with the command of the Byzantine forces stationed on the Balkans. Finally, he retired from active service into private life.

The seals announce the names of:

1. Ἀλέξιος Περηνός πατρίκιος (second half of the XI<sup>th</sup> century; see *Seyrig*, no. 49)

2. Κωνσταντῖνας Περηνός πρωτοσπαθάρης (XI<sup>th</sup> century), according to an unpublished lead seal from the Hermitage collection (M-6360):

*Obv.* Eight rays cross in the center of the circle. Each one ends with a letter which together form the invocation.

*Rev.* ...N. | TANTIN | R'A'CPA | .AP'OI | EPENO |

3. Νικήτας Περηνός πατρίκιος καὶ ἄρχων (second half of the XI<sup>th</sup> century), according to an unpublished lead seal from the Zacos collection, III, no. 1590:

*Obv.* St. Nicholas standing.

*Rev.* +KER'Θ' | TWCΩΔ8 | NIKHTΠP | SAPXONTI | TOΠEPIN | -Ω-

It is not possible to suggest a direct link between the persons noted. Obviously they are representatives of the same family who most probably lived during the second half of the XI<sup>th</sup> century.

#### 571. Θεόδωρος Πετριτζιότης (late XI c.)

Archaeological Museum, Plovdiv, no. 5282. Find-spot: the town. D. 15-16 mm. W. 3.25 g.

Well-centered and complete imprint, but the depiction and the text are indistinct due to the small diameter of the dies.

*Ed. Jordanov*, Plovdiv, no. 16.

*Parallels:* *Schlumberger*, *Sig.*, p. 691, no 1 (currently preserved in the Hermitage M-6707) and unpublished in DO. 58. 106. 3478. They were struck in the same boulloterion as our specimen.

*Obv.* Military saint (St. Theodore ?) standing, holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

No inscription visible.

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines.

+ KER'Θ' | TWCΩΔ. | ΘEOΔΩP | TΩΠETP. | TZIΩ.

+ K(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δ[ού(λῳ)] Θεοδώρ(ω) τῷ Πετρ[ι]τζιώ[τ(η)]

The owner of the seal Θεόδωρος Πετριτζιότης is unknown from other sources. I do not know of any other representatives of the family Πετριτζιότης.

Only Zacos collection, III, no. 1444, contains an unpublished bulla of another representative of the family, Λέων Πετριτζιότης:

*Obv.* Bust of St. Michael.

*Rev.* + |CΦPAGIC|ΛEONTOC|T8ΠETP|TZ.

The patronym that appears on this private seal suggests that the owner, Theodore Petritziotes, may have come from the town of Πετριτζός or from the monastery of the same

name Theotokos Petritzonitissa (for the location of the settlement with this name see *TIB*, 6, 397-398; for the monastery see *BMFD*, 507-563).

The discovery of a bulla of Θεόδωρος Πετριτζιότης in Plovdiv is perhaps directly linked to the mentioned settlement and monastery.

#### 572. Κωνσταντῖνος Πέτρος β' πρωτοσπαθάρης καὶ στρατηγὸς Φιλιππουπόλεως (X<sup>th</sup>-XI<sup>th</sup> century)

Archaeological Museum, Preslav, no. 2395. Found during archaeological excavations in the palace of Preslav in 1927 but attributed to the strategia of Preslav. D. 21-25 (19) 3 mm. W. 8.00 g. Incomplete but well-preserved imprint.

*Ed. Jordanov*, *G. Names*, no. 77.1.

*Parallels:* *Schlumberger*, *Sig.*, p. 115, no. 1. Struck in the same boulloterion.

*Obv.* Patriarchal cross on three steps with fleurons arising from the base. Along a border of dots, the remains of a circular inscription:....ΩΔ8Λ...CTA'

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

R'A'CPA | .SCTPA | .IG'ΦΗΛ. | ΠOΠ'Ω.. | TPOC

[+ K(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δού(λῳ) [Κων]στα(ντίνῳ) β'(πρωτο)σπα[θ(άριος)] (καὶ) στρα[τ]ηγ(ός) Φηλ[η]ποπ(όλεως) ὦ [Πέ]τρος

#### 573. Θεόδωρος Πηγονίτης πατρίκιος, ἀνθύπατος, βέστης καὶ κατεπάνω Παραδουνάβιτον (1050s-1060s)

Private collection (N. Nikolov from Razgrad). Found near the village of Izvorovo, district of Silistra. D. 30-30 (27) 4 mm. W. 15.16 g. A complete and comparatively well preserved imprint.

*Ed. Jordanov*, *G. Names*, no.58.2.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Inscription of six lines:

+KER'Θ' | TWCΩΔ8' | ΘEOΔΩPO | ΠPΠ'ANΘV | ΠAT'REC | TH

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines, preceded by an ornament:

-✕- | KAICA | TEΠANΩ | TΩNΠAPA | Δ8NARIT' | TΩΠHΓO | -NIT'-

+ K(ύρι)ε β(ο)ήθ(ει) τῷ σῷ δού(λῳ) Θεοδώρο π(ατ)ρι(κίῳ) ἀνθυπάτ(ω)

βέστη καὶ κατεπάνω τῶν Παραδουνάβιτ(ων) τῷ Πηγονίτ(η)

Theodore Pegonites is unknown from the sources. He is a representative of the famous family of the Pegonites. Three groups of his seals are known. They describe his cursus honorum as follows:

a) πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς (1040s), according to his unpublished lead seal kept in Vienna (see *Wassiliou*, *Seibt*, no. 290).

b) πατρίκιος, ἀνθύπατος, βέστης καὶ κατεπάνω τὸν Παραδουνάβιτον (1050s-1060s).

c) μάγιστρος καὶ δοῦξ Εδεσης before 1066/1067, according to a lead seal from Dumbarton Oaks (DO. 58. 106 4919), see *Nesbitt*, *McGeer and Oikonomides*, *DOS*, 4, no. 73.2).



**574. Καλοκυρός Πηγονίτης σπαθαροκανδιδατός καὶ ἐκ προσώπου (X-XI c.)**

In a private collection. Found by a treasure-hunter in the stronghold near the village of Dobri dol. D. 19.5-21.5 (19?) 4 mm, W. 11.66 g. Incomplete imprint. Several letters remained outside the blank, and the rest are obliterated.

Ed. **Jordanov**, Dobri dol, no. 11.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Theodore holding a spear (r. hand) and a round shield (l. hand). No inscription visible.

Rev. Inscription of six lines.

.ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ...ΟΚΥΡ' | .ΠΑΘ'Κ.ΔΔ' | .ΕΚΠΡΟΣΠ | .8ΠΗΓΟ | ..ΤΗ  
[+]Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) [Καλ]οκυρ(ῶ) [σ]παθ(αρο)κ[α(ν)]δ(ι)δ(άτω) [(καὶ)] ἐκ  
προσ(ώ)π(ου) [τ]οῦ Πηγο[νί]τη

Kalokyros Pegonites is unknown from other sources. Besides the proposed possibility, a variant reading could also be assumed ἐκ προσ(ώ)π(ου) [τ]οῦ Πηγο[νί]τη, i.e. of one of the representatives of the with high rang member of the family Pegonites, for example, Niketas or Theodore, or ἐκ προσ(ώ)π(ου) [ό τ]οῦ Πηγο[νί]τη nephew of some of the Pegonitai family (on them, see below).

**575-579. Λέων Πηγονίτης πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγός (mid-XIth c.)**

a. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 24580. D. 18-27 (18) 3 mm. W. 6.45 g. The interesting thing about this bulla is that the seal was struck not on a lead blank but on a lead plate folded in two, pressed at least three times at different directions in the boulloterion.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 369.

b. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 24590. D. 17-17 (?) 3.6 mm. W. 4.12 g. Incomplete but well-preserved imprint.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 370.

c. Private collection (N. Georgiev, middleman from Shumen), offered and purchased for the collection of the National Historical Museum, Sofia. D. 15.5-16.5(?) 2 mm. Incomplete imprint, since the blank was smaller than the diameter of the dies and also due to slipping of the boulloterion.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 371.

d. Private collection. It has "flown out" from the excavations in Preslav presumably through the same H. Georgiev. D. 17-19 mm. Incomplete imprint due to off-centering and slipping of the blank in the boulloterion.

Unpublished.

e. Private collection. It has "flown out" from the excavations in Preslav presumably also through N. Georgiev. D. 19-20 mm. Good imprint and a bulla in a good state of preservation.

Unpublished.

f. Private collection (V. Panteleev, Varna). Find-spot: uncertain (Preslav ?). D.15-17 ( ?) 3 mm, W. 4.00 g. Incomplete imprint due to the small blank.

Unpublished.

The six specimens were struck in the same boulloterion.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Demetrios facing, holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Inscription in two columns: Θ-Δ-Η-Μ || Τ-Ρ-Ι-Ο-Σ : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Δημ(ή)τριος. Circular inscription along a border of dots:

a) ... R'.. Ε . . . . . ΑΘΑΡΙΩ

b) ... R'Θ'ΛΕΟΝΤΙ . . . . .

c) . . . . . ΠΙΩ

d) ..ΕΡ'Θ'ΛΕΟΝΤΙΑ'CΠ . . . . .

e) ..ΕΡ'Θ'ΛΕΟΝΤΙΑ'CΠΑΘ . . . . .

Rev. Bust of the Virgin, holding a medallion of Christ before her chest. Sigla MP || ΘΥ.

Circular inscription along border of dots:

a) . CΤΡΑΤΗΓΩ . . . . . ΙΤΙ

b) . . . . . ΩΤΟΠΗΙ . . . . .

c) . . . . . ΤΗΓΩ . . . . .

d) . . . . . ΤΗΓΩΤΟΠΙ . . . . .

e) SCTΡΑΤΗΓΩΤΟΠΗΓ . . . . .

[+Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Λέοντι (πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίω) (καὶ) στρατηγῶ το Πηγ[ον]ίτι

I have recently examined the last two specimens Private collection. Their data introduce substantial corrections in the reading, actually the reading of the patronym.

In my above publication, from the available letters, some preserved only in outline, and using largely my imagination, I could read the patronym ΤΟΝ ΗΑΣΙΤΙ(Ν). While in his review, W. Seibt proposes the toponym ΤΟΝ ΚΑCΙΑΝΩΝ = τὸν Κασ(σ)ιάνων (see **Seibt**, *BZ*, S.136).

I will once again present my conclusions regarding specimen a:

*As the boulloterion was struck on a folded arbitrary plate, there is the question of its possible use: whether it accompanied its owner's correspondence to Preslav or was a sample imprint of the boulloterion on a chance plate, which means that this sample was made in Preslav and that the owner of the boulloterion was located there. The latter seems to me more likely, since it is hard to explain how these two plates pressed several times in the boulloterion without being welded to each other could have been affixed to their owner's correspondence, hanging on a band or cord.*

In the light of the new specimens, we should accept that the bullae cover the person of Leon Pegonites, also attested by his seals as πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγός Πρεσθλαβίτζας. Seven of his specimens are already known: two found in Preslav, two in Dristra and further two in Constantinople. Leo Pegonites' presence in the Strategia of Preslav and the existence of his seals in his capacity as στρατηγός Πρεσθλαβίτζας is a further though secondary evidence to the equation Πρεσθλάβας= Πρεσθλαβίτζας.

**580-584. Λέων Πηγονίτης πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγός Πρεσθλαβίτζας (mid-XI<sup>th</sup> century)**

a. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 16684. Find-spot: strategia of Preslav. D. 23-24 (20?) 3 mm, W. 7.95 g. Incomplete imprint

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 309; **Jordanov**, *G. Names*, no. 63.7a.

b. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 24636. Find-spot: strategia of Preslav. D. 12-19 (20?) 2 mm. Good imprint. Half preserved.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 310; **Jordanov**, *G. Names*, no. 63.7b.

c. Preserved in Romania [MIRSR 48/15]. Prior to that it was in the former collection of Pericle Papahadjii. Find-spot; Silistra. D. 25-27 mm; field 20 mm; thickness 3 mm. Incomplete imprint because of off-striking and slipping of the blank in the boulloterion. Well-preserved bulla.

Ed. **Banescu-Papahagi**, Silistrie, no. 2; **Jordanov**, *G. Names*, no. 63.7c.

d. Historical Museum, Shoumen. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 25-26 mm. Well-preserved bulla.

Ed. **Jordanov**, *G. Names*, no. 63.7d.

e. National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 13132. Found in Silistra. D. 17.9-20.5 mm; field 19 ? mm; thickness 3 mm. Incomplete imprint. Blank too small for die, and the imprint itself is off-centered.

Ed. **Jordanov**, *G. Names*, no. 63.7e.

The four specimens are struck with the same die. The reverse of the fifth specimen is different, and we are not sure about the obverse, even though there are some different details. These differences could be due to some later damages or repairs of the boulloterion.

*Parallels*: In the collections of the Hermitage (M-12178, see **Шандровская**, Болгария, 461-462, рис. 8) and Fogg A. M., no. 860 (see **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 1, no. 78.4), two other specimens are preserved struck with the same die as our a-d.

*Obv.* Inscription of four lines:

a-d: -✕- | +ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ' | Λ'ΛΕΟΝΤ | Α'CΠΑΘ' | -✕-

e: | +ΚΕΡ'. | ΤΩCΩΔ' | Λ'ΛΕΟΝΤ | Α'CΠΑΘ' |

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

a-d: -✕- | CΤΡΑ | Τ'ΠΡΕCΘ' | ΡΙΤ'ΤΩΠ | ΓΟΝΙΤ' | -✕-

e: | . . . . | . . . . ΕCΘΛΑ | ΡΙΤ'ΤΩΠΗ | ΓΟΝΙΤ' | -✕-

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δ(ού)λ(ω) Λέοντ(ι) (πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίω) (καὶ) στρατ(ηγῷ) Πρεσθλαβίτζ(ας) τῷ Πηγονίτ(η)

Λέων Πηγονίτης is unknown from the narrative sources. But some other seals bearing the name of this person are known.

1. In the stratega of Preslav his other bullae have been found in his capacity as πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγός (see above).

2. In the collections of Athens Museum of Numismatics (**Konstantopoulos**, no. 684; **Stavrakos**, no. 210); unpublished from DO. 58. 106. 3079 and Zacos, III, no. 1554, three bullae are preserved. Their description is as follows:

1. + .Ε|.ΗΘΕΙ|.ΩCΩΔ8|ΛΩ - ΛΕΟΝ|ΤΑΤΩΠ|.ΩΝΗ|ΤΗ

2. +ΚΕ|ΡΟΗΘ'|ΤΩCΩ|Δ8Λ'- ΛΕΟΝ|ΤΑΤΟΝ|ΠΙΓΟΝΙ|Τ'

3. +ΚΕΡΟ|ΗΘΕΙΤΩ|CΩΔΟΝ|Λ - ΛΕΟΝ|ΤΙΤΩΠ|ΓΟΝΙ|Τ'

= + Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Λεοντι τῷ Πηγονίτῃ

They are dated generally to the second half of the XI<sup>th</sup> century.

3. In the collection of the Berlin Numismatic Cabinet, a bulla is preserved (see **Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, p.692; **Laurent**, *Bulles metriques*, no. 498, 498a). Its description is as follows:

*Obv.* Bust of St. Theodore Thyron and vertical inscription: Θ|ΘΕ|ΟΔ|Ο'- Θ|ΤΗ|ΡΟ|Ν'

*Rev.* +|ΤΗΡΟΝ|CΚΕΠΟΙC|ΛΕΟΝΤΑ|ΤΟΝΠΗΓΑ|ΝΙΤΗΝ

= + Τήρον, σκέποις Λέοντα τὸν Πηγανίτην.

It is dated to the last quarter of the XI<sup>th</sup> century.

4. In the Shaw collection, no. 398 (1247), a specimen is preserved with an inscription on the obverse and reverse: ΓΡΑΦΑ'|CΦΡΑΓΙ|ΖΩ-ΠΗΓΟ| ΝΙΤ8ΛΕ| ΟΝΤΟC. This specimen is dated to the last quarter of the XI<sup>th</sup> century as well.

It is quite possible that these five groups of seals belonged to one and the same person who during the mid of the XI c. was a strategos of Preslavitzza and sojourned in Preslav.

### 585. Νικήτας Πηγονίτης πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγός Δυρραχίου (1018)

Archaeological Museum, Preslav, no. 22913. D. 21-22 (over 22 ?) 5 mm. W. 9.60 g. Incomplete imprint, the blank was smaller than the seal. The surface of the bulla is covered with thick oxide.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 225; **Jordanov**, *G. Names*, no. 25.1.

No parallels known.

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin holding a medallion of Christ before her. No sigla visible.

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

..... | ..... | .ΤΡΑΤΗ. | .VΡΑΧ'Τ. | ΠΙΓΟΝ'Τ

[Νικήταα πατρικ(ίω) (καὶ) σ]τρατη[γ(ῶ) Δ]υραχ(ίου) τ[ῷ] Πιγον(ί)τ(η)

The name of Niketas Pegonites is mentioned several times in the narrative sources.

He was one of the most active military commanders in the war of Basil II against the Bulgarians. His name in his capacity as patrikios and strategos of Dyrrachium is associated with the death, or more precisely the murder, of tsar Ivan Vladislav under the city walls in the winter of 1018 (**Skylitzes**, 357.57-58, 62-63). One partially preserved inscription on a stone kept in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum is a testimony of his tenure as strategos of Dyrrachium. Unfortunately, only the last part of the startegos' name is preserved, whose restoration as Πηγωνίτην is only one possible variant (see **Mango**, *C. A Byzantine Inscription relating to Dyrrachium*, - *Archaeologischer Anzeiger*, 81, 1966, heft 1, 411-414).

In 1033, the patrikios Niketas Pegonites was still in an active military service and at the head of an army including Russian mercenaries besieged Berkri fortress in Armenia. He captured and murdered the Saracenos Alim and his son (**Skylitzes**, 388-389.45-48).

In the extant epitaph of Michael Psellos about Niketas Pegonites' daughter caesarissa Irene, wife of the caesar John Doukas (**Psellos**, *SM*, I, 155-189), the author characterizes her father also as a military commander who covered himself with glory in he war against the Skythians (Bulgarians) (**Psellos**, *SM*, I, 159-160). In 1057 he was still living, since Psellos exclaims: "I, the author, saw him, and although this hero was quite past his young years, I was filled with admiration at his appearance" (**Psellos**, *SM*, I, 159.9-11.)

In this case, of importance for us is that Niketas Pegonites is in his capacity as patrikios and strategos of Dyrrachium on the presented seal, i.e. it corroborates Skylitzes information, and the fact that it was found in Preslav.

There is no direct administrative link between Preslav and Dyrrachium requiring the strategoi of the two cities to exchange correspondence. This fact can find various explanations:

First, another representative of the family, Leo Pegonites, was located in Preslav in his capacity as strategos (unfortunately, we cannot say the precise time of his tenure);

Second, it is a case of "a circular letter" of the "Roman hero" who killed in "a duel" the Bulgarian tsar;

Third, even if we accept that the correspondence of Niketas Pegonites strategos of Dyrrachium was not purely formal, it undoubtedly related to his recent feats of arms and mostly to the death of the last Bulgarian ruler, evidence to which, though indirect, is the seal discovered in Preslav.

After presenting the seal of the last representative of the family Pegonites, let's try to make clear the relationships between them.

Regretfully, the information in the narrative sources for the Xith c. is rather scanty. Apart from the case of Nikets Pegonites, there is another mention of a doux of Edessa bearing the family name Pegonites, who in 1066-1067 plotted against the doux of Antiochos (called vestes, presumably meaning his title), as a result of which he was deposed form his high rank by order of Emperor Constantine X Doukas (**Matthieu d'Edesse**, p.131; **Mathew of Edessa**,

II. 27, p.108 p.131; **Арутюнова-Фиданян**, *Армяне* 140-141). As a kind of compensation, the seals of representatives of the family are numerous.

In addition to those presented above, known are also the seals of the following representatives:

1. Εἰρήνη Πηγονιτίσση μαγίστρισσα, βεστάρχισσα καὶ δούκαινα, the third quarter of the XI<sup>th</sup> century according to a seal from the collection of Zacos, III, no. 1606, see **Cheyne**, *Femmes*, p. 44:

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans without a medallion before her chest.

*Rev.* CHΔ8|..PHNHM|.ICTPICC|. ΕCΤΑΡΧΙ|.HSΔ8ΚΑ|NHΤΗΠΗ|.ITICH

2. Ἰωάννης Πηγονίτης στρατηγὸς Νικοπόλεως, second half of the XI<sup>th</sup> century according to an unpublished seal from the collection of Zacos, III, no. 1728.

*Obv.* Bust of St. John the Theologian.

*Rev.* ἸΩCΤΡΑ|ΤΗΓOCΝΙ|ΚΟΠΟΛΟΝ|..ΗΓΟΝΙ|.ΤΗC

3. Μιχαήλ Πηγονίτης, a private person from the second half of the XI<sup>th</sup> century, according to a lead seal from the Museum of Antioch, no.11653 (see **Cheyne**, *Antioch et Tarse*, no.76).

4. Κωνσταντῖνος Πηγονίτης, a private person from the second half of the XII<sup>th</sup> century, according to an unpublished seal from Shaw' collection, no. 1397 (1400).

*Obv.* Bust of St. Theodore holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Part of the

vertical inscription: .....|| Ω-ΡΟ-С

*Rev.* ΚΩΝ8 | ΛϞCTΩΝ | ΓΡΑΦΩΝ| ΠΗΓΩΝ. | T8

Clearly, the seal of Niketas Pegonites patrikios and strategos of Dyrrachium is the earliest.

What is the connection between the rest?

I will begin with Irene, since it is the key information relating to her. There is no direct information that she was Niketas Pegonites' daughter, but the analysis of the cited epitaph leads to this conclusion. (**Gregoire**, *Nicetas Pegonites*, 284-288). She was born in some village in the Paphlagonia theme, where the family perhaps had land possessions or her father was in service nearby. Ca. 1045, she married John Doukas, and in 1059 was granted the title caesarissa, whereupon she soon died (ca. 1060). She was the oldest child in the family, had a lingering hepatitis, but it is assumed that she died of a different malady (H. Gregoire assumes tumour of the breasts). For that reason perhaps she refused to wear the garments of caesarissa at the introduction to her new title. She had two sons from her marriage to John Doukas – Andronikos and John (**Gregoire**, *Nicetas Pegonites*, 283-284; **Polem**, *Doukai*, no.13, p. 41).

Irene Pegonitissa magistrissa vestarchissa and doukissa from the seal could be identified as the wife of some of the above representatives of this family, for example of Theodore Pegonites, who had a similar rank, but she could also be identified with the caesarissa Irene before the enthronement of the Doukai in 1059. Her husband's career prior to his brother's ascension to the throne is unknown except that he took part in a number of military campaigns. One of the assumptions is that he is identical to John Doukitsas katepano of Edessa from Eustathios Boilas' will in 1059 (**Polem**, *Doukai*, no.13, p. 35). It is quite possible that he held the title magistros, vestarches and respectively the position doux until 1059. As for Irene, similar to other noble Byzantine women, after the marriage, she could retain her maiden name which enjoyed high respect at that juncture, since Psellos also admired it.

Leo Pegonites could be her younger brother (**Banescu**, N. *Notes de sigillographie et de prosopographie byzantines*. – *Bulletin de la Section Historique*, 27, 1946, 42-55). Therefore, he could be strategos of Preslavitsa ca. mid-X<sup>th</sup> c., but prior to the establishment of the

katepanate Paradounavon. After the Doukai ascension, he could have retired from active military service, for which reason his later seals bear no titles and positions.

Theodore Pegonites could be Niketas' third child. His appointment to the position of katepano of Paradunavon could have resulted from his relatives' ascension and his sister's granting of the title caesarissa. The last stage of his career was perhaps the title magistros and the position doux of Edessa, from which he was deposed by the same Emperor Constantine X Doukas for his intrigues.

How could the rest be arranged?

John: nothing specific could be said about him. Along with Michael and perhaps the individual behind the private seals of Leo Pegonites, they represent a third generation that lived in the third quarter of the XI<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Kalokyros: an assumption has already been made about him that he was the earliest, brother or predecessor of Niketas Pegonites and that he was ek prosopo of some presented above (Niketas, Theodore, etc.) or their nephew.

Constantine Pegonites from the seal could be identified with Michael Choniates' addressee of 1182 Constantine Pegonites, a tax-collector in the Black sea region and probably the Bosphorus (**Choniates**, M. *Epistule*, no. 3), but that exceeds the scope of our inquiry, since the seals found in Bulgaria are dated to the mid-XI<sup>th</sup> c.

It cannot escape our notice that almost all representatives of the family were military commanders connected with the thematic army, and which is of particular importance to us, that they were connected with the Bulgarian lands: at least four of them were governors of Bulgarian towns and regions. In this sense, their seals are of major importance filling in the gap in the history of the Bulgarian lands in the XI<sup>th</sup> century.

#### 586-587. Λέων Πιλένης βεστάρχης καὶ στρατηγὸς (third quarter, XI c.)

Both specimens were struck in the same boulloterion. Private collection. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 15-17 and 15-16 mm. Well-executed and well-preserved imprints.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription:

Θ-Γ-Ε ||... : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Γε[ώργιος]

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΛΕΟΝΤΙ | ΡΕCΤΑΡΧ' | CΤΡΑΤ'Γ' | ΤΟΠΙΑΕΝ | ΝΙ

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Λέοντι βεστάρχ(η) (καὶ) στρατ(η)γ(ῶ) το Πιλεννί(ω)

The Fogg A. M. Collection, no. 2036 contains a bulla perhaps of the same dignitary:

*Obv.* Bust of St. Demetrios holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). On either side, vertical inscription: Θ-Δ-Μ-Η || T-P-I-OC. Along a border of dots circular inscription:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' ΛΕΟΝΤΙΑ'CΠΙΑΘΑΡΙΩ

*Rev.* Bust of the Virgin holding a medallion before her. Sigla:  $\overline{MP}$  ||  $\overline{\Theta V}$  Along border of dots circular inscription: CΤΡΑΤΗΓΩΤΟΠΙΛΑΕΝΝΙΩ

#### 588. Ἀναστάσιος Πολὺς πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς (mid-XI c.)

Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 18408. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 23-26 (15) 3 mm.

W. 13.57 g. Well-preserved specimen struck on a rather strange blank. The mixture seems not to have mingled well in the mould. The imprint itself is complete and well-preserved.

Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 341.

Parallels : unpublished from DO. 58. 106. 3830, struck with the same boulloterion.

Obv. Inscription of four lines:

—••— | +K̅ER'Θ' | TΩCΩΔ8' | ANACT | CIO

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

ΠΡΙΣ | CTPATI | ΓΩΤΩΠ' | - ΛV -

+ K(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δού(λῳ) Ἀναστασίῳ π(ατ)ρι(κίῳ) (καὶ) στρατιγῷ  
τῷ Πολῷ

The name of Polys archon of the tagmata of the West is several times mentioned in Skylitzes. He participated in the rebellion of Leon Tornikios in 1047. When became clear that Tornikios' revolt was doomed to failure, Polys rejoined the imperial forces. He was killed in a battle against the Pechenegs in 1050 near Dampolis (modern Iambol, see *Skylitzes*, 441.51-52; 442.74; 467. 85-88). Polys was most probably his surname and may have originated as a nickname (see *Papadopoulos-McGrath*, p. 219).

Whether the owner of the present seal and this Polys are identical, and generally whether there is a connection between them is a question of no definite answer. The dating of the seal (mid-Xith c.), the position of Anastasios Polys and the region in which the events occurred according to Skylitzes make such an identification plausible. But if we accept that it is a sobriquet based on personal qualities, the possibility is less certain.

#### 589-590. Συμεὼν Πρίγουλης (second half, XI c.)

a. Historical Museum, Pernik, no. 251. Find-spot: Pernik in the course of excavations in the fortress, 5.10.1961, sq. V/170, D. 17-18.5 (15) 3 mm. Successful imprint and a bulla in a good state of preservation.

Ed. Юркова, Перник, II, 131-132.

b. Historical Museum, Pernik, no. 356. Find-spot: Pernik in the course of excavations in the fortress, 27.09.1968, sq. V/207, depth. 1-1.20 m., D. 17.5-17.5 (14) 3 mm. Unsuccessful imprint made on one end of the blank.

Ed. Юркова, Перник, II, 131-132.

Both specimens were struck with the same pair of dies.

Parallels: A third unpublished specimen struck with the same pair of dies is preserved in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (DO. 55. 1. 3269).

Obv. Inscription of three lines:

—•— | +K̅ER'Θ' | TΩCΩ | Δ8ΛΩ | —✕—

Rev. Inscription of three lines:

CVME | ΩNITΩ | ΠΡΙΓ8 | - ΛH -

+ K(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Συμεῶνι τῷ Πριγούλῃ

The name of the owner of the present seal is unknown from the narrative sources. This family was also unknown until the publication of the Pernik seals.

Some time ago, W. Seibt published a seal of Ἰωάννης Πρίγουλης βεστάρχης, dated to 1070s-1080s (see *Seibt, Reggiani*, no. 4). Its owner could presumably be identified with Ἰωάννης Πρίγουλης βεστάρχης καὶ β'νοτάριος τῆς σακέλης, whose signature is under pittakion of Alexios I Komnenos for Monastery on Patmos, dated April and May 1088 (see *Actes Patmos*, 1, nos. 48, p. 340.D251; 49, p. 345.B289). The latter information seems to

have escaped Seibt's notice, since he has not made use of it.

It is hard to determine the connection between these two representatives of the Prigulis family. The dating of Symeon Prigules' seal is close to John Prigules' time. Who in Pernik did Symeon Prigules write to as a private person? This question will likewise remain open. Certain speculations could be made, when examining all seals found in Pernik.

#### 591. Ἰωάννης Προβατᾶς σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος καὶ κόμης τοῦ στόλου (XI c.)

The old collection of the director of the college in Silistra, Pericle Papahagi. Find-spot: the town. D. 29-29 (?)3-4 mm. Incomplete imprint, since the diameter of the dies was larger than that of the blank.

Ed. Papahagi, P. Sceaux de plomb byzantins inedits trouves a Silistrie.-RESEE, 8, 1931, 308-310; Banescu-Papahagi, Silistrie, no. VI; Laurent *Corpus*, II, no. 986.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. John the Baptist blessing (r. hand) and the object in his l. hand is not visible due to obliteration of the bulla. No traces of the inscription visible.

Rev. Inscription of seven lines:

..... | .ΩCΩΔ. | ἸΩCΠAΘ'K | ΔΔ'SKOMI | T'T8CTOΛ' | . ΠΠOR | - .TA -

[+ K(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δ[ού(λῳ)] Ἰω(άννη) σπαθ(αρο)κ(αν)δ(ι)δ(άτῳ)  
(καὶ) κόμ(ι)τ(ι) τοῦ στόλ(ου) [τῷ Προβ[α]τᾶ]

The last two publishers made emendations of the original reading and proposed dating in the second half of the XIth c. The dating should take into consideration perhaps the new name of the fleet and its commander after 1085 δούξ τοῦ στόλου instead of δρουγγάριος τῶν πλωίμων, suggesting that this change also reflected on the subordinates of the doux of the fleet.

John Probatas is unknown from the narrative sources.

It is supposed that the family Προβατᾶς has a Slavic origin (see *Каждан, Соу. состав*, c. 203). But this should conform to Skylitzes account of the reign of Michael IV (1034-1041) regarding a certain Γεώργιος Προβατᾶς, nobleman from Asia Minor (see *Skylitzes*, 396.25-26).

The following representatives of this family were attested in the XIth c.:

1. Γεώργιος Προβατᾶς, eunuch and emperor's close associate. In 1035 he served as imperial envoy to Sicily. George Probatas was able to negotiate a peace with Arabs, and returned to Constantinople accompanied by the Arab emir's son (*Skylitzes*, 398.80-83; *Dölger, Regesten*, no. 841). A few years later (1040), when the Serbs led by Stephan Voislav took hold of the imperial treasury, George Probatas was dispatched at the head of an army to punish them. He reached the place but inadvertently encountered some very exacting, broken and inaccessible terrain in which he lost his whole army, extracting himself only with great difficulty (*Skylitzes*, 409.80-85).

2. Κωνσταντῖνος Προβατᾶς πρωτοσπαθᾶριος ἐπὶ τοῦ Χρυσοτρικλίνου, attested by his unpublished bulla in the Zacos collection, III, no. 1522.

3. Νικόλαος Προβατᾶς βεστάρχης καὶ στρατηγὸς τοῦ Αἰγαίου Πελάγους, dated to the second half of the XIth c. (see *Nesbitt-Oikonomides, DOS*, 2, no. 43)

4.N., Προβατᾶς, whose positions are not very clear, but he died along with the doux of Skopje Damianos Dalassenos during the Bulgarian rebellion headed by George Voitech in 1071-1072 (*Skylitzes, Continuatus*, 163.26). When analyzing the events and the participants

in them, we are left with the impression that he was in charge of a detachment still subordinate to the doux of Skopje, but whether he was at the head of a thematic army or some kind of a tagma is not clear. It could be assumed that Ἰωάννης Προβατᾶς in his capacity as κόμης τοῦ στόλου may have had similar functions to be dispatched at the head of a small squadron with foot in help of various neuralgic points of the Empire, but we cannot argue with any certainty that this is the same individual.

It strikes that at least two out of three representatives of this family were in naval service.

## 592. Μιχαήλ Πτωχέας (XI c.)

Private collection (St. Bilik from Sofia). Find-spot: unknown. D. 20-21 (20) 4 mm. Complete imprint, but not distinct enough.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. St. Michael standing with ruler's insignia. He props himself (r. hand) on a long staff and holds a globus cruciger (l. hand).

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

ΟΜΩΝΥ | Μ8ΝΤΑ | ΠΤΩΧΕΙ | ΤΗΝΑΕΙ | ΣΚΕΠΕ  
Ὁμωνυμοῦντα Πτωχείτην ἀεὶ σκέπε

A seal in the Fogg A. M. Collection, no. 96, on which the office of grammatikos is inscribed, perhaps belonged to the same person (see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, no. 1184).

## 593. Θεόδωρος Ῥαδηνὸς β' πρωτοσπαθᾶριος καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μαγγλαβίου (XI c.)

Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia, no.32. Find-spot: unknown. Presumably purchased from Istanbul. D. 20-20 (20) 2 mm. Successful imprint and a bulla in a very good state of preservation. Complete imprint, although the blank was almost equal to the diameter of the dies.

Ed. **Мушмов**, Печати, № 32.

No parallels known.

Obv. An eagle with spread wings walking left. Circular inscription between a double border of dots starting at the top: +ΚΕΡΟΗΘΗ ΤΩCΩΔ8ΛΩ.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ΘΕΟΔ | ΟΡ'Ρ'Α'CΠΑ | Θ'ΣΕΠΙΤ8Μ | ΑΓΛΑΡ' ΟΡ | ΑΔ'ΝΟ  
+Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθη τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Θεοδόρ(ω) β'(πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίω) (καὶ) ἐπὶ τοῦ  
μαγγλαβίου) (τ)ο Ῥαδ(η)νο

Its publisher has read the patronym on lines 4 and 5 as ΟΡ | ΛΑΝΟ = Ὁρλάνο, ignoring the definite article.

Θεόδωρος ὁ Ῥαδηνὸς β' πρωτοσπαθᾶριος καὶ κριτὴς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου was also among the participants at a session of the synod of May1030 (see **Ficker**, *Erlasse*, S. 21.6-7).

It is quite possible that the owner of the present seal and the participant in the synod were one and the same person. A commonplace coincidence of names is however also very likely.

## 594. Ἰωάννης Ῥαδηνὸς βεστάρχης, κριτὴς τοῦ βήλου, Θράκης καὶ Μακεδονίας (1070s-1080s)

Archaeological Museum, Preslav, no. 21579. D. 29.6-30 (23) 3 mm. W. 18.18 g. A complete imprint, very well-preserved. Nevertheless, some of the peripheral letters are slightly effaced. It has been partially harmed with a pickaxe during its discovery by me.

Ed. **Йорданов**, Преслав, № 251; **Jordanov**, *G. Names*, no. 35D.22.

Parallels: unpublished lead seal from Zacos, III, see Wassiliou, Seibt, p. 44, n. 119.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin with a medallion of Christ before her. On either side sigla: ΜΡ || ΘΥ: Μ(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ.

Rev. Inscription of seven lines:

- - - | +ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ἸΩΡΕCΤΑΡ | ΧΗΚΡΙΤΗΤ8 | ΡΗΛ'ΘΡΑΚΗC | ΚΕΜΑΚΕΔΟ |  
ΝΙΑΤΩΡΑ | ο ΔΗΝΩ ο  
+Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) Ἰω(άννη) βεστάρχη κριτῇ τοῦ βήλ(ου), Θράκης κὲ  
Μακεδονία(ς) τῷ Ραδηνῷ

## 595. Ἰωάννης Ῥαδηνὸς βεστάρχης καὶ κριτὴς τοῦ βήλου (third quarter of the XI century)

National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 13138. Find-spot: Silistra. D. Half of what was once a good and complete imprint.

Ed. **Йорданов**, Силистра, III, № 8.

No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of four lines:

... RO | ... ΙΤΩ | ... 8ΛΩ | ... NNH | . -

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

R.. | ΤΑΡ ... | ΚΡΙΤ ... | ΡΗΛ'... | Δ...  
[+Θ(εοτό)κε] βο[ήθε]ι τῷ [σῷ δ]ούλῳ [Ἰωά]ννη β[εσ]τάρ[χη (καὶ)] κριτ[ῇ τοῦ]  
βήλ(ου) [τῷ Ρα]δ[ήνῳ]

We cannot be absolutely sure whether it is the same individual as the above. In the Xth-Xith centuries, a large number of representatives of this family named John were attested both in the narrative sources and by their seals.

During Zoe's regency (913-917) the patrikios John Radenos and Michael Toxaras were sent to Syria, where they came to an agreement with the Saracens (**Skylitzes**, 202. 76-78) as to concentrate the whole Empire's force against Symeon. Later (in 921-922) the same John Radenos πατρίκιος καὶ δρουγγάριος τῶν πλωϊμῶν was dispatched against the fleet of the pirate Leo of Tripoli; while he was moored off the islands of Lemnos, he caught him off his guard, put him to flight, killing nearly all the Hagarenes. [Leo] of Tripoli alone saved his life by fleeing away (see **Skylitzes**, 218. 5-8; **Skylitzes** tr. **Wrotly**, p.119.11.)

The signatur of Ἰωάννης Ῥαδηνὸς πρόεδρος καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς σακέλλης is attested under a pittakion of Alexios I Komnenos regarding the monastery on Patmos dated 1088 (see *Actes Patmos*, I, no. 48, p. 340.247).

Seals with the name of John Radenos :

1. Ἰωάννης Ῥαδηνὸς ἀνθύπατος, πατρίκιος, πρωτοσπαθᾶριος καὶ στρατηγὸς



(X-XI c., according to an unpublished badly preserved lead seal from DO. 55. 1. 3286).

Obv. Patriarchal cross with fleurons. Traces of a circular inscription.

Rev. ΙΩΑΝ. | ΒΠΑΤ' ΠΑ. | ΠΙΚΙ.Α' ΣΠΑ. | ΣΤΡΑΤΙΓ' ΤΙΩΡΑΔΙΝ'

2. 'Ιωάννης ? or Θεόδωρος? 'Ραδηνός ἀνθύπατος, πατρίκιος, β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ δρουγγάριος τοῦ β πλωΐμου (X-XI c., according to badly preserved unpublished lead seal from DO. 55. 1. 3285, see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, no. 966).

Obv. Patriarchal cross with fleurons. Traces of a circular inscription.

Rev. ..ΩΑΝ. | ΒΠ' ΠΑΤΡ' Ρ' | . ' ΣΠΑΘ' ΣΔΡ8 | ΓΓΑΡ' Τ8 ΠΛΟ | ΗΜ' Τ' ΡΑΔΙΝ'

3. 'Ιωάννης 'Ραδηνός πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ εἰδικοῦ (mid-XI c., see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, no. 612).

4. 'Ιωάννης 'Ραδηνός βεστάρχης καὶ κριτῆς τοῦ βήλου (third quarter of the XI century, see here no. 595)

5. 'Ιωάννης 'Ραδηνός βεστάρχης, κριτῆς τοῦ βήλου, Θράκης καὶ Μακεδονίας (1070s-1080s, see here no. 594)

6. 'Ιωάννης 'Ραδηνός ἱλλούστριος καὶ δικασπóλος (second half of the XI c., see **Wassiliou**, **Seibt**, p. 44, n. 120).

7. 'Ιωάννης 'Ραδηνός κουροπάλατης (last quarter of the XI c., see **Wassiliou**, **Seibt**, p. 44, n. 121).

8. 'Ιωάννης 'Ραδηνός κουροπάλατης καὶ πραιτωρ Βολεροῦ, Στριμῶνος καὶ Θεσσαλονίκης (end of the XI c., see **Wassiliou**, **Seibt**, p. 44, n. 122).

9. 'Ιωάννης 'Ραδηνός - a private person from XI-XII c., see **Laurent**, *Orghidan*, no. 465.

Clearly, the seals can be identified with more than one individual who lived from the Xth until the beginning of the XIIth centuries. To one individual perhaps belonged seals nos. 3-9. They determine his cursus honorum and the positions connected with the government of provinces in the Balkans.

For the other representatives of the family Radenos, see **Wassiliou**, **Seibt**, no. 15, 42-44.

#### 596. Κωνσταντῖνος 'Ραοῦλ Δούκας σεβαστός (late XII c.)

National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 29853. Find-spot: Russe region, according to the reported information.

Whether it comes from a reliable source is a different matter. D. 36-38 (29) 2.5 mm. Good imprint, but cracked along the channel.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Севастии*, № 25.

Parallels: **Mordtmann**, *Peri*, p. 81; **Laurent**, *Bulles metriques*, no. 483 [Shaw no. 1137]; **Maksimovic**, *L. Pocat Konstantina Raula*. - *Зборник посветен на Божко Бабич*, Прилеп, 1986, 139-141.

Obv. Inscription of five lines:

+| ΣΦΡΑΓΙΣ | ΜΑΚΑΙΚΥ | ΡΩCICAC | ΦΑΛΕΥ'Α | ΤΗ

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

ΡΑΟΥΛ | CΕΡΑΥ'8 | ΔΟΝΚΑΤ8 | ΚΩΝΥ'ΑΝ | -ΤΙΝ8 -

+ Σφράγισμα καὶ κύρωσις ἀσφαλεστάτη 'Ραοῦλ σεβαστοῦ Δούκα τοῦ

Κωνσταντίνου

The owner of the seal is the sebastos Constantine Raoul Doukas. The family 'Ραοῦλ has a Norman origin. Its appearance in Byzantium is connected with a mercenary who switched over to service in the Empire in 1080s. During the XIIth c. his descendants hellenized and

married into noble Byzantine families, such as the Doukai (see **Chatzis**, **A. Ch.** *Oi 'Ραοῦλ, 'Ρόλ, 'Ραλαὶ (1080-1800)*, Kirchain, 1909; **Mystakides**, **B. A.** *Oi 'Ραλ(λ)αὶ*. - *ΕΕΒΣ*, 5, 1928, 256-282; **Fassoulakis**, **S.** *The Byzantine Family of Raoul-Ral(l)es*, Athenes, 1973).

The name of the sebastos Constantine Raoul is twice attested in the narrative sources:

a) in attendance at a session of the synod on September 3, 1191 regarding the transfer of Dositheos the Patrarch of Constantinople to the patriarchate of Jerusalem. In the acts, he is reported as πανσέβαστος σεβαστός (see **Papadopoulos-Kerameus**, *Analekta*, II, p. 362.22-23);

b) According to Niketas Choniates, in April 1195 the same Κωνσταντῖνος 'Ραοῦλ πανσέβαστος σεβαστός, as ἄνθρωποι κατὰ γένος τῷ βασιλεῖ συναπτόμενοι, proclaimed the enthronement of the new Emperor Alexios III Angelos (1195-1203) (see **Choniates**, 451, 71-72).

Of course, the matter in hand is to determine on what occasion the sebastos Constantine Raoul Doukas wrote to an unknown addressee located in the present-day Russe region.

There is no further available information on the life of Constantine Raoul Doukas and we are ignorant of the title he received after the enthronement of Alexios III Angelos, but it can be expected that he did not remain πανσέβαστος σεβαστός. Similar to the remaining brothers-in arms and relatives of the emperor who were granted the title of the despota, sebastokrators, ect., Constantine Raoul Doukas was also promoted. This gives me reasons to assume that his seal reflects his career before 1195, thus rendering it hard to determine to whom in modern northeastern Bulgaria he wrote. A possible connection could be found with the Bulgarians' liberation movement, the Byzantine army campaigns or some kind of intermediary mission of Constantine Raoul Doukas in Bulgaria.

#### 597. Ἀνδρόνικος Ρογέριος σεβαστός (XII c.)

Private collection (Georgi Stoianov-Mokana from Novi Pazar). Later appeared in an auction abroad. D. 33-33 (33-25) 4 mm. Find-spot: uncertain to date. The high relief is in a superb state of preservation, while the letters of the inscription are cut and some are obliterated.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Комнини-Ангели*, № 11.

Parallels: Another specimen struck in the same boulloterion, of an oxidated surface but of more complete inscription is preserved in the Shaw collection 378 (no. 1080, see **Laurent**, *Andronic Rogerios*, 73-84).

Obv. Between two borders of dots, an inscription starting from above: +CKEΠ ...XPVCO ..... ACKVPIOV = + Σκέπ[οις με] χρυσό[παστε παστ]ὰς Κυρίου.

Within the enclosed field in the l. half, an icon of the Virgin, turned three quarters l., blessing (r. hand) and holding the Christ Child on l. arm. Sigla: ΜΡ || ΘΥ. To the r., a male figure with a hat or diadem on his head, wearing chlamys and loros, walking l. and presenting to the Virgin a model cross-domed church.

Rev. Between two borders of dots the inscription from the reverse continues: +CΕΡΑΥ'ON ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟ.ΕΚΡΩ.....=+ Σεβαστὸν Ἀνδρόνικο[v] ἐκ 'Ρω[γερίων

Within the enclosed field, a monogram. After joining the text from either side and straightening it, it reads:

+ Σκέποις με χρυσόπαστε παστὰς Κυρίου  
σεβαστὸν Ἀνδρόνικον ἐκ 'Ρωγερίων

This is the only seal from Bulgaria, on which its owner is represented without being a ruler, but in his capacity as a ktetor. This suggests our interest in it.

Many questions arise from the discovery of this bulla in Bulgaria, but in the frame of the present research, we will dwell on the following:

Who was the sebastos Andronikos Rogerios? Which church was he a ktetor to? And last but not least, to whom in present-day Bulgarian lands was his correspondence addressed?

1. The family Rogerioi are Normans from Italy. Its founder is a certain Rogerios, brother of Raoul, one of Robert Guiscard's retinue, who switched over to service with the Byzantines under Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118). He reached the title of sebastos and married a representative of the Dalassenoi (**Skoulatos**, *Les personnages*, no. 180)

2. His son John Rogerios married the daughter of John II Komnenos (1118-1143) Maria. He was granted the title ceasar and after the death of his father-in-law even tried to take the throne. He retained his influence under Manuel I Komnenos (**Stiernon**, *L. Trois membres de la famille Rogerios.* - *REB*, 22, 1964, 186-192.). He held some administrative position, which connected him with the Balkans and specifically with the administration of the Strumitza theme (**Petit**, *L. Le Monastere de Notre Dame de Pitie en Macedoine.* - *ИПАИК*, 6, 1900, c. 34.8,60). According to the data from his extant seals, he was despotes and caesar (**Laurent**, *Bulles metriques*, no 724).

3. Constantine Rogerios, sebastos, contemporary of John II Komnenos and perhaps brother of no. 2 (**Laurent**, *Bulles metriques*, no. 529; **Gautier**, *Obituaire*, p. 255).

4. Andronikos Rogerios is son of John Rogerios and Maria Komnene. He was born ca. 1124 and in 1139 married Irene Doukaina (**Barzos**, *Komnenoi*, no. 124).

His name is reported in the acts of a session of the synod of 6th March 1166 as τοῦ περιποθήτου ἀνεψιοῦ τοῦ κραταιοῦ καὶ ἀγίου ἡμῶν βασιλέως κυροῦ Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος (*PG*, vol. CXL, 253A.1-3).

The next information on him is from 1191, when he was reported as a sebastos and commander of the court guard at Blachernai Palace: τῷ πανσέβαστῳ σεβαστῷ οἰκειοτάτῳ τῷ κραταιῷ καὶ ἀγίῳ ἡμῶν βασιλεῖ προκαθημένο τῶν ἐν τῷ θεοφρουρήτῳ παλατίῳ τῶν Βλαχερνῶν φυλασσόντων πριμμικηρίων καὶ στρατιωτῶν κυρῷ Ἀνδρονίκῳ τῷ Ῥογερίῳ. He was dispatched on the delicate mission to restore Patriarch Dositheos on the patriarchal throne of Jerusalem after having been recently deprived of that in Constantinople by the emperor and the synod summoned by him (**Papadopoulos-Kerameus**, *Analekta*, II, Петроград, 1894, c. 367.24-28).

That would have been all attested in the narrative sources, unless a court poet took the trouble to remind us of a fact in close connection with the scene on the seal under examination. The poet is Theodore Balsamon, who in seventeen lines glorified the construction of the Virgin Chrysokamariotissa monastery by sebastos Andronikos Rogerios. Information on the building itself is not found in them. When comparing the text of the seal and Theodore Balsamon's verses, we establish a coincidence not only in the names and title of this ktetor, but also between the first line of the seal and the epithet of the Virgin from the monastery. The expression on the seal χρυσόσπαστε παστὰς is clearly equivalent to the epithet of the Virgin Χρυσοκαμαριώτισσα, having the same meaning but also expressing a material fact that the central dome of the church depicted on the seal, even the whole roof, was made of gold or at least covered with gilded materials.

We have no data on the exact location and type of this monastery. It has not survived through the centuries. Father Laurent assumed that it was located in the capital or in the suburbs of Constantinople and could have been constructed at the place, where Andronikos'

father, the caesar John Rogerios, had been buried in what was presumably a family tomb (**Laurent**, *Andronic Rogerios*, 76-78).

It strikes that Andronikos Rogerios did not make public his closeness to the imperial family, although he was Komnenos on his mother's side. But as pointed out above, his father had the rank of Caesar and the retentions to the throne. These were perhaps the reasons for Andronikos to present himself in society in 1166 as the son of the Caesar and later (in 1191) as a representative of the already established family of Rogerioi.

To whom in Bulgaria and on what occasion was the correspondence received?

Unfortunately, there is no specific information on the find-spot, and the recipients of the correspondence could be various. The fact that Andronikos Roger did not write in his official capacity, such as a commander of the court guard or solely as a sebastos, but as a ktetor of the monastery is striking. It could be expected that his correspondence was relevantly connected to a local monastery, with which the Virgin Chrysokamariotissa monastery maintained contacts, or, very prosaically, to a settlement, where this monastery had its estates formerly belonging to the Rogerioi. A similar example is the typikon of the Bachkovo monastery, containing a list of the estates which Gregory Pakourianos possessed and donated to the monastery (see *BMFD*, 2, 555-556).

#### 597A. Ῥοῦσος σπαθάριος καὶ ἐκ προσώπου Μώρρας καὶ Φιλιππουπόλεως (XI<sup>th</sup> century)

National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 28698. Found in the region of Plovdiv. D. 26-29 mm; field 22 mm; thickness 3 mm. Incomplete imprint. Struck off-center. The edge of the specimen is broken and bent. All this makes the reading of the text difficult.

*Ed. Jordanov*, Plovdiv, no. 37; *Jordanov*, *G. Names*, no. 52.1.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Patriarchal cross on three steps with fleurons arising from base. Along a border of dots circular inscription: K . . . . . VΛ'

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

|ΩCO | ..ΑΘΑ. | .ΕΚΠ.. | ΜΟΡΑΣ. | ΦΙΛΙΠ | ΠΟΛ'

[+Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δο]ύλ(ῳ) [Ῥ]ούσο [σπ]αθα[ρ(ί)ω] (καὶ)] ἐκ π[ρ(οσό)π(ου)]

Μόρας [(καὶ)] Φιλιπ(ου)πόλ(εως)

It is obvious that this official was not Greek by birth. Probably he was hired by the Empire. The name Ῥοῦσος is often associated with Russia (see the commentary on the name Ῥουσόπουλος of **Seibt**, *Bleisiegel*, I, no. 124). We would like to add the information of the seal of Θεόδωρος Ῥοῦσος πριμμικήριος (see **Koltzida-Makre**, no. 231).

#### 598. Εὐστράτιος Ῥωμανάκης κομμερκιάριος (XI c.)

Historical Museum, Balchik. Find-spot: the triangle between the villages of Tsurkva, Rogachevo and Obrochishte, particularly on the lower terrace northwest of the village of Obrochishte. D. 19.8-19.9 (19 ?) 2.1 mm. The blank slipped slightly to the left at the striking; as a result, the initial and final letters of the first lines were left out of it.

*Ed. Йорданов*, Балчик, № 1.

*No parallels known.*

Obv. Potent cross on steps with fleurons. In the quarters:  $\overline{\text{IC}} \parallel \overline{\text{XC}} \parallel \text{NI} - \text{KA}$ .

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

. KER'Θ' | EVCTP. | T'KOME. | KAP'TO | P'MAN | -K-

[+]K(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Εὐστρ[α]τ(ίω) κομε[ρ]κ(ι)αρ(ίω) το 'Ρ(ω)μαν(ά)κ(η)

The names of the owner of the correspondence and the position coincide with those on the seals of Εὐστράτιος 'Ρωμανάκης σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος καὶ κομμερκιάριος Πρεσθλαβίτζας (see **Oikonomides**, *Presthlavitz*, 3-4, no. 5, n. 9).

It is quite possible that it refers to one and the same person, and in the one case his office was connected with his place of service – Preslavitsa.

#### 599-600. Ἰωάννης 'Ρωμανάκης σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος (XI c.)

a. Historical Museum, Silistra, no.89. D. 25-26 (17) 3 mm. Well-centered and well-executed imprint, but made on an older bulla.

Ed. **Йорданов**, Silistra, IV, № 7.

b. Historical Museum, Dobrich, no.1 1300. D. 22.5-23 (17) 3 mm. Good imprint made on an older bulla as the above.

Ed. **Йорданов**, Silistra, IV, № 8.

Both specimens were struck in the same boulloterion, besides, over bullae of one person, from which original strike one can still see:

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand). Vertical inscription in two columns: | Θ-.-I-K || .-.-A-O : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) [N]ικ[όλ]αο(ς). Along a border of dots circular inscription . .ΕΡΟΗ .....Δ8Λ'

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

..... | Ω..... | ΑΙΕΠ...ΜΑ | ΓΓΛΑΡΙ8

[+] K(ύρι)ε βοή[θ]ει τῷ σῶ[φ] δούλ(ω) [Nικολά]ω κ[α]ὶ ἐπ[ὶ] τοῦ μαγγλαβίου

We can identify this incomplete depiction and text with a bulla of the same characteristics also found in Silistra (see **Йорданов**, Silistra, IV, № 13).

Obv. Bust of St. Michael beardless facing; wears a divitision and loros, holding a scepter (r. hand) and a globus cruciger (l. hand). Sigla: M - X.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ ΙΩΑ | Ν'Ρ'СПΑΘ' | ΚΑΝΔΔ'Τ' | ΟΡΟΜ | .

+ Ἰωάν(νης) β'σπαθ(αρο)κανδ(ι)δ(ᾶ)τος ὁ 'Ρομ(α)[ν(ά)κης]

At least two variant readings of the patronym are possible from the available letters: O POM | . = ὁ 'Ρομ(α)[ν(ά)κης] and ὁ 'Ρομ[(αῖος)]. I have accepted the former due to the fact that bullae of other representatives of this family, some of which in service there, were also found in the region of the Lower Danube.

In G. Schlumberger's monographic study, *Sig.*, p.113, no 3, there is a drawing illustration of a bulla of unclear text, but from which it is generally understood that it applies to a certain John kommerkiarios of Develtos. The same specimen is preserved in the collection of the Hermitage (M-8442) and was republished by me (**Йорданов**, *Девет*, VI, № 8), but without an available photo.

It has recently been republished by V. Shandrovskaja, *Дебелта*, 150-151, where she has very tentatively proposed the following reading:

+KER' | ΗΘ.ΙΙΩ|.OVR.|.ΛHC - KOMEP | ΚΙΑΡΗΩΤ|.ΕΡΕΛ. | POM... | K

+K(ύρι)ε β[ο]ή[θ]ει 'Ιω(άννη)[κ]ου β[ο]υκ[λ]ησ(ίω) κομμερκιάρηωτ(ής)[Δ]εβελ[τ]οῦ ρ(ω)μ[αῖ]κ[οῦ] and has ascertained that the reading of the last three lines Δεβελτοῦ 'ρωμαῖκοῦ is rather unusual. It seems to me that from the available letters ROM... | K the patronym Ρομ[ανά]κ(η) could be read, thus accepting with some reservation that Ἰωάννης 'Ρωμανάκης was a kommerkiarios of Develtos. It could also be assumed that he is identical with the owner of the seals found in Silistra. They reflect an earlier period of his career.

It is assumed that the patronym 'Ρωμανάκης is related with the name 'Ρωμανός, but since it is rather common, I wish to present information on representatives of this family connected with the Bulgarian lands:

1. Εὐστράτιος 'Ρωμανάκης σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος καὶ κομμερκιάριος Πρεσθλαβίτζας, according to his seal from the second half of the XIth c. (**Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 1, no. 78.1).

2. Εὐστράτιος 'Ρωμανάκης κομμερκιάριος, according to his seal found on the land of the village of Rogachevo, Balchik region (see no. 598 above).

3. Νικόλαος 'Ρωμανάκης πρωτοσπαθᾶρος, according to an unpublished lead seal from Fogg A.M., no. 3210.

Obv. Unknown bust. Traces of circular inscription.

Rev. -·-·- | + NIKO | Λ'Α'СПА. | ΤΩΡΟ. | NAKH

4. Πέτρος 'Ρωμανάκης, according to his bulla as a private person found in Noviodunum (**Barnea**, Noviodunum, I, no. 1) dated to the second half of the XIth c.

Obviously, the representatives of this family were connected with modern eastern Bulgaria. They were in service there. John Romanakes wrote at least twice to Dristra. An interesting fact is that his bullae were overstruck on those of one and the same individual. Did he wish to demonstrate something to his correspondent in Dristra by this overstrike or is it a matter of mere coincidence?

#### 601-602. Ρουπένιος Θεόδωρος πρωτονωβελλίσσιμος (late XI c.)

Attested by two specimens struck in the same boulloterion.

a. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 17007. Find-spot: the strategia of Preslav. D. 21-22.5 (18) 2.5 mm. Incomplete imprint. Some letters were not printed perhaps due to looseness of the dies in the boulloterion

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 546.

b. Historical Museum, Dobrich. Find-spot: Silistra. D.22-23 mm. Incomplete imprint as above, but in a poor state of preservation. Broken in two, with fragments missing.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Equal-arm cross occupying the whole field. In the quarters: CΦP- ΓIC|| .ON' - RA.

Rev. Inscription of three lines: + ΘΕΟ | ΔΟΡ8Τ8 | ΡΟVΠ

+ Σφρ(α)γίς [(πρωτ)]ον(ω)β(ε)λ(ι)[σ(ίμου) Θεοδόρου τοῦ Ρουπ(ενοῦ)]

The reading of the two names of the owner of the seal Θεόδωρος Ρουπένιος is W. Seibt's idea (see *BZ*, 89, S.137, no. 546), which I accept at the lack of any other more plausible one, to which I will add the reading, though rather uncertain, of the title protonobelissimos.

An individual bearing these names is attested in the narrative sources.

The chrysobull of Alexios I Komnenos for the signing of the so-called treaty of Devol in

September 1108 contained a list of the cities and themes, which Bohemond received: “The Maurus Mont and all the castles dependent on it, and all the plain lies et its foot, except only the territories of the Roupenians, Leo and Theodorus, the Armenians who have become your liege-men.” (see *Alexiade*, III, 134.1-5).

A seal with a metrical text is known in the literature having belonged to sebastos Θεόδωρος Ρουπένιος, whose owner was identified with various historical personages: according to Schlumberger, he is identical with the aforementioned prince of Little Armenia (see **Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, 694-695); Father Laurent maintains the same dating XIth-XIIth c. (see **Laurent**, *Bulles metruques*, no. 113); while Shandrovskaja (Шандровская, Сфрагистика, № 717) shifts the dating to the XIIth c. and identifies the owner as Toros I or Toros II Rubenids, whose Greek names would correspond to Θεόδωρος Ρουπένιος, and who, according to the Armenian sources, were sebastoi.

The seal of the sebastos Θεόδωρος Ρουπένιος is rather different from ours and could indeed be dated to the XIIth c., while the dating of the Preslav seal should not exceed the year 1092, thus allowing a possible identification of its owner with the mentioned prince of Little Armenia, who in 1108 was in service in Byzantium.

An interesting conclusion is that Θεόδωρος Ρουπένιος wrote to at least two different addressees in modern northeastern Bulgaria, located in Preslav and Dristra.

### 603. Michael grandson of Samuel (XI c. last quarter)

Archaeological Museum Nessebar, no. 1027. Find-spot: village of Melnitsa, district of Elhovo. Presented by Dimitar Neychev (Elhovo). D. 22-23 (21) 3 mm. Weak imprint.

Ed. **Jordanov**, Melnitsa, no. 41.

*Parallel* : Unpublished specimen from Vienna.

*Obv.* Inscription of three lines:

СФРА | ΓΙC | ΜΙ

*Rev.* Inscription of three lines:

CAMOV | ΗΛΞΕΟC | ΦVOC

+ Σφραγίς Μιχ(αήλ) Σαμουήλ ἐξ ὁσφύος

### 603A-603B. Λέων Σαρακινόπουλος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Δοροστόλου (971-?)

a. Archaeological Museum, Preslav, no. 17589. D. 27-28 (21) 3 mm. D. 14.20 g. Imprinted twice at angles of 90°.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 215; **Jordanov**, *G. Names*, no. 21.1a.

b. Archaeological Museum, Preslav, no. 18521. D. 24-25 (21) 3.6 mm. D. 14.10 g. Partial imprint made by a weak strike on the bulloterion or because of poor cohesion between the bulloterion and the blank. Some of the letters were probably destroyed later by corrosion.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 216; **Jordanov**, *G. Names*, no. 21.1b.

*The two specimens are struck with the same die.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Inscription of four lines:

a) - ο - | +ΛΕ . | R' A' CΠ . . | SCTP . . | ΗΓ . | - ο -

b) | . . ΕΟ | R' A' CΠAΘ' | SCTPAT | . . . |

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

a) - ο - | ΔΟΡΟC | . ΟΛΟΝ | . . ΑΡΑΚ | .ΝΟΠ8

b) | ΔΟΡ . . | ΤΟΛΟΝ | ΟCΑΡΑΚ | . . . Π8

+ Λέο(ν) β'(πρωτο)σπαθ(άριος) (καὶ) στρατηγ[ὸς] Δοροστόλου ὁ Σαρακ[ι]ν[ό]που(λος)

### 604-622-622A. Λέων Σαρακινόπουλος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Ἰωαννουπόλεως καὶ Δοροστόλου (?- 975)

A.

a-c: The thirteen specimens are struck with the same die. Find-spot: strategia of Preslav.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 259-271; **Jordanov**, *G. Names*, no. 38a.3.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Inscription of five lines:

ooo | +ΛΕΟΝ | R' A' CΠAΘ' S | CΤΡΑΤΙΓ' | ΙΩΑΝ8Π | ΟΛ'

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

ooo | +SΔΟΡ | ΟCΤΟΛΟ | ΟCΑΡΑΚ | ΙΝΟΠVΛ

+ Λέον β'(πρωτο)σπαθ(άριος) (καὶ) στρατιγ(ὸς) Ἰωαννουπόλ(εως) (καὶ) Δοροστόλο(ν) ὁ Σαρακινόπυλ(ος)

B.

a-f: The six specimens are struck with the same die. Find-spot: strategia of Preslav.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 272-277; **Jordanov**, *G. Names*, 38A.3 and .

g. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. Found in the course of archaeological excavations under the supervision of T. Mihailova (22. 06. 2005). D. 14-27 mm. Half preserved.

*Unpublished.*

*The seven specimens are struck with the same die.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* The letters are arranged in the same way as in the last thirteen but they are imprinted with a different die. Perhaps the last thirteen are copied or vise versa.

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

ooo | +SΔΟΡ | ΟCΤΟΛΟ | ΟCΑΡΑΚΙ | ΝΟΠVΛ | ooo

### 623-630-630A. Λέων Σαρακινόπουλος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Θράκης καὶ Ἰωαννουπόλεως (?-975)

A.

a. Archaeological Museum, Preslav, no. 17565. D. 23-26 (22) 3 mm. W. 9.77 g. Incomplete but well preserved imprint.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 239; **Jordanov**, *G. Names*, no. 35B.15Aa.

b. Museum of Archeology, Preslav, no. 17214. D. 18-22 (22) 2 mm. W. 3.78 g. Incomplete but well preserved imprint. The blank was smaller than the dies.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 240; **Jordanov**, *G. Names*, no. 35B.15Ab.

*The two specimens are struck with the same die.*

*Obv.* Inscription of four lines:

- ο - | ΛΕΩΝ | R' A' CΠAΘ' | SCTPATH | Γ'ΘΡΑΚΗ | - ? -

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

- ο - | ΣΙΩ | ANN8ΠΟ | Λ'ΟCΑΡΑ | ΚΙΝΟΠ8 | - Λ -  
Λέων β' (πρωτο)σπαθ(άριος) (καὶ) στρατηγ(ὸς) Θράκη(ς) (καὶ) Ἰωαννουπόλ(εως)  
ὁ Σαρακινόπουλ(ος)

B.

The five specimens (recently we documented two other specimens which removed from Preslav) are struck with the same die. Find-spot: strategeia of Preslav.

Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 241-243; Jordanov, G. Names, no. 35B.15B.

Obv. Inscription of four lines:

- ο - | +ΛΕΟ | R'Α'CΠΑΘ' | SCTRAT | ΗΓΩ | - ο -

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ ΘΡΑ | ΚΙCSIAN | ΟΠΟΛ'ΟCΑ | ΡΑΚΙΝΟ | Π8ΛΟ'  
+ Λέο(ν) β' (πρωτο)σπαθ(άριος) (καὶ) στρατηγ(ὸς) Θράκη(ς) (καὶ) Ἰανοπόλ(εως)  
ὁ Σαρακινόπουλ(ος)

C.

a. Archaeological Museum, Preslav, no. 17638. D. 24-26 (24) 3 mm. W. 11.30 g. Full and well-preserved imprint.

Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 244; Jordanov, G. Names, no. 35B.15C.

b. Archaeological Museum, Sofia, no. 250. Find-spot: the strategy of Preslav. D. 25-26 mm. Incomplete but well preserved imprint.

Unpublished.

The two specimens are struck with the same die.

No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of four lines:

+ ΛΕΟ | R'Α'CΠΑΘ' | SCTRAT | ΗΓΩ

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ ΘΡΑ | ΚΙCSIAN8 | ΠΟΛΕΟCΟ | CΑΡΑΚΙΝ | ΟΠ8Λ'  
+ Λέο(ν) β' (πρωτο)σπαθ(άριος) (καὶ) στρατηγ(ὸς) Θράκη(ς) (καὶ)  
Ἰαννουπόλεος ὁ Σαρακινόπουλ(ος)

In the collection of the Hermitage a ninth specimen is preserved which is struck with a different die (see Шандровская, Болгария, 460-461).

**631-637. Λέων Σαρακινόπουλος β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ δομέστικος τῶν ἱκανάτων καὶ Δύσεως (975-?)**

a-g. All seven copies with the possible exception of g were struck with the same pair of dies.

Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 168-174. Jordanov, G. Names, no. 26.10a-g.

No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of four lines:

- · - | +ΛΕΟ | R'Α'CΠΑΘ' | ΔΟΜΕ | CΤΙΚ' | - · -

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

- · - | +ΤΟΝΗ | ΚΑΝΑΤ' | ΔΥCΕΟ | CΑΡΑ | ΚΙΝ  
+ Λέο(ν) β' (πρωτο)σπαθ(άριος) [(καὶ)] δομέστικ(ος) τον ἡκανάτ(ων) [(καὶ)]  
Δύσεο(ς) ὁ Σαρακιν(ό)πουλος

In the light of the seal of Ἀδράλεστος πατρίκιος, δομέστικος τῶν ἐξκουβίτων καὶ τῆς Ἀνατολῆς (see Jordanov, G. Names, no. 7.3) the offices of Leon Sarakinopoulos should be similar: δομέστικος τῶν ἱκανάτων καὶ Δύσεως.

Therefore, Leo Sarakinopoulos as β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ δομέστικος τῶν ἱκανάτων was entrusted with the leadership over the army forces located in the West during a particular military operation. When exactly and against whom? This should be considered in the context of his entire career.

**638. Λέων Σαρακινόπουλος πατρίκιος, κόμης τοῦ σταύλου καὶ πρωτοστράτωρ (970s)**

Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 18061. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 25-27 (?) 2 mm. W. 6.15 g. Incomplete imprint. More than one third of the dies did not print. All this renders the reading difficult and uncertain.

Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 191.

No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of five lines:

..... | .ΑΤΡΙΚ. | .CΚΟΜΗ. | ΤΟΥCΤ. | ΛΟΥ

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

..... | ...ΡΑΤ. | ...ΟCΑΡ | .ΙΝΟΠΟ. | ΛΟC | - · -  
[+Λέων π]ατρίκ[ιο]ς κόμη[ς] τοῦ στ(α)[ύ]λου [(καὶ) πρωτοστ]ράτ[ωρος] ὁ  
Σαρ(α)[κ]ινόπο[υ]λος

Presented in the above publication are the variant restorations of investigators as well as Leo Sarakinopoulos' career. In his review of 1996, W. Seibt accepted a completion close to ours [(καὶ) πρωτοστ]ράτ[ωρος] or [(καὶ) μονοστ]ράτ[ηγος] (see Seibt, BZ, S.135, no 191).

Now, after the proposed completions of the missing letters of the seal of Leo Sarakinopoulos as domestikos of the hikanatoi, his cursus honorum would have developed as follows:

- β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Δοροστόλου;
- β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Ἰωαννουπόλεως καὶ Δοροστόλου;
- β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Θράκης καὶ Ἰωαννουπόλεως ;
- β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ δομέστικος τῶν ἱκανάτων καὶ Δύσεως (975-?);
- πατρίκιος καὶ κόμης τοῦ σταύλου;
- πατρίκιος, κόμης τοῦ σταύλου καὶ πρωτοστράτωρ;

Thus arranged, his career looks more logical and ascending.

Leo Sarakinopoulos' career is unknown until his appearance in the Bulgarian lands. After the capture of Dristra in the summer of 971, he was appointed the first Byzantine strategos here. At a later stage, he was also charged with the government or rather the command of the armies in the Strategia of Ioannopolis. Although the main center of this union was the former capital Ioannopolis, he perhaps retained his residence in Dristra. We judge about this from the receipt of more than nineteen of his communications in Preslav-Ioannopolis. The doux of Thrace and Mesopotamia presumably resided in Ioannopolis at that juncture. After the administrative reorganization reflected in the Excurial taktikon (in 975 at the latest), Leo Sarakinopoulos was appointed first strategos of the Thrace-Ioannopolis union. We do not



know for how long he occupied this position, but judging by the number of his boulloteria (at least four), it is supposed that he held this position for a longer period. Some time around the early 80s, he was promoted in office as domestikos of the hikanatoi and was entrusted the superiority over the imperial troops located in the West. The fact that he wrote at least seven times to Preslav is a testimony that these operations would have been carried out in the Bulgarian lands. We have no direct evidence of their exact location. After his active military career, Leo Sarakinopoulos was elevated to the title of patrikios and appointed to the honorific title κόμης τοῦ σταύλου, to which πρωτοστράτωρ was also added at a later stage. The terminus post quem of this career should not exceed 986.

### 639. Καλοκυρὸς Σαρακηνόπουλος πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ κλεισουριάρχης (X-XI c.)

Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia, no.80. Found in Pliska in the course of archaeological excavations under the supervision of Kr. Miatev during the period 1931-1937. D. 31-31 (21) 2 mm. Well-centered but incomplete imprint. Almost all initial and final letters remained out of the blank.

Ed. Герасимов, Плиска № 2; Йорданов, Плиска, № 22.

No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of four lines:

— ∙ — | +ΚΑΛ. | .VP'Α'CΠ. | .SKAIC. | ΠΙΑΡΧ' | — ∙ —

Rev. Inscription in four lines:

— ∙ — | +ΟCΑ | .AKIN. | ΠΟΝΛΟ | - C -

+ Καλ[οκ]υρ(ὸς) (πρωτο)σπ[αθ(άριος)] (καὶ) κλ(ε)ισ[ου]ριάρχ(ης) ὁ  
Σα[ρ]ακιν[ό]πουλος

On the rest of the representatives of the family Sarakinopoulos, if they belong to one family at all, see nos. 604-640

It is more likely to associate the owner of the present seal with Leo Sarakinopoulos, whose career was connected with administration of the Bulgarian lands.

On the basis of his title, equivalent to that of the rest of the strategoi of this time (late Xth and early XIth c.), Kalokyros Sarakinopoulos could be accepted as an officer of a military-administrative unit, equivalent to the so-called little themes.

### 640. Κωνσταντῖνος Σαρακινόπουλος σεβαστὸς (XII c.)

National Historical Museum, Sofia, no.24121. Find-spot: unknown. D. 37-42 (32) 4 mm. Perhaps once a good imprint, but now in a poor state of preservation. Battered, perforated and damaged on the surface.

Ed. Йорданов, Севаст, № 26.

Parallels: Лихачев, Богоматери, с. 434, табл. IV.18; Laurent, Bulles metriques, no. 213; Zacos, III, no 1628 (the latter is unpublished and was struck in a different boulloterion or pair of dies).

Obv. The Virgin standing holding a medallion of Christ before her. Sigla:  $\overline{MP}$  ||  $\overline{\Theta V}$ : Μ(ήτη)ρ  
Θ(εο)ῦ.

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

+ |  $\overline{K\Omega N M E}$  | TONCER.... |  $\overline{A \Xi I A N}$ ... | CΑΡΑΚΙ..Π8 | ΛΟΝΩ..PH | CΚΕΠΟΙC

+ Κων(σταντῖνον) με τὸν σεβ[αστὸν] ἀξίαν τὸν Σαρακι[νό]πουλον ὦ [Κό]ρη

The dating of the bulla is to the second half of the XIIth c. The name of the sebastos Constantine Sarakinopoulos is unknown from other sources. His contemporary was perhaps John Sarakinopoulos known by his bulla in the Athens Museum (**Konstantopoulos**, no. 687; **Laurent**, *Bulles metriques*, no. 504; **Stavrakos**, no. 226). Other representatives of the family Sarakinopolis are known from the Xth-XIth c. mostly by their seals (see no. 604-639). Whether sebastos Constantine Sarakinopoulos belonged to the same family or his name had its origin directly from the Saracens remains an open question.

### 641-643. Νικηφόρος Σαραντηνὸς πρωτοπρόεδρος, πρόεδρος, μάγιστρος καὶ κατεπάνω (last third, XI c.)

#### A. μάγιστρος καὶ κατεπάνω

National Historical Museum, Sofia . Find-spot: uncertain. Purchased from a middleman from Russe. D. 22-24 mm. Incomplete imprint. The first line of the text remained out of the blank.

Unpublished.

Parallels: Another unpublished specimen struck in the same boulloterion is preserved in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection DO. 55. 1. 3291.

Obv. St. Demetrios standing frontally, holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground. Vertical inscription in two columns: O-A-ΓΙ-O-S || ΔΗ-MI-TP-IO-C  
: Ὁ ἅγιος Δημήτριος.

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

..... | ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟ | ΜΑΓΙCΤΡΩ | SKATEΠAN' | ΤΩCAPAN | ΤΗΝΩ

[+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(ο)ήθει] Νικηφόρο μαγίστρω (καὶ) κατεπάν(ω) τῷ Σαραντηνῷ

#### B. πρόεδρος καὶ κατεπάνω

National Historical Museum, Sofia . Find-spot: uncertain. I documented it in Shumen; it was among the seals, which Emil Kossev had collected with the intention to sell them in Sofia. D. 19-24 mm. Incomplete imprint. The first letters of almost every line remained out of the blank.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. St. Demetrios standing, as above. No remains of the inscription.

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

..ΕΡ'Θ' | ..ΚΗΦΟΡ'Α' | ΔΡΩSKA | ΕΠΙΑΝΩΤΩ | CAPANTI | ΝΩ

[+ Κ(ύρι)]ε β(ο)ήθ(ει) [Νι]κηφόρ(ο) (προ)[έ]δρω (καὶ) κα[τ]επάνω τῷ  
Σαραντηνῷ

#### C. πρωτοπρόεδρος.

Archaeological Museum, Hisarya. Find-spot: generally the town. D. 25-26(21)? mm. Good imprint and a bulla in a good state of preservation.

Unpublished.

Parallels: Unpublished specimen in the Fogg A. M. collection no 1855. Struck in the same boulloterion.

Obv. St. Demetrios standing, as above. Vertical inscription in two columns:

O-A-ΓI-O-s || ΔΗ-MI-TP-IO-C : 'Ο ἅγιος Δημήτριος.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ | ΚΕΡΟΗΘ' | ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡ' | .ΠΡΟΕΔΡ' || ΤΩCAPAN | ΤΗΝΩ

+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ει) Νικηφόρ(ω) [(πρωτο)]έδρ(ω) τῷ Σαραντηνῷ

The three groups of seal clearly belong to one person, Nikephoros Sarantenos, who sent his correspondence to various addressees in modern Bulgaria.

A. P. Kazhdan believes that the family name Σαραντηνός is actually a variant of Καραντηνός. He assumes that the copyists have mistaken K for C in the written texts (**Каждан**, *Соч., состав*, 90.18, 190). This is perhaps possible when copying a manuscript, but in our case we are dealing with engraving of a seal, on which C is distinctly incised and could not be mistaken for K. The seal presented here undoubtedly prove the existence of the family Sarantenos.

The seals of Nikephoros Sarentenos discovered in Bulgaria and those preserved in collections abroad outlines the following cursus honorum:

a) πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Ματζικέρτε (mid-XI c.), see **McGeer, Nesbitt, Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 4, no. 67.1, where the reading of the patronym is uncertain.

b) μάγιστρος καὶ κατεπάνω – 1060s

c) πρόεδρος καὶ κατεπάνω (1060s-1070s)

d) πρωτοπρόεδρος (1070s-1080s)

e) κουροπαλάτης (1080s, see **Stavrakos**, no, 227).

If we agree with Kazhdan's proposition and accept the equation Σαραντηνός = Καραντηνός, then a connection with an individual by the same names could be found in Skylitzes Continuatus, who reports that in 1071, at the time of the Bulgarian uprising led by George Voitech, the doux of Skopje was Nikephoros Karantenos. "At the news of that, Nikephoros Karantenos, who then occupied the office of doux of Skopje, went along with his subordinate strategoi to Prisdiana. While he was preparing for a battle, his substitute Damianos Dalassenos arrived (**Skylitzes, Continuatus**, 163.17-20).

The present seals of Nikephoros Sarantenos are on the one hand illustration of his career, but on the other, they fit well into the whole picture and policy of the Empire. Initially like many other military men he was a strategos of Mantzikert. Later he was promoted to the rank of magistros and proedros and respectively to the position of katepano. At the time of the rebellion he may have been in the region of Skopje at the head of the imperial tagma dispatched to this part of the Empire. In his capacity as katepano he took command of the whole Byzantine army located there, which included thematic troops headed by the respective strategoi.

The position of doux mentioned in the source is a later reminiscence from the time when the continuation of Skylitzes was written and when it became widespread.

Even if the identification is impossible and Sarantenos is different from Karantenos, this passage helps elucidating the correlation katepano-doux-strategos.

Later, Nikephoros Sarantenos retired from active military service and at the last stages of his career he was only a possessor of the titles protoproedros and kouropalates.

Seals of other representatives of the family Sarantenos are also known:

1. Βάρδας Σαραντηνός or Καραντηνός ὑπατος from the XIth c. (see **Schlunberger**, *Sig.*, p. 696, no. 2, now preserved in the Hermitage (M-6117).

2. Βασίλειος Σαραντηνός a private person from the XIth-XIIth c. (see **Schlunberger**,

*Sig.*, p.696, no. 1, now preserved in the Hermitage (M-6071);

3. Εὐστάθιος Σαραντηνός, a private person from the XIth-XIIth c., see **Laurent**, *Vatican*, no. 192.

4. Θεόδωρος Σαραντηνός, a private person from the XIth-XIIth c., according to an unpublished bulla from the Hermitage (M-11902):

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion.

Rev. +|ΓΡΑΦΩΝ|CΦΡΑΓΙCMA|ΤΩCAPANT'|N8ΘΕΟΔΩ|P8

5. Ἰσαάκιος Σαραντηνός, a private person from the XIIth c., according to an unpublished bulla from Fogg A. M., no. 2917:

Obv. Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand).

Rev. ...|8CΦΡΑΓΙ | .CAPAN | .HN8

6. Κωνσταντῖνος Σαραντηνός, a private person from the XIth-XIIth c., according to an unpublished bulla from DO. 58. 106. 4327:

Obv. Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand).

Rev. +| ΚΩΝCT | ANTINON | ΜΕΤΟNC. | PANTINC | ΚΕΠΕ

7. Λέων Σαραντηνός πρωτονωβελίσσιμος from the XIIth c., according to an unpublished bulla from DO. 55. 1. 4066:

Obv. Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

Rev. :ΦP8 | ΡΕΙM. | ΓΑΛΟΜΑΡTV | CΩΠΙCΩΔ8ΑΩ | ...ANTINΩΛ|..TINΩRE | ΛΙCΙMΩ

8. Νικέτας Σαραντηνός, a private person from the late XIth c., according to two groups of seals:

- an unpublished bulla from the Hermitage (M-10522) and Fogg A. M. no 691. The text, see in **Laurent**, *Bulles metrique*, no. 665.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion.

Rev. CAPAN|TINONNIK|TANAΓN'ME|CKEΠOIC| - - -

- unpublished bullae in the Hermitage (M-9679); Fogg A.M., no. 1034; DO. 55. 1. 3990 and Athens Numismatic Museum, see **Koltzida-Makre**, no. 229.

Obv. St. Niketas standing represented as a martyr.

Rev. +|ΜΑΡΤVС|CΚΕΠOICME|CAPANTHN|ONNIKHTA|AN

9. Συμεὼν Σαραντηνός a private person from the XIth c., according to an unpublished bulla from DO. 58. 106. 4032:

Obv. The Virgin standing.

Rev. + | ΘΚΕΡΟΗΘ' | ΤΩCΩΔΟΝΛ8 | CVMΕΩNTΩ | CAPANTINO

#### 644. Γρηγοῤ̃ς Σαυλοιωάννης πρωτοσπαθάριος, κριτῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου καὶ Δρουγουβιτείας (XI<sup>th</sup> century)

National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 30424. Formerly in a private collection (D. Dimitrov from Pernik).

Found in the Gradishteto locality near the town of Lyubimets, district of Haskovo. D. 26-26 mm; field 21-22mm; thickness 2.8 mm. A good imprint and a well-preserved specimen which enables some corrections to be made in the previous publication.

Ed. **Jordanov**, *G. Names*, no. 24.2.

Parallels: DO. 58. 106. 2195, see **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 1, no. 21.3; Hermitage (M-10731), See **Шандровская**, Каталог, выставки, N 139; *SBS*, 6, p. 104, no.139. Both were struck in the same boulloterion.

Obv. Bust of a bearded bishop with a nimbus and short hair blessing (r. hand) and holding a

book (l. hand). Vertical inscription in two columns: .....|| O-ΘA-MA-T' The available letters of the name of this saint give us reason to suggest that he is [ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος] ὁ Θ(α)υ(μ)ατ(ου)ργός

Rev. Inscription of seven lines preceded by an ornament:

—·—·— | ΓΡΗΓΟ | ΡΑΑ'ΣΠΑΘ' | ΚΡΙΤ'ΕΠΙΤ | ΙΠΠΙΟΔΡΟΜ | ΣΤΗCΔΡ8Γ' | ΡΗΤΙΑΤ.  
| CAVΛΟΙΩ | —·—·—

Γρηγορᾶ (πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίω) κριτ(ῆ) ἐπὶ τ(οῦ) ἱπποδρόμ(ου) καὶ τῆς Δρουγ(ου)βητίας τ[ῶ] Σαυλοιω(άννη)

The incomplete imprint prevented the publishers of the seal from DO (Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *DOS*, 1, no 21.3) from interpreting its images and inscriptions. They considered the saint on the obverse to be St. Nicholas and the patronym is [Χρ(υσ)]υλοῖω, but the homonym, i.e. the name of the owner of the seal, is not specified. The specimen presented here shows that the owner of the seal who sent his correspondence to unknown recipients in the stronghold near the town of Lyubimets in the district of Haskovo and Constantinople was Γρηγορᾶς Σαυλοιωάννης πρωτοσπαθᾶριος, κριτῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱπποδρόμου καὶ Δρουγουβιτείας. The seal generally dates to the first half of the XI<sup>th</sup> century. A person bearing such a name is not known from the narrative sources. We are not aware of other representatives of this family.

#### 645. Στέφανος Σερβλίας β' πρωτοσπαθᾶριος καὶ κομμερκιάριος Λογγοβαρδίας (XI<sup>th</sup> century)

National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 30074. Found by Yanko Todorov from Shoumen near the village of Dobri dol, district of Plovdiv. D. 28-28 mm; field 27 mm; thickness 3.5 mm. Incomplete imprint. Some fragments are broken. The illegible imprint and unusual filling make the reading of the text difficult.

Ed. Jordanov, Dobri dol, no. 23; Jordanov, *G. Names*, no. 45.1.

No direct parallels.

Obv. St. George standing, holding a long spear (r. hand), l. hand set on a shield resting on the ground and a sword on chest over back. Vertical inscription in two columns: -Γ-Ε-Ω-Ρ  
|| Γ-Ι-Ο-С : [Ὁ ἅ(γιος)] Γεώργιος.

Rev. Inscription of six line:

— + — | ΚΟΥΜΕΡ | ΚΙΑΡ'Λ.ΓΓΙ|..ΡΔ'Ρ'Α'СΠΑ | ΘΑΡ'СΤΕΦΑ |.ΟCΕΡΛΑ |AC  
+ Κουμμερκιάρ(ιος) Λ[ο]γγι[βα]ρδ(ίας) β'(πρωτο)σπαθᾶρ(ιος) Στέφα[ν(ος)] ὁ Σερβλ(ί)ας

1. The Dancoisne collection contains an analogous lead seal:

Obv. St. George standing, as last.

Rev. + ΟΑ'СΠΑΘ'|СΤΕΦΑΝΟC|Κ8ΜΕΡΚ'ΑΡ|ΛΟΓΓΙΡΑΡΔ|CΕΡΛΗ|AC

+ 'Ο (πρωτο)σπαθᾶ(ριος) Στέφανος κουμμερκ(ι)άρ(ιος) Λογγιβαρδ(ίας) (ὁ) Σερβλίας (see Schlumberger, *Sig.*, p. 218, no. 3).

2. At the auction Münz Zentrum, 76, November 1993, a group of more than 115 seals was presented for sale which may have originated in Bulgaria. Among these is a seal struck in the same boulloterion as the preceding.

It is evident that this is another seal belonging to the same dignitary. Its word order, in contrast with the other traditional seals, appears to be unusual.

3. The Dumbarton Oaks Collection contains an incomplete imprint (Fogg A.M., no. 1525), on which the two names of Στέφανος Σερβλίας can clearly be read. It perhaps reflects an earlier period of the owner's career.

Obv. St. George standing, as above.

Rev. .... | .. ΕΠ'СΤΕΦ' |.CΤΟΓΡ'ΕΚ. | .CΩΠ8NT'R. | .Λ'ΚΕCΑΓΕ | .ΤΩCΕΡ | -ΡΛ'-  
[+Μάρτυ(ς) σκ]έπ(ε) Cτεφ(άνω) [μυ]στογρ(άφω) ἐκ [πρ(ο)]σωπούντ(ω) β' ...λ'  
κὲ Cαγε τῶ Σερβλ(ί)ας

In the cited publication of Schlumberger a seal which belonged to another kommerkiarios of Lombardy, a certain Theodore from the X<sup>th</sup> century, is reported, too (see Schlumberger, *Sig.*, p.218, nos. 1-2).

Various questions arise in connection with this find in the stronghold near Dobri dol.

First, to whom did that kommerkiarios of Longobardias write in this area? With what rank and function? This is the first instance of seals having been discovered of this kommerkiarios within the territory of Bulgaria.

Who was Στέφανος Σερβλίας? This name is not known from the narrative sources.

The family of Σερβλίας is related to the noun servus, ethnonym σέρβοι or toponym Σερβίας. The following representatives of this family are known from various narrative sources:

1. Βασίλειος Σερβλίας, an iconographer and probable creator of the icon mentioned in connection with the person of Ἰωάννης Σερβλίας, no. 3.

2. Γεώργιος Σερβλίας :

a. πραιτὼρ Θράκης καὶ Μακεδονίας from the late XI<sup>th</sup> century according to his unpublished seal from the collection of Zacos, III, no. 1468:

Obv. St. Nicholas standing, blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand).

Rev.. ΦΡΑ...|...ΠΡΑ.....|..ΡΑΚΗCС..|ΚΕΔΟΝΙΑCΓΕΩ|ΡΓΙΟΝΤΟVCE|ΡΡΑΙΟV

b. κριτῆς καὶ κουράτωρ Ταρσοῦ καὶ Σελευκίας according to another unpublished seal from the collection of Zacos, III, no. 1518, which is badly preserved

Obv. St. Nicholas standing, as last.

Rev. ....|..ΚΡΙΤ'КА.|ΚΟVΡΑТ...|TAPC8SC.|.ΛΕVΚ'ΟCΕ |.ΡΡΑΙAC

c. as a private person from the end of the XI c., according to an unpublished seal from Fogg A. M., no. 3355:

Obv. Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

Rev. —·—·— | ΓΕΩΡΓ' |CΦΡΑ...|CΕΡ.Λ.. | ΤΟΔΕ

3. Θεόδωρος Σερβλίας, β' νοτάριος τοῦ σεκρέτου τῶν οἰκειακῶν who affixed it to a document of the monastery on the island Patmos dating to 1088 (see *Actes Patmos*, 1, no. 49, p. 344.A-269).

4. Ἰωάννης Σερβλίας who corresponded with Theophylact of Ochrid in 1093-1094 (see Theophylacte d'Achrida, *Lettres*, no. 49, 117-118). The reason of sending this letter was probably the position of the last mentioned person. His seal was affixed to documents dated to 1099 in his capacity of νοτάριος τοῦ σεκρέτου τοῦ γενικοῦ. The name of the same person is inscribed on an icon of St. Theodore and he was probably the owner of this icon (see Markianos 524, 172-173, no. 317). Another group of seals is associated with the same person (see Laurent, *Bulles metriques*, no. 645). We recently had the possibility to survey two other groups of seals bearing this name as well:

The first group (an unpublished specimen from the collection of Zacos, III, no. 1518) presents the owner as a ἐκ προσωπουντι ἐφόρω:

Obv. + ΘΚΕ|ΡΟΗΘ'ΤΩ|CΩΔ8ΛΩ|ΙΩΑΝΝΗ  
Rev. ...ΕΚ|ΠΡΟCΩΠ8N|ΤΙΕΦΟΡΩ|ΤΩCΕΡ|ΡΑΙΑ

- and the second group (an unpublished specimen from the Fogg A. M. collection, no. 698) shows him as a private person from the second half of the XI<sup>th</sup> century.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin holding Christ on l.

Rev. + ΘΚΕ|ΡΟΗΘΕΙ|ΙΩΑΝΝΗ|ΤΩCΕΡ|ΡΑΙΑ

- It seems that the first group corresponds more to the position of Ἰωάννης Σερβλήας.

5. Λέων Σερβλήας held a position in the financial office. He was probably an anagrapheus during the 1050s (Skylitzes, 476.52). In this capacity he was dispatched to the east in Iberia as an special proxy of the Emperor Constantine IX Monomachus. He imposed some new taxes on the local inhabitants there and therefore they were lost as allies of the Empire (see Кекавмен, c. 153, 376, зам. 256). His activity is often confused with that of John (see Dölger, BZ, 37, 1937, S. 534). A seal dated in end of the XI c. and preserved in Fogg A. M., no. 808 may have belonged to the same person.

Obv. Bust of St. Theodore holding a spear (l. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

Rev. +|ΛΕΩΝ|ΜΑΓΓ' | ΡΟCΟ|CΕΡ | -Λ'-

6. Μαρία Σερβλήας reported by Theodore Balsamon (PG, 104, coll. 1188A).

7. Νικηφόρος Σερβλήας, a mystic, who corresponded with John Tzetzes (see Tzetzes, Epistulae, no. 18). The same person has been identified as the owner of a group of seals dating to the XII<sup>th</sup> century when he was:

- a judge (see Laurent, Bulles metriques, no. 255; Idem, Orghidan, no. 314 and unpublished from DO. 58. 106. 1871; Fogg A.M., nos. 80; 343; 356 and 1200; DO. 55. 1. 3925; 3926; 3927; 3928 and 3929; Shaw 1407 (no. 1551).

- a private person according to a specimen from Chersones (see Соколова, Херсонес, табл. VI, M-5573) and unpublished from DO. 55. 1. 3947

Obv. Standing figure of St. Nicephoros; details obscure.

Rev. + ΟΜΩ|ΝVΜΟΝ|ΜΑΡΤVΠΙ|ΤVΠΩCΕΡ|ΡΑΙΑΝ

8. Νικόλαος Σερβλήας:

a. κριτής ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵπποδόμου καὶ τοῦ βήλου according to his metrical seal dating to the second half of the XI<sup>th</sup> century (see Laurent, Corpus, II, no. 8428).

b. κένσωρ, κριτής καὶ μέγας κουράτωρ Ταρσοῦ καὶ Σελευκείας, according to his seal dating to the mid of the XI<sup>th</sup> century (see Cheynet, Zacos, no.44).

9. Πέτρος Σερβλήας μάγιστρος, βέστης καὶ κριτής τοῦ βήλου Πελοποννήσου καὶ Ἑλλάδος according to his seal dated to the third quarter of the XI<sup>th</sup> century (see Nesbitt-Oikonomides, DOS, 2, no. 8.36). Another seal of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (DO. 55. 1. 3296 and 55. 1. 3297) presents him as μάγιστρος, βέστης καὶ κριτής τοῦ βήλου καὶ τοῦ Ὀψίκιου (see Nesbitt-Oikonomides, DOS, 3, no. 39.16).

10. Ν., Σερβλήας reported in the Alexiade only with his patronym as belonging to the circle of the philosopher John Italus (see Alexiade, II, 37.21). An attempt to identify this person as Ἰωάννης Σερβλήας has been made but this is mere guesswork (see Skoulatos, Personages, no. 183).

It is difficult to define any direct relationship between Στέφανος Σερβλήας who wrote his letters to an anonymous addressee in the medieval settlement near the the present village of Dobri dol, district of Plovdiv, and the aforementioned representatives of the Σερβλήας family. The members of this family occupied different positions but quite often they were officials in the administration of the capital city. Probably some of them had formerly worked in the countryside, too. In such a case one should explain the receipt there of the correspondence

of Στέφανος Σερβλήας β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ κομμερκιάριος Λογγοβαρδίας. It is difficult to assume that he wrote them there while discharging his duties.

#### 646. Νικήτας Σέλευκος (XI c.)

Private collection (Vurban Vurbanov, Elhovo). Find-spot: stronghold near the village of Melnitsa, dist. Elkhovo.  
Dim. 20-20 (23 ?) mm. Weakly imprinted, but well preserved.

Ed. Jordanov, Melnitsa, no. 44.

No parallels known.

Obv. The Virgin standing, raising her hand towards the Hand of God in the upper l. quarter.

On either side the sigla: ΜΡ || ΘV; and the vertical inscription: ΗΑ-ΓΙ-. || CΟ-ΡΙ-ΤΙ-... : Μ(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ ἡ Ἀγί[ο]σορίτι[σα]

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+ | ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΝΙΚΗΤΑ | .ΩΝCΕΛ | ....

+ Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) Νικήτ[α] [τ]ῶν Σελ[ευκῶν] ?

Niketas Selevkos is unknown from the narrative sources.

1. An unpublished seal of Niketas Selevkos in his capacity as vestes is preserved in the Hermitage collection (M-10401):

Obv. The Virgin standing, half-turned to the left. Trace of circular inscription along the circumference: + ΚΕ....ΘΕΙ

Rev. Inscription of four lines: ..KHTA|ECT'TΩ | .ΕΛΕV | ΚΩ

2. Another specimen of the same Niketas Selevkos with the same title but perhaps struck in a different boulloterion or a different pair of dies is preserved in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (DO. 58. 106. 3639):

Obv. The Virgin standing, half-turned to the left. Trace of circular inscription along the circumference: + ΘΚΕ - ΡΟΗΘ'

Rev. Inscription of four lines: .IKHT'|.Ε<sup>ϥ</sup>HTΩ | .ΕΛΕVΚ | Ω

The three groups of seals belong to one person. Besides the names, they also share the same iconographic subject. It is hard to determine the chronology of each group, but the Dumbarton Oaks specimen seems the latest, according to the ligature <sup>ϥ</sup>=C+T included in the inscription.

#### 647. Ἰωάννης Σεναχηρείμ (late XI c.)

Private collection (S. Bilik, Sofia). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 18-18.5 (18) 3 mm. Incomplete imprint, but in a superb state of preservation. Some letters remained out of the blank, which renders the reading of the text difficult.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. John Chrysostom blessing (r. hand), and holding a book (l. hand). Vertical inscription: -ΙΩ-.- || . . . . : [Ἰω(άννης) [ὁ Χρ(υσόσ)τομ(ος)].

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

..... | .ΗΜΟΙΚ.. | ΗΝΔΙΚΟΛΟ | ΟΜΩΝVΜ8. | ΤΑΧΗΜΟΝ | .ΟΙΚΚΕΠ | -✕-  
[+Σεναχηρ]ήμ οίκ[ετ]ην δικολό(γον) ὁμωνυμοῦ[ν]τα Χρ(υσο)ρήμον σοι σκέπ(οις)

648. Κωνσταντῖνος Σεναχηρείμ πρόεδρος (third quarter, XI c.)

Private collection. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 20-21 mm. Incomplete imprint. The blank was smaller than the dies.

Unpublished.

Parallels: Another specimen struck in the same boulloterion is preserved in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection DO 55. 1. 3294.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion on her chest.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

..... | ..... | .ΩΚΩΝΠ. | .. ΔΡΩΤΩ | CENAXE | PEIM

[+Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δούλ]ω Κων(σταντίν(ω) π[ροέ]δρω τῷ

Σεναχηρείμ

649. Κωνσταντῖνος Σεναχηρείμ (?) πρόεδρος (third quarter, XI c.)

Private collection. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 21-21 mm. Incomplete imprint. The blank was smaller than the dies. The patronym is mostly not printed. The proposed completion is only one possible variant. There are others as well.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Standing figure of a military saint, holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground.

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8' | ΚΩΝΠΡΟ | .ΔΡΩΤΩ | ...ΑΧ. | ....

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δού(λ)ω Κων(σταντίν(ω) προ[έ]δρω τῷ

[Σεν]αχ[ερείμ]

The presumption is that we are dealing with two bullae of one person with identical titles, struck in different boulloteria.

Kazhdan assumes that the family Senachereim are descendants of the Armenian ruling family in Baasprakanian until its capture by Byzantium in 1021/1022 (Каздан, Армяне, № 9, c. 33).

The proedros Constatine Senachereim lived in the third quarter of the XIth c. He is unknown from other sources.

650. Ἀλέξιος Σιαούς πρωτονοβελίσσιμος (1090s)

Archaeological Museum, Sozopol. No specific information on its find-spot, but within the town's boundaries. D. 27-29 (22) 2-3 mm. Well-centered and complete imprint. The obverse has a remarkable high and good relief. Its overall appearance attests to a work of an experienced engraver.

Ed. Йорданов, И. Новооткрит печат на протонобелисима Алексий Сиаус.- ГНАМ, IX, 1993, 219-223.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion of Christ on her chest. Sigla: .. || Θ̅V̅.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

- + - | ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΑΛΕΞΙΩ | Α'ΝΩΡΕΑΛ | CΙΜΩΤΩ | CΙΑ8C

+ Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) Ἀλεξίω (πρωτο)νωβελλ(ι)σίμ τῷ Σιαούς

The owner of the seal, whose correspondence was received in Sozopolis, is a certain Alexios Siaoous holding the title of protonobelissimos.

The basic questions arising from its finding in Sozopolis are the following: Who was this Alexios Siaoous, when and to whom in Sozopolis did he write? To answer some of them or at least to attempt at answering others, we need first to date the seal and then to try to associate its owner's name with some personage from the narrative sources.

The dating of the seal under discussion, according to its characteristics, is after the eighth decade of the XIth c. until its last years.

The name Siaoous has been commonly interpreted as a Turkish title, that is Tk *çavuş* < Per. *châwûsh* «messenger, herald, envoy, courier». Initially the title is said to go back to the Sogdian language; later it passed to Persian and Turkish. The title *çavu*° was well-known to the Byzantines in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, and later, probably, in the next century entered the Byzantine *liste de préséance* as a court title, being adopted by both the Palaiologoi and the Grand Komnenoi of Trebizond (see Pseudo-Kodinos, p. 138<sup>18</sup>, 161<sup>14-20, 23</sup>, 162<sup>14</sup>, 182<sup>18-21</sup>, 300<sup>29-30</sup>, 305<sup>21-22</sup>, 307<sup>26</sup>, 309<sup>20</sup>, 321<sup>57</sup>, 335<sup>71</sup> (for the Palaiologoi) and p. 345<sup>6-7</sup>: ὁ μέγας τσαούσιος 348<sup>41</sup>: ὁ μέγας τσαουσίων (for the Grand Komnenoi); Moravcsik, II, p. 308-309).

However, the fact is that the Byzantines and later post-Byzantine Greeks never transcribed *çavu*° as σιαούς or the like. Moreover, one may safely assert that the consonants “dj” and “ch” (Tk Republican “c” and “ç” respectively) could hardly be transcribed in Byzantine Greek as sigma. Consequently, σιαούς of Byzantine sources means something different as *çavu*°.

In fact, Σιαούς is an exact Greek rendition of the Persian personal name *Siyâwush*.. This etymology was once suggested by Michel Balivet, who, however, gave no detailed verification of his suggestion (see Balivet, M. *Romanie byzantine et pays de Rûm turc: Histoire d'un espace d'imbrication gréco-turque*, Istanbul, 1994, p. 31).

*Siyâwush*. is the name of a quite popular personage of the Persian epic Shah-name. As later Saljuq sources attest, this name was popular among the Saljuq ruling class: (*Histoire des Seldjoucides d'Asie Mineure d'après l'abrégé du Seldjoucnameh d'Ibn-Bibi / Texte persan publié ... par M.H. Houtsma*. Leide, 1902, p. 152. This commentary is made by Dr. Rustam Shukurov to whom I wish to express my warmest thanks).

The name of a certain Siaoous is mentioned in the Alexiad of Anna Komnene:

In 1086/1087, envoys from the great sultan Malik-Shah led by a certain Σιαούς arrived in the Byzantine capital Constantinople with proposals for a marriage alliance and peace. Further on, Anna Komnene tells that in the course of the negotiations between the Byzantines and the Seljuks, her father (Emperor Alexios I Komnenos) won Siaoous over and took advantage of the authorities he had regarding the Byzantine coastal cities that had been occupied by the Seljuks. Siaoous visited these cities and delivered the sultan's order for their vacation. Sinope, where a certain Charatices was the governor, was vacated first, then followed the rest of the cities and fortresses (see *Alexiade*, II, 65-66, 74.18).

“Having completed his task,” Anna Komnen goes on, “Siaoous came back to him (the emperor), received holy baptism and was promoted Duke of Anchialos, with the added enjoyment of many gifts (see *Alexiade*, II, p. 66.32).

The question arising from Anna Komnene's account is the following: could it be that the owner of the seal, the protonobelissimos Alexios Siaoous, and the Seljuk Siaoous are identical?



For a positive answer, we should take into consideration the following two circumstances:

1. Anna Komnene as a rule reports the personages in her father's book by their patronyms;

2. The name Siaous is Muslim. After his conversion, he perhaps took a Christian name. Taking into consideration his relationship with the emperor, it is most likely that he was his godfather, at which his Christian name Alesios seems quite natural and the Muslim Siaous, according to traditions in Byzantium, became his patronym (see **Cheyne**, *Patronyme*, 57-67).

After his conversion, Siaous was appointed doux of Anchialos; thus the discovery of his bulla in Sozopol is another, though circumstantial, evidence to the identification of the person from the narrative source with the one from the text of the seal.

When exactly was his correspondence received in Sozopolis?

Since only his title of protonobelissimos is inscribed on his seal, this gives rise to a number of questions:

a) Was this the very title granted to Siaous after his conversion in 1087?

b) Why his position of doux of Anchialos was not written out on his seal and generally should we take Anna Komnene's information on his appointment as doux of Anchialos in its literal sense? Was he not sent to Anchialos on a kind of honorific exile after all? He was honoured with a high title, presented with many gifts (presumably also estates in this part of the Empire) and sent to the province as perhaps not to obstruct any future relationships with the Seljuks.

Questions like these, as well as many similar ones that could arise, will remain of no certain answer due to the lack of concrete facts. We cannot however leave unconsidered the circumstance that in 1080s only few of the emperor's close associates held the title nobelissimos. Even his brother-in-law George Palaiologos did not possess it (on his person, see nos. 564-569).

The above reasonings and facts (the absence of the position of doux or katepano of Anchialos and the high title of Alexios Siaous), without being absolutely certain, lead to the question whether the seal of the protonobelissimos Alexios Siaous does not apply to a later stage of his life, after his stay in Anchialos, when he returned to the capital Constantinople, attended the senate and participated in the court life of the Empire by holding his high title.

The question about the possible addressee of his correspondence calls for thorough information on the life in Sozopolis in the late XIth c. Correspondence of the two Dekanos brothers (see nos. 161-164) was received in Sozopolis at that juncture, the senator John Solomon was also in exile here, there are still further coincidences that may not seem accidental.

#### 651-652. Ἰωάννης Σιναΐτης (XII c.)

a. Private collection. Find-spot: uncertain. Well-preserved imprint. D. 32-33 mm.

*Unpublished.*

b. Private collection (V. Stankov from Batak). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 31-33 (27-28) ? mm. Well-preserved imprint.

*Unpublished.*

*The both specimens were struck in the same boulloterion.*

*Obv.* St. George standing full-length, holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground. Vertical inscription: O-A-Γ-I-O-C || ΓΕ-ΩΡΓ-ΙΟ-C : Ὁ ἅγιος Γεώργιος

*Rev.* Inscription in five lines:

+ ἸΩ | CΦΡΑ | ΓICMAT8 | CVNNA | IT8  
+ Ἰω(άννου) σφράγισμα τοῦ Συναΐτου

The family Synaites, as Kazhdan ascertains, had perhaps its origin from the Synai Mount and peninsula, where one of the well-known monastic centers was located, and was probably church official.

In the XIIth c., the period to which the seals are generally dated, the following representatives of this family are known:

1. Γεώργιος Σιναΐτης, who along with Alexander of Gravina (on him, see no. 150), took part in the embassy to the king of Jerusalem Baldwin IV in 1177 (see **Tyrensis**, *Historia rerum*, 1030-1031; **Chalandon**, *Commene*, II, p. 551).

2. Ἰωάννης Σιναΐτης, monk and stylite, correspondent of Michael Glykas (see *Aporien*, 1, μβ'.γ'. 1-2; ν'.π'. 17-18; *Aporien*, 2, p.275.2-3).

3. Λέων Σιναΐτης, known from a chrysobull of the Hilandar monastery from 1199 (see **Dölger**, *Regestes*, no. 1652)

4. Νικηφόρος Σιναΐτης, "the closest man of the basileus", in Michael Glykas' expression (see *Aporien*, 1, p. 281.2-3).

We cannot say anything particular about the owner of the present seal – whether he was a cleric or a secular person. The whole appearance of the seal attests to a pretentious taste and ability to satisfy it. It is quite possible that Michael Glykas' correspondent by the same names and the owner of the present seal are identical.

Obviously, the representatives of this family were dignitaries and courtiers occupying the highest rungs of the hierarchical ladder. Glykas' correspondent, besides being a member of this family, was also a stylist. All that makes him quite plausible as owner of the present seal.

#### 652A. Εὐστάθιος Σινωπεΐτος μυστικός (XII c.)

Private collection (V. Panteleev, Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 21-23 (?) 2.5 mm, W. 7.9 g. Incomplete and indistinct imprint.

*Unpublished.*

*Parallels* : **Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, no. 125; *Seyrig*, no. 109 and two unpublished specimens from Zacos, III.

*Obv.* Inscription of three lines:

. | TOV | CIN. | ΠΧ.

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

.. | ΧΙΚΟ. | ΕΝΧΑ | ΘΙΟΝ

[+] Τοῦ Σιν[ω]πεΐ[του μ]υστικο[ῦ] Εὐσταθίου

Εὐστάθιος Σινωπεΐτος μυστικός is unknown from the sources. The family is first attested through a strategos during the war of Manuel I Komnenos against Ikonion in 1146 (Cinnamus, p. 56). Εὐστάθιος Σινωπεΐτος μυστικός succeeded George Kapadokos (on him, see no. 265 here) and Nicholas Frankopoulos (see **Magdalino**, *Mystikos*, 229-240)

#### 653-663. Μιχαήλ Σκληρός πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ ἀναγραφεὺς Δρουγουβιτείας (1080s)

a. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 19752. Find-spot: strategeia of Preslav. D. 23.9-24.9 (20) 4 mm,

W. 12.95 g.

Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 224; Jordanov, G. Names, no. 24.8a

b. Historical Museum, Stara Zagora, no. 10 C3-8. Find-spot: Stara Zagora. D. 24-25 mm; field 20 mm; thickness 3 mm. Almost the whole surface is damaged.

Ed. Йорданов, Берое, № 8; Jordanov, G. Names, no. 24.8b.

c. Historical Museum, Shoumen. Found by treasure-hunters in the stronghold near the village of Kipilovo, district of Sliven, together with coins. D. 21-22 mm; field (?); thickness 3.5 mm. At present the specimen is badly preserved with a missing fragment and an effaced surface.

Ed. Jordanov, G. Names, no. 24.8c.

d. Private collection (Yanko Todorov from Shoumen). Found in 1993 in the stronghold near the village of Zlati Voyvoda, district of Sliven. D. 21-21 mm; field (?); thickness 3 mm. An incompletely imprinted but well-preserved specimen.

Ed. Jordanov, G. Names, no. 24.8d.

e. Private collection (D. Dimitrov from Pernik). Found by him in the stronghold near Simeonovgrad. D. 23-25 mm; field (?); thickness 4 mm. Good imprint.

Ed. Jordanov, G. Names, no. 24.8e.

f. Private collection (M. Lakov from Sofia). Find-spot: Achtopol. D. 24-25 mm; field (?); thickness 3.6 mm. Complete imprint, but badly preserved.

Ed. Jordanov, G. Names, no. 24.8f.

g-j. We documented four specimens from several private collections. They belong to the same boulloterion as the last one. Find-spot: uncertain. Probably some of them are stolen from Preslav and others come from the same places as the last one or from different places. All these specimens are preserved to a different extent and their diameter, field and thickness are similar to the last.

Ed. Jordanov, G. Names, no. 24.8g-i.

The ten specimens are struck with the same die.

Parallels: Three other specimens struck with the same die are preserved in DO. 55.1.3313; DO.58. 106. 2360; Fogg A.M. 1503 (see their edition: Nesbitt-Oikonomides, DOS, no. 21.1).

κ. Private collection (V. Panteleev from Varna). Find-spot: Uncertain. D. 20-21(?) 4 mm. W. 8.00 g. Well-centered but incomplete imprint in a boulloterion different from the above specimens.

Ed. Jordanov, G. Names, no. 24.8k.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion of Christ on her breast. Sigla:  $\overline{MP} \parallel \overline{\Theta V}$ : Μ(ήτηρ) Θ(εο)ῦ. Circular inscription along border of dots: + ΘΚΕΡΟΗΘ'

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

a-i. +ΜΙΧΑΗΛ | ΑΤΠΡΟΕΔΡΩ | ΚΑΙΑΝΑΓΡΑ | ΦΕΥCΔΡ8Γ8 | RITIACTΩ| CΚΛΗΡ'

k: ..... | ...ΕΔΡΩC | ..ΑΓΡΑΦΕΥC | ..8Γ8RITIA |..CΚΛ |.'

+Θ(εοτό)κεβοήθ(ει)Μιχαήλ(πρω)τ(ο)προέδρω καὶ ἀναγραφεὺς Δρουγουβιτίας  
τῷ Σκληρ(ῶ)

The career of Michael Skleros is presented with the publication of the seal from Preslav. Undoubtedly the discovery of nine specimens which belonged to Skleros in the lands of present-day Bulgaria in his capacity as ἀναγραφεὺς Δρουγουβιτίας is curious. Naturally, one may ask about the reasons for the intensive correspondence of this noted dignitary. According to our information, this correspondence was sent to five or more addresses.

Some suggestions are possible. It is almost impossible that this correspondence was only official because these lands were not in the jurisdiction of ἀναγραφεὺς Δρουγουβιτίας. It could be assumed that Michael Skleros wrote to his colleagues residing in these places about mutual activities in connection with their official obligations, such as inventorying the lands, coordination or "sharing experience". It is also possible that the recipient or recipients were friends or relatives of Michael Skleros.

#### 664. Μιχαήλ Σκριβοπούλος (XI c.)

Private collection (S. Bilik from Sofia). Find-spot: uncertain, the Plovdiv region. D. 21-21 (19) 2 mm. W. 7.11 g. Incomplete but well-preserved imprint. The first letters of almost all lines remained out of the blank.

Ed. Билик, Фамилни имена, № 11. The author has wrongly read the patronym. According to him, it refers to Kritopoulos.

Parallels: Schlumberger, Sig., p. 697; Laurent, Bulles metriques, no. 79. Further four or five specimens struck in the same boulloterion are preserved in the collections of the Hermitage (M- 6559; 6771); Fogg A. M., no.1173 and Zacos, III, no. 1396/97-2.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion on her breast. Sigla: . || Θ: [Μ(ήτηρ)] Θ(εοῦ).

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

.ΓΡΑ | .ΑCΦΡΑ | .HZΩMI | .KPIRO | ΠΩΛΩ

[+Γρα[φ]ᾶ(ς) σφρα[γ]ήζω Μι(χαήλ) [Σ]κριβοπώλω

Μιχαήλ Σκριβοπούλος is not known from other sources. The dating of his seal is generally to the late XIth and the early XIIth c.

The Dumbarton Oaks Collection DO. 58. 106. 4630 contains an unpublished bulla having belonged perhaps to the same person with the position of praetor:

Obv. St. Panteleimon standing.

Rev. ΠΡΑΙ | .ΩΡΕΙΜΙ | ΜΙΧΑΗΛ | CΚPIRO | ΠΩΛ8

= Πραί[τ]ωρ εἰμὶ Μιχαήλ Σκριβοπώλου

#### 665. Ἀναστάσιος Σολομῶν πατρίκιος (1050s-1060s)

Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 20796. Related with the complex of seals from the Strategia. D. 14.5-22 (over 22) 2 mm. Fragment about a half.

Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 538.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Michael; only part of the r. wing visible, but in much detail, including even the feathers.

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

..... | .HT... | ΔΟΝΑΩ... | CTACIo... | ΤΩCΩ... | ΩΝ..

[+Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ]η τ[ῷ] σ[ῶ] δούλω [Ἀνα]στασίω [π(ατ)ρι(κίω)] τῷ Σω[λομ]ῶν[τι]

In the cited publication, the seal was only documented and included in the section of undeciphered seals. W. Seibt has recently prompted me the possibility for the patronym to be read as Σω[λομ]ῶν[τι]. Indeed, there are certain reasons for that. The second letter of the patronym is rounded and in the last line after W, the vertical stroke could possibly be from N.

The same depiction of St. Michael is on the seal of the other representative of the family, Michael Solomon (see no. 666). It is interesting that the patronym is likewise composed.

#### 666. Μιχαήλ Σολομῶν πρωτοπρόεδρος (late XI c.)

National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 25372. Find-spot: Sozopol. D. 14-25.5 (20-21?) 3 mm. Unclear imprint.

The letters of the text are indistinct and presumably subsequently damaged. Half imprint, besides, in a

poor state of preservation, corroded and mechanically damaged. All this renders the overall reading of the text extremely difficult. We have restored the missing letters following the specimen cited below.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Indistinct image of St. Michael? He holds an object resembling a globus cruciger.

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

+ ΚΕ.. | ΜΙΧΑ.. | Α'ΠΡ... | ΤΩC... | Ω...

+ Κ(ύρι)ε [β(οή)θ(ει)] Μιχα[ήλ] (πρωτο)πρ[οέδ(ρω)] τῷ Σ[ολ(ο)μ]ῶ[ντι]

A bulla of the same person but struck in a different boulloterion or a pair of dies is preserved in the private collection of Warner Seibt in Vienna. (see **Seibt**, *Bleisiegel*, no.160).

Μιχαήλ Σολομῶν πρωτοπρόεδρος is unknown from other narrative sources.

The dating of the present bulla, according to its text and iconography, is generally to the last quarter of the XIth c.

To determine the possible recipient of Michael Solomon in Sozopolis, we need to present information on other representatives of the family from that time.

1. Ἀναστάσιος Σολομῶν πατρίκιος, according to his bulla found in the Strategia of Preslav, dated after 1050s (see no. ).

2. Βασίλειος Σολομῶν πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ ἐκ προσώπου Ἀδριανουπόλεως, according to his seal in DO. 55. 1. 3321 (see **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 1, no. 44.2), dated generally to the XIth c.

3-4. The names of Γρηγόριος and Ἰμέριος Σολομῶν in their capacities as πρωτοσπαθάριοι are mentioned in a trial attested in Peira before 1028 (see **Peira**, 197-198). Several groups of seals could possibly be ascribed to the same individuals:

3a) A bulla of Γρηγόριος Σολομῶν dated generally to the middle or the second half of the XIth c. is preserved in the Zacos collection, III, (BnF 542, see **Ceynet**, Saint George, p. 124, fig. 18) :

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans and part of the circular inscription: ...ΡΟΗΘΕΙΤΩCΩ...

*Rev.* Bust of St. George and continuation of the circular inscription from the obverse:

+ ΓΡΗΓΟΡΑΤΩCΟΛΟΜΟΝΤΙ

4. Ἰμέριος Σολομῶν - second half of the XI c.

4a. (Μεθόδιος ?) πρωτοσπαθάριος, β'νοτάριος καὶ ἐκ προσώπου Μεσημβρίας (1040-1060, see **Wassiliou, Seibt**, no. 268).

4b. πρωτοσπαθάριος, κριτὴς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου καὶ μυστολέκτης, according to two lead seals struck in the same boulloterion are preserved in the collections of Fogg A. M. no 244 (see **Laurent, Corpus**, II, no.153) and Zacos, III, no 1554/9 (unpublished).

4c. πατρίκιος, ἐξάκτωρ καὶ κριτὴς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου dated by the mid-XIth c., according to an unpublished bulla preserved in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection DO (55. 1. 3322) :

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion.

*Rev.* -+ | ΙΜΕΡΙΟ | ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΟ. |.ΑΚΤΩΡΚΕ| .ΡΙΤΗΕΠΙ |ΠΠΟΔΡΟΜ| ..CΟΛ| .ΜΩΝ

5. The most information available is about Ἰωάννης Σολομῶν πρωτοπρόεδρος. He attended a session of the synod on 12th November 1092 (see *PG*, col. CXIX, p. 761B; **Grumel, Regestes**, I. 3, no. 963[956]). He was probably the same senator and conspirator involved in the Anemas' plot, who after its revealing was imprisoned at Sozopolis for the period 1097-1104/1107 (see *Alexiade*, II, 37.29; III,69-70,72; **Skoulatos, Personnages**

no. 92). Several groups of seals supplementing the information from the narrative sources perhaps apply to the same person in his capacity as:

5a. πρωτοασηκριτὴς (**Laurent, Corpus**, II, no. 8);

5b. πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων (see: **Laurent, Corpus**, II, no. 254);

5c. κουροπαλάτης καὶ πραιτωρ Πελοποννήσου καὶ Ἑλλάδος, according to an unpublished seal from Zacos, III, mention in. **Wassiliou, Seibt**, p. 258, n.124:

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion.

*Rev.* + ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' |ΙΩΚ8ΡΟΠΑ|ΛΑΤΗΣΠΡΑΙ|ΤΩΡΙΠΕΛΟΠΟΝ|NHC8SEΛΛΑΔ  
|ΤΩCΟΛΟΜΩ|NTI

5d. δικαιοδότος from the late XIth c. (see *Seyrig*, no. 95 and unpublished from DO. 55. 1. 3323);

5e. as a private person from the late XIth and the early XIIth c. (see **Seibt, Bleisiegel**, S.299, nos. 10-11).

6. Νικήτας Σολομῶν or ὁ τοῦ Σολομοντος :

a. σπαθαροκανδιᾶτος (XI c.), attested by his unpublished seals in the collection Fogg A. M., 442 (no. 935 <47. 2. 935>), see **Cheyne**, St. George, p. 124, fig. 19.

*Obv.* Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

*Rev.* + | ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΝΙΚΗΤΑ | CΠΑΘΚ'ΔΔ' | ΤΩCΩΛΟ | ΜΩ..

b. as a private person (XI c.), according to an unpublished lead seal from Vienna-MK, no. 53, see **Seibt, Bleisiegel**, p. 300, no. 4.

7. Θεόδουλος Σολομῶν - a private person from the last quarter of the XI c., attested by his unpublished seals in the collection Zacos, III, no. BnF 3270, see **Cheyne**, St. George, p. 124, fig. 20.

*Obv.* Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

*Rev.* CΦΡΑΓ' |Τ8ΘΟΔ8 |Λ8Τ8CΟ | Λ'ΜΩΝΤ' | ---

It is impossible to determine the exact relationships between the above members of the family Solomon. Quite inviting however is to assume that the recipient of Michael Solomon's correspondence in Sozopolis was the senator John Solomon in exile here. Even if we rule out this hypothesis, the receipt of Michael Solomon's correspondence in Sozopolis seems quite natural in the context of the presented information. Many of his relations sojourned in this region.

## 667. Λέων Σούλης (XI c.)

Historical Museum Shumen, no. 14649. Formerly in the collection of Mr Dinko Tanev from Stara Zagora.

Find-spot: the land of the village of Surnevets, Stra Zagora region. D. 18-20 (14-19) 3.5 mm. W. 8.80 g.

Well-centered and complete imprint. Regretfully, the key letter of the patronym is lost, which makes the reading uncertain. There are a number of variants: Σού[λ]η, Σού[ρ]η, etc.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Inscription of three lines:

+ | ΚΕΡΟ | ΗΘΕΙΑ | ΕΟΝΤ'

*Rev.* Inscription of three lines:

ΤΩ | CΟV | . Η |

+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει Λέοντ(ι) τῷ Σού[λ]η

**668. Κωνσταντῖνος Σπονδύλης πρωτοσπαθάριος ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοτρικλίνου, κριτῆς τοῦ βήλου καὶ μυστολέκτης (XI c.)**

Delivered on by the police for investigation and purchase at the National Historical Museum, Sofia, where I examined and documented it. Find-spot: undetermined. D. 27-29 mm. Incomplete imprint.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of St. Panteleimon facing. Circular inscription: ΑΓΙΕΠΑΝΤΕΛΕΙΜ'

*Rev.* Inscription of seven lines:

ΚΩΝ'Α' | ΠΑΘ'ΕΠΙ | ΧΤΡΓΚΛ | ΠΙΤ'Τ'ΡΙ | ...ΜΝΥΤ' | ΕΚΤ'ΤΩ | ΠΟΝΔ'  
+ 'Αγιε Πανταλείμ(ον βοήθει) Κων(σταντίνω) (πρωτο)[σ]παθ(αρίω) ἐπὶ [τ(οῦ)]  
χρ(υσο)τρικλ(ίνου) [κ]ριτ(ῆ) τοῦ βί[λου] (καὶ) μυστ(ο)[λ]έκτ(η) τῷ [Σ]πονδ(ύλῃ)

The owner of the seal Κωνσταντῖνος Σπονδύλης πρωτοσπαθάριος ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοτρικλίνου, κριτῆς τοῦ βήλου καὶ μυστολέκτης is unknown from other sources. It belonged perhaps to the same Constantine Spondyles attested as a private person on his bulla from Preslav (for more detailed information on him, see **Йорданов, Преслав**, с. 197).

The present seal supplements the cursus honorum of Constantine Spondyles already known. At an earlier stage (before 1050s) he held the positions mentioned above.

**669. Κωνσταντῖνος Σπονδύλης (1050s-1070s)**

Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 22132. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 23.6-25 (22?) 3 mm. W. 10.05 g. The edges of the blank, which were out of the boulloterion remained unpressed. The depiction and text were printed in center, largely on the channel swelling.

*Ed.* **Йорданов, Преслав**, № 415.

Parallels: **Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, p. 702; **Konstantopoulos**, 688z; **Stavrakos**, no. 245 and unpublished in DO.55.1.3858. They were struck in the same boulloterion.

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin holding a medallion of Christ before her. No sigla visible.

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

ΔΕΣΠΟΙ | ΝΑΩΖΟΙ | ΣΠΟΝΔΥΛΑ | ΩΝΝΤΑ | ΤΙΝΟ.  
Δέσποινα σώζοι(ς) Σπονδύλ(ην) [Κ]ωνστα[ν]τῖνο[ν]

**670. Θεόδωρος Στηθάτης (XII c.)**

Historical Museum, Ahtopol. It was shown to me by the museum's curator in 1987. Find-spot: within the town's boundaries. D. 14-28 (?) 3 mm. Half of a good imprint.

*Ed.* **Йорданов, Койчев, Мутафов**, Ахтопол, 84-85, № 17.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* St. Theodore standing frontally, holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground. Vertical inscription: ..... || Δ-Ω-Ρ-Ο-С : [Ο ἄ(γιος) Θεόδ]ωρος

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

+ ΘΕ. | ΔΩΡ.. | СΚΕΠ... | ΜΕΜ.... | Η.. | Τ..  
+ Θε[ό]δωρ[ον] σκέ[ποις με μ]άρτυς Στη[θᾶ]τ[ου]

Unpublished bullae of the same person of the same depiction and text but nevertheless from different pairs of dies are preserved in the collections of the Hermitage (M-5526) and IFEB no. 6.

The owner of the seal, whose correspondence was received in present-day Ahtopol, is a certain Θεόδωρος Στηθάτης.

The etymology of the name Στηθάτης is related with the epithet 'broad-chested' (**Kukules**, *Vios*, 6, p.482; **Moritz**, *Zunamen*, II, 52.152);

The following XIth-XIIth-century representatives of the family Στηθάτης are attested in the narrative sources:

1. Νικήτας Στηθάτης, ca 1002-1090, monk and theologian, who took active part in the anti-Latin polemics in 1054 as Michael Kerularios' adherent (see **Darrouzes**, *J. Nicetas Stethatos. Opiscules et lettres*, Paris, 1961, 7-10).

2. Νικόλαος Στηθάτης βέστης καὶ β'νοτάριος Μυρελαίου, whose signature is found under pittakion of Anna Dalassene from June 15, 1087 (*Actes Patmos*, I, no. 47.19, p. 334).

3. Κωνσταντῖνος Στηθάτης, a renowned astrologer and governor of Anchialos region. He unwillingly participated in Branas' revolt (prophesying its triumph and tragic end) and was killed (see **Choniates**, 388, 37-58).

Known by their seals are the following:

1. Λέων Στηθάτης as a private person from the late XIth c. (see **Laurent**, *Bulles metriques*, no. 586). Attested by two specimens in the collections of: Shaw 1413 (no. 1285) and DO. 58.106.1402, which are actually unpublished.

*Obv.* The Virgin seated on a high-backed throne.

*Rev.* |+ ΑΓΝΗ|ΡΟΗΘΕΙ| ΛΕΟΝΤΙ|ΤΩΟΤΗ|ΤΑΤΩ

We cannot be absolutely sure that he is identical with the above, although it is very likely that it refers to one and the same person.

2. Μιχαήλ Στηθάτης as a private person from the late XIIth c. (see **Koltzida-Makre**, no. 319);

3. Νικήτας Στηθάτης, a monk. It is dated generally to the Xth-XIth c., according to an unpublished specimen in the Zacos, III, no. 1718.

*Obv.* |+ ΚΕΡΟ|ΗΘΕΙΤΩ|CΩΔ8Λ'|

*Rev.* |ΝΙΚΗΤ'|ΑΧΤΩC|ΤΗΘΑ|Τ'

4. Νικόλαος Στηθάτης β'νοτάριος, according to an unpublished specimen in the Zacos, III, no. 1538.

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin, holding a medallion.

*Rev.* + ΘΚΕ|ΝΙΚΟΛΑ|..ΟΤΑΡ|ΩΤΩΟΤΗ|ΘΑΤΩ|

It dated generally to the XIth c. In this case too, he may also be identified with the above.

The dating of the Ahtopol seal is generally to the XIIth c., thus allowing to seek a connection between Θεόδωρος Στηθάτης and the governor of the Anchialos region Κωνσταντῖνος Στηθάτης. It is quite possible that they were relatives, who shared the same acquaintances and interests here. It is not unlikely however that the correspondence received here was in connection with the Branas' revolt, in which the governor of Anchialos took part. An interesting fact is that Agatopolis (the medieval name of Ahtopol) along with Anchialos were very often into the notice of Niketas Choniates (see **Choniates**, 394, 398). There must have been good reasons for that (see **Димитров, Б.** Агатопол.-СБГ, 1, 415-417).

**670A. Ἰωάννης Στραβορωμανός** (second half of the XI c.)

Private collection (V. Stankov from Batak). Find-spot: Melnita, Elhovo region. D. 25-26 mm. Incomplete imprint. The first lines of the inscription are missing.

*Unpublished.*

*Parallels:* **Sandrovskaia, Seibt**, no.34, struck in a different boulloterion.

*Obv.* Inscription of four lines:

..V... | ROHΘEI | TΩCΩ | Δ8Λ'

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

..Ω | TΩϣPA | ROPΩ | MANΩ

[+K]ύ[ριε] βοήθει τῷ σῷ δοῦλ(ω) [Ἰ]ω(άννη) τῷ Στραβορωμανῷ

A bulla of the same person but struck in a different boulloterion is preserved in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection [ DO (55.65.16) 2710]:

*Obv.* KERO | HΘ'TΩ | CΩΔ8ΛΩ | - IΩ-

*Rev.* TΩϣPA | ROPΩMA | -NΩ-

Seals of another representative of the family are preserved in the collections of Zacos, III, no. 1538 and DO. 58. 106. 2267:

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with the medallion of Christ on her chest.

*Rev.* KER'Θ' | RACIAIO | TΩϣPA | ROPΩM | -NΩ-

On the representatives of this family, see **Skoulatos, Personnages**, no. 189 and **Alexiade** ed. **Любарский** p. 467, n. 215. Among them there are none named John or Basil.

**671. N., Στραβοτριχάρης ταξιάρχης** (XI c.)

Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 22119. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 20-20 (20 ?) 3 mm, W. 6.95 g. Incomplete imprint, since the blank was smaller in diameter than the dies. The first line of the inscription was not printed.

*Ed.* **Йорданов, Преслав, № 189.**

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand). Vertical inscription:

.-A-ΓI-O' || .-I-KO-Λ-A': [Ἰ]ω(άννης) [N]ικόλα(ος).

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

..... | .AK'TAΞ. | APXOCTPA | ROTPH | XAPIC

[+Βασιλ]άκ(ιος) / [Θεοφυλ]άκ(ιος) ταξ[ι]άρχ(ης) ὁ Στραβοτριχάρης

The main problem in the reading of the text concerns the homonym. The propositions for completion made now are the following: [+Βασιλ]άκιος or [Θεοφυλ]άκ(ιος).

Despite the new propositions for completion, there remains the assumption for existing of a connection between Μιχαήλ Στραβοτριχάρης, who died in northeastern Bulgaria in 1036, and the owner of the present seal. The common element, besides the patronym, is the theater of action and their army positions of not very high-ranking commanders subordinate to the local strategos.

**672-675. Σινέσιος Στραβυλανος** (second half, XI c.)

A.

a. National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 24821. Find-spot: the stronghold near the village of Zlati Voyvoda. D. 20-21 (15) 3 mm. W. 7.55 g. Good but weak imprint, and as a result not all letters are distinct.

*Ed.* **Jordanov**, Zlati Voyvoda, no 23.

b. National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 28688. Reported to have been found in the Kasanluk region. D. 22-23 (15) 3 mm. Good imprint with characteristics as the above specimen.

*Unpublished.*

c. Historical Museum, Iambol, no. 5690. Find-spot: the stronghold near the village of Zlati Voyvoda. D. 14-23.5 mm. Half preserved.

*Unpublished.*

*The three specimens were struck in the same pair of dies.*

*Parallels:* Another unpublished specimen struck in the same boulloterion is preserved in L. Zarnitz's collection no. 426.

*Obv.* Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand). Vertical inscription:

Θ-NI-K || -Λ-A-O-C : Ὁ ἅ(γιος) Νικ(ό)λαος.

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

+ CVNE | CIoCTPA | RVΛANO | Δ8ΛOC | X̄V

Σινέσιος(ς) Στραβυλανος(ς) δοῦλος Χ(ριστο)ῦ

Due to the unclear text, I find it difficult to comment on the data. My assumption is that it refers to a certain Synesios Stravylanos from the last quarter of the XIth c. I am not aware of any such family.

Obviously, there is a certain connection between this group of seals and the one presented below:

B.

Historical Museum, Sliven. Found in the course of excavations in the stronghold near the village of Zlati Voyvoda in the summer of 1993. D. 20-22 (18)2.5 mm. Due to the overstrike, the text and depiction are not complete. The last two lines perhaps recorded the patronym . AΔPARV | ΛANΩ, which is apparently close to the above CTPARV | ΛANO, but we cannot argue that it is exactly the same.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin frontally. Both hands raised in orans. Above them, the sigla: M̄ || Θ̄:

M(ήτηρ) Θ(εοῦ). This depiction was printed over a bust of St. Nicholas with only his head visible in the place of that of the Virgin.

*Rev.*

+ CVNE | CIoCTPA | . AΔPARV | ΛENΩ

It is obviously struck over the text of the seal described above.

What is the connection between the two groups of seals? Besides the overstrike and the discovery of the bullae in the same spot, the stronghold near the present-day village of Zlati Voyvoda, there is also similarities in the patronyms.

What remains for us is to expect a better-preserved specimen that would allow us to read the homonym from the second group of seals as well. Then we will try to unriddle the question about their overstrike.



# 676. Θεόδωρος Στρατηγοπούλος (XIII c.)

Private collection. Confiscated by the police in Shumen and sent for expertise. I examined and documented it on the 26<sup>th</sup> November 2001. D. 28-29.5 (29) 3 mm. Well-centered but nevertheless incomplete imprint. Some letters did not print, others were erased.

Unpublished.

Parallels: Unpublished specimens from: the Hermitage (M-8797); Fogg A.M., no. 599; DO. 58. 106. 5244; DO. 55. 1. 3335; Shaw 1414 (nos. 1288, 1289); IFEB, no. 8 and Zacos, III, no. 1580. It could be assumed that some of them were struck in the same boulloterion as our specimen.

Obv. Inscription of five lines:

-?- | Δ8ΛΟ. | Τ8ΚΡΑΤΑΙ. | ΚΑΙΑΓΙΟΝΗ | ΜΩΝΡΑCΙ | ΛΕΩC

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

-?- | ΘΕΟΔΩ | ΡΟCΘΡΑ | ΤΗΓΟΠ8 | ΛΟC:

[+ 'Ο ] Δοῦλος τοῦ κραταίου καὶ ἁγίου ἡμῶν βασιλέως Θεόδωρος ὁ Στρατηγοπούλος

The Dumbarton Oaks collection DO. 58. 106. 3968 contains a seal of presumably the same dignitary, but of a different, metrical text:

Obv. +ΘΡΑΤΗ | ΓΟΠΩΛΟΝ | ...ΓΡΑΦΩΝ | .ΕΟΔΩΡ8

Rev. ΚΛΗCIC | ΕΠICΦΡΑ | ΓICMAC.. | ΕΠΩΝVMΩ

Theodore Strategopoulos is unknown from the narrative sources. For the other members of this family and its best-known representative Alexios Komnenos Strategopoulos, see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, no. 596; **Zacos**, *Seals*, I, no. 2756.

# 677. Μιχαήλ Στρυφνός σεβαστός (XII c.)

Private collection (V. Panteleev from Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 19-36 (30 ?) 3.5 mm. Half preserved, rounded and holed at the upper end. Suspended as an icon or weight.

Unpublished.

Parallels: **Zacos**, *Seals*, I, no. 2748 bis; Auction Schenk-Behrens 76, 26-28. 11. 1998, no. 496; Fogg, A. M. no. 833 (unpublished). Struck in the same boulloterion.

Obv. Standing figure of a military saint (St. Theodore) and traces of the inscription containing his name visible in the right preserved half. The left half should have contained the depiction of St. Hykanithos standing, with both hands swinging an axe on r. to fell the tree.

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

+ | ....ΓICR. | .....ACΓΡΑ | .....ΕΝΘΑΔΕ | .....CERA | .....ΛΚΑΙ | .....ΝΕ

+ [Σφρα]γίς β[εβαιοῖ τ]ὰς γρα[φὰς τὰς] ἐνθάδε [Στρυφνοῦ] σεβα[στοῦ

Μιχαή]λ καὶ [κρατύν]ει

The owner of the seal the sebastos Michael Stryphnos is attested both in the narrative sources and by several groups of seals.

The etymology of the name Στρυφνός comes from the epythet meaning 'astringent,' 'morose,' 'quarrelsome' (**Koukoules**, *Vios*, 6, p. 483). The family is known only through Michael Stryphnos who was married to Theodora, the daughter of Andronikos Doukas Kamateros and the sister of Alexios III's empress Euphrosyne Doukaina Kamaterou (see **Polemis**, *Doukai*, 126-127, no. 12; **Zacos**, *Seals*, I, p. 1563 and no. 189 here). It is quite possible that he is a new person who made a career under the Angeloi (**Каждан**. *Соц*.

*Сочтав* (manuscript), № 46).

The earliest mention of his name is in the Chrysobullos Logos issued by Isaakios II in connection with a privilege granted to the Genoese in April 1192 in his capacity as σεβαστός καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βεστιαρίου (**MM**, III, p. 27.19).

He was already grand dux of the fleet under Emperor Alexios III Komnenos Angelos (1195-1203) being a relation of the emperor (**Choniates**, 482.24-25, 491.21, 541.41; **Choniates**, *M. Epistulae*, no. 60). In two Acts preserved in the archives of Lavra and dating from May and June 1196 he is characterized as σύγγαμβρος τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ μέγας δούξ τοῦ θεοσώστου στόλου (see *Actes Lavra*, I, nos. 67-68). In addition to that the functions of a deputy governor of Hellas and Peloponnesos are also attributed to him (see **Laurent**, *Vatican*, 68-69).

The following groups of seals are known bearing the name of Michael Stryphnos:

1. πρωτονωβελλισιμοῦπερτάτου (see **Zacos**, *Seals*, I, no. 2748);

2. σεβαστός

3. μέγας δούξ καὶ αὐγουσταδέλφης συζύγου Θεοδώρας (**Zacos**, *Seals*, I, no. 2749; **Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, no. 974).

3. ναυάρχης, according to an enameled gold ring preserved in Dumbarton Oaks Collection (see **Ross**, *Catalogue*, II, no. 158).

The narrative sources and the seals determine the following cursus honorum of Michael Stryphnos

1. πρωτονωβελλισιμοῦπερτάτου before 1192

2. σεβαστός after 1192

3. σεβαστός καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βεστιαρίου April 1192 and later

4. σεβαστός καὶ μέγας δούξ 1195-1203

The discovery of a bulla of Michael Stryphnos in the territory of modern Bulgaria should not be a surprise to us. He is in his capacity as sebastos on it – a title he held throughout the whole period (after 1192). Therefore his letter to Bulgaria could have been received in the period 1192-1203. With his career in mind, a number of reasons could be suggested for the sending of his correspondence to modern Bulgaria.

# 678-679-679A. Θεόδοτος Στυπειότης σπαθαροκανδιᾶτος (XI c.)

a. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 18548. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 23-24 (over 21) 3 mm. W. 12.64 g. Incomplete imprint. Almost all initial letters remained out of the blank.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 116.

b. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 17697. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 23-23 (over 21) 2.5 mm. W. 10.15 g. Incomplete imprint, but nevertheless more successful than the above.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 117.

c. Private collection (V. Panteleev, Varna). Find-spot: uncertain (Preslav ?). D.24-26 ( ?) 3 mm, W. 9.50 g. Incomplete and blurred imprint.

Unpublished.

The three specimens were struck in the same boulloterion.

Parallels: *Seibt-Zarnitz*, no 3.2.7.

Obv. Bust of St. Menas bearded nimbate; wears a divitision and chlamys and holds before chest a martyr's cross. Vertical inscription: O-A-ΓΙ-O' || M-H-N.-. : 'Ο ἅγιο(ς) Μην[ᾶς].

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ | ΘΕΟΔΩ | Τ'CΠΑΘΑ | ΡΟΚΑΝΔΔ' | ΤΟCΤ8ΠΙ | -ΟΤΙ -

+ Θεόδωτ(ος) σπαθαροκανδ(ι)δ(ᾱ)τ(ος) ὁ Cτουπ(ε)ιότη(ς)

In the publication cited above, the reading of the patronym presented the main problem. The dilemma was Στυπειότης or Πιότης, of which the former possibility was favoured.

The Zacos collection, III, no. 1668 contains an unpublished bulla of the same dignitary: *Obv.* Bust of St. Menas as above and a vertical inscription: A-ΓΙ-O || M-A-NA-C  
*Rev.* ΘΩΔΟ. | CΠΑΘ'KAN | .SCTPAT'Γ' | .P8MRH | .ACOC TV | ΠΙΟΤΗ |  
=+ Θ(ε)ώδο(τος) σπαθ(αρο)καν[δ(ι)δ(ᾱ)τος] (καὶ) στρατ(η)γ(ός)  
[Στ]ρουμβ[τς]ας ὁ Στυπ(ε)ιότη(ς)

Besides settling the problem of the owner's patronym, the new specimen supplements the information about Theodotos Styppeiotēs' career. At a definite stage of his career he was appointed strategos of Strumitsa. It is hard to determine the exact time when it occurred.

The Strumitza fortress was a key fortress in the defense of the Bulgarian state. It was surrendered by the chieftain Dragomazh in 1018. The Bulgarian patriarch arrived here and the terms for the capitulation of the Bulgarian tsar's court were negotiated (for information on the town and relevant events, see **Златарски**, *История*, I. 2, 692-700; 732-736). Information on Strumitsa as a military and administrative center we find again not until the late XIth and the early XIIth c.

The etymology of the patronym Στυπειότης derives from the name of the town Στιπεῖον.

Here in brief is what we know about this family and its representatives:

1. Ἀνδρέας Στυπειότης – domestikos of the Schools under Emperor Basil I (867-886), who died in 883 during the campaign against Tarsus (**Skylitzes**, 144.48; 270.41; **Guilland**, *Domestique*, 24-25. n.6-8).

2. Λέων Ἀποστύπης πατρίκιος ὁ Θρακῶν καὶ Μακεδόνων ἀρχηγέτης was dispatched at the head of the fleet against the Arabs in Italy in 860. Despite his military success, he fell into disgrace and the emperor dismissed Leo from his command and sent him into exile at Cotyaeum, where he had his estate. Later, after an attempted escape to Syria, he was captured, handed over to the courts and found guilty. He had one eye ripped out, one hand amputated and he spent the rest of his life growing old, an exile in Mesembria (see **Skylitzes**, 156-157; **Skylitzes** tr. **Wortley**, 87-88).

3. Μιχαήλ Στυπειότης – senator and patikios, dispatched in September 924 along with John the myistikos and Patriarch Nicholas to Symeon I to conduct negotiations (**Skylitzes**, 219. 17-18, see below).

4. Δημήτριος Στυπειότης – in 1094, in service at the sekreton of the megas logothetes (see **Nicole**, *J. Une ordonnance inedite de l'empereur Alexis Comnene I sur les privileges du χαρτοφύλαξ*. - *BZ*, 3, 1894, S. 20.5).

5. Μιχαήλ Στυπειότης – a military commander of Alexios I, who fought against the Turks in 1116 (*Alexiade*, III, 192.5, 21; 199.16; 200.1; **Skoulatos**, *Personnages*, no. 136).

6. Λέων Στυπειότης or Στυπής - a Constantinopolitan patriarch in 1134-1143 (**Grumel**, *Regestes*, III, 85-87; **Wirth**, *P. Leon Styppe oder Styppeiotēs*. - *BF*, 3, 1968 (1971), S. 254).

7. Μιχαηλίτζης Στυπειότης – mentioned in the typikon of the Pantokrator as the closest servant of Emperor John II Komnenos (1118-1143) (see **Димитриевский**, *Τύπικα*, 663.11-2; **Gautier**, *Obituaire*, p. 240.57-58).

8. Θεόδωρος Στυπειότης, assumed to have been nephew of no. 5. He was a student of Theodore Prodromos and a secretary of Emperor John II in 1140 (see **Papadimitriu**, *S. Ὁ Πρόδρομος τοῦ Μαρκιάνου κώδιξ*, XI 22. - *BBp.*, 10, 1903, c. 161). In 1150s, he was ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου (**Dölger**, *Diplomatik*, S.54; **Guilland**, *Logarist*, p.111; **Darrouzes**,

*Tornikes*, no. 17, 142-143). He was a favorite of Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180), but ca. 1160 he fell into disgrace and was blinded (**Darrouzes**, *Tornikes*, p. 142; *Markianos* 524, 32-33, no. 65, 24-25).

9. Λέων, the son of Νικόλαος Στυπής, who in 1145 applied for an office at the patriarchal chancellery (**Grumel**, *Regestes*, III, no. 339).

It is difficult to say with certainty whether all these IXth-XIIth-century individuals belonged to one family or originated from the town of Στιπεῖον.

Known from seals are the following individuals bearing the patronym Στυπειότης:

1. Θεόδωρος Στυπειότης πρωτοσπαθάριος, dated to the XIth c., according to an unpublished bulla in the Shaw collection 374 (no.1286)

2 Θεόδωρος Στυπειότης, a private person from the XIIth c. (see **Schlumberger**, *Inedite*, no. 252; unpublished in DO. 58.106. 3920 and Fogg A. M., no. 23).

3. Θεόδοτος Στυπειότης σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος (XI c., see here no. 678-679)

4. Ἰωάννης Στύπης a private person from the late XIth c. (**Konstantopoulos**, no 689a; **Stavrakos**, no. 247; Unpublished in Fogg A. M., no. 32 and DO. 55. 1. 3334).

5. Λέων Στυπειότης πρόεδρος Μύρων (XII c.), according to an unpublished lead seal from DO. 58. 106. 4910.

*Obv.* Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand).

*Rev.* + | ΟΤΩΝΜV | .ΕΩΝΠΡΟΕ | ..ΟCΦVΛΑΤ | ΤΕΛΕΟΝΤΑΝ | ΤΟΝϣVΠϣ |  
ΩΤΗΝ

6. Μιχαήλ Στυπειότης ἀνθύπατος, πατρίκιος καὶ β' πρωτοσπαθάριος from the XIth c. (**Konstantopoulos**, no. 458; **Stavrakos**, no. 246)

7. Μιχαήλ Στυπειότης β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγός from 1020s (see here no.681).

8. Μιχαήλ Στυπειότης μάγιστρος καὶ βεστάρχης (1060s-1070s, see here no. 680).

9. Μιχαήλ Στυπειότης πρωτονωβελίσσιμος :

a) according to his unpublished bulla dated to the late XIth c. in the Thuery collection, no. 161:

*Obv.* Bust of St. Theodore holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription:

Θ-.Ε-Ο || Δ-Ω-ΡΟ-С

*Rev.* + MIX | ΑΗΛΑ'ΤΟ | ΝΟΕΛΙC | ΙΜΟΤ8Π | .ΙΟΤΗ

b) according to an unpublished seal from Fogg, A. M., no. 2629a, struck over an earlier one of George Monomachos?

Visible from the understrike is the following:

*Obv.* Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription in

two columns: Θ-ΓΕ-Ω || Ρ-Ι-..

*Rev.* + .... | ΕΙ...Α | ΤΙ...Τ' | ΤΩΑΜΑ | ΧΑΤΩ

+ [Γεωργί]ο [στρ]ατιγ(ῶ) Ἀδα]τ(ᾱ) τῶ (Μονο)μαχάτω

Overstrike:

*Obv.* .ΙΠΙ | .Τ8ΜΙ | ΧΑΗΛ

*Rev.* Α'Ν8 | ..ΛΙCСΙ | ΜΟV

[Στ]ιπι[ῶ]του Μιχαήλ (πρωτο)νου[βε]λίσσιμου

10. Νικηφόρος Στυπειότης πατρίκιος (1050s-1060s, according to an unpublished bulla in DO. 58.106. 1315)

11. Νικόλαος Στύπης, a private person from the first half of the XIIth c. (*Seyrig*, no. 318 and unpublished from DO. 55. 1. 3933).

12. Ῥωμανός Στυπειότης:

a. πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ δοῦξ τοῦ στόλου from the last quarter of the XIth c. (**Laurent, Corpus**, II, no. 970);

b. a private person and of the XI c., according to an unpublished lead seal from DO. 58. 106. 380.

*Obv.* St. Nicholas standing, blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand).

*Rev.* | ϞVIIHN | .ΩΜΑΝΟ. | Τ'ΘΥΟΥΤ. | ΚΕΠΕ

Some of them could be identified with the above representatives of the family Stypeiotes, but in the most part they are not known from other sources.

Whether there is a direct link between them and Theodore Stypeiotes is an open question. The receipt in the Strategia of Preslav of at least two correspondences of representatives of the Stypeiotes family (Michael no. 7 and Theodotos) attests to the presence here of a third member of this family, their relative or a close friend from another family.

It is also an interesting coincidence that Theodotos Stypeiotes was a strategos of Strumitza, across which was the fortress Στιπεῖον, with which the origin of this family has been related (**Skylitzes**, 351.5; 358.88; **Guilland**, Domestique, p. 25, n.6).

#### 680. Μιχαήλ Στυπειώτης μάγιστρος καὶ βεστάρχης (third quarter, XI c.)

Private collection (S. Bilik, Sofia). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 16-17(15)2 mm. W. 4.37 g. Good imprint and a bulla in a good state of preservation. The letters are very well engraved and printed.

*Ed.* **Билик**, Фамилни имена, № 13.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Indistinct bust of a military saint.

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

+ ΚΕΡ' Θ' | ΜΙΧΑΗΛ | ΜΑΓΙΣΤΡ' | ΡΕΣΤΑΡΧ' | ΤΩΣΤΟΝ | ΠΙΩΤ  
+ Κ(ύρι)ε βο(ή)θ(ει) Μιχαήλ μαγίστρ(ω) βεστάρχ(η) τῷ Στουπ(ε)ιώτ(η)

A person bearing these names is attested both in the narrative sources and by seals:

1. Μιχαήλ Στυπειώτης πατρίκιος: "In the month of September, second year of the indiction [ 923 or 924], the Bulgar chieftain [Symeon] campaigned against Constantinople with his entire army....He pitched his camp close to Blachernae, he demanded that Nicholas the Patriarch and some members of the synkletos should be sent to conduct the peace negotiations. First went the Patriarch followed by patrikios Michael Stypeiotes [Μιχαήλ πατρίκιος ὁ Στυπειώτης (see **Skylitzes**, 218-219. 9-18).

2. In 1116, the military operations against the Turks in Bithynia and Amorion were entrusted to one of the noblemen, Μιχαήλ Στυπειώτης (see *Alexiade*, III, 192.5,21; 199.16; 200.1).

3. ὁ Μιχαηλίτζης and ὁ Στυπειώτης were entered respectively under no. 32 and no. 33 in the list of the close associates of Emperor John II Komnenos in the typikon of Pantokrator. It is assumed that these were the names of one and the same person, the aforementioned Michael Stypeiotes, who died ca. 1136 (see **Gautier**, Obituaire, 240.32-33, 257; *BMFD*, p. 743).

Presented above are the seals bearing the name of Michael Stypeiotes.

The dating of the seal presented by us is generally in the third quarter of the XIth c. To the same owner perhaps belonged the seal of the protonobelissimos Michael Stypeiotes preserved in the Thiery collection; thus it is quite possible to be identified with the military commander reported by Anna Komnene. It is however possible that they are different individuals bearing

the same names who lived in the Xth-XIth c. (see the inquiry to the seals of Theodotos Stypeiotes, no. 678-679A) When reporting about Michael Stypeiotes, Anna Komnene herself calls our attention that he should not mistaken him with the half-barbarian Στυπειώτης, a slave bought by Michael Stypeiotes and presented as a gift to the emperor (see *Alexiade*, III, 192.5).

The writing of his both titles together raises the question whether there may be a combination of the titles μάγιστρος - βεστάρχης.

#### 681. Μιχαήλ Στυπειώτης β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγός (X-XI c.)

Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 17647. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 21-23 (21) 2.5 mm. W. 5.4 g. Low-quality imprint. Broken along the channel (*Obv.*), which has destroyed the depiction of St. Nicholas.

*Ed.* **Йорданов**, Преслав, № 363.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand). On either side vertical inscription: .....|| -Λ-Α-Ο' : [ 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Νικό]λαο(ς). Remains of a circular inscription: ...ΙΚΟ..... Δ8....

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

ooo |+ .IXA | ΛΡ'Α'СΠ | ΑΘ'ССТР. | .ΙΓ'Τ8.. | VIIЄ.. | ooo  
[+ 'Αγ(ιε) Ν]ικό[λαε βο(ή)θει τῷ σῷ] δού[λῳ Μ]ιχαήλ β'(πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίῳ)  
(καὶ) στρ[ατ]ηγ(ῷ) τοῦ [Στ]υπε[ιώτ(η)]

The seal belonged to a certain Μιχαήλ Στυπειώτης β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγός and is generally dated to the Xth-XIth c. The seal of Μιχαήλ Στυπειώτης ἀνθύπατος, πατρίκιος καὶ β' πρωτοσπαθάριος in the collection of the Athens Numismatic Museum perhaps belonged to the same person (see **Konstantopoulos**, no. 458; **Stavrakos**, no. 246). Besides the identical names, the iconographic subject and the continuity in the titulature are also the same.

#### 682. Σφενδοβόλος πατρίκιος (1050s-1060s)

Historical Museum Stara Zagora, no. 10 C3-2. Find-spot: in the town. D. 23-23(over 24) 3 mm. Incomplete imprint. Some of the letters were subsequently worn out or unsuccessfully printed. All that renders the overall reading difficult.

*Ed.* **Йорданов**, Берое, № 12.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of a military saint, holding a spear (r. hand) and a round shield (l. hand). The inscription containing the name of the saint did not print due to off-centering in the upper half.

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

..... | .ΩСΩΔ | СФЕНΔΟ | РОΛΩΠРІ | - ΚΙΩ -  
[+ Κ(ύρι)ε βο(ή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δ(ούλῳ) Σφενδοβόλῳ π(ατ)ρι(κί)ῳ

Clearly, the name of the owner of the seal is non-Greek. Its first component σφενδος

meaning 'sacred' points to a Slavic origin. It is close to Σφενδοσθλάβας

= Svetoslav, Sphendopolk = Svetopolk, etc. – names of Russian princes and chieftains attested in Byzantine chronicles. It is known however that the origin of the latter is often connected with the variags.

The dating of the seal is after the mid-XIth c., when a lot of variags and Russians went to Byzantium as mercenaries included mainly in the guards. In addition to the proposed assumption, the owner of the seal could also be a primikrios - ΠΡΙΜΙΚΙΩ = πρι(μικηρ)ίω, a position in the palace guards or a title. If we accept that the position is a primikrios as well as an effective one, and take into consideration the non-Byzantine origin of the owner, we should draw on Kekaumenos' information regarding his advice about the way foreign mercenaries should be rewarded, pleading that they should not be granted the position πριμικήριος (see **Κεκαυμεν**, 278.10-15).

### 683. Εἰρήνη Συναδηνή σεβαστή (first quarter, XII c.)

Historical Museum, Pernik no. 359. Found in the course of excavations in the medieval fortress near the town, 28.05.1970, sq. V/163, depth. 060-0.80 m., D. 23-25 (22). Very good imprint and a bulla in an excellent state of preservation.

Ed. **Юрукова**, Перник, II, 126-128; **Йорданов**, Севасти, № 14.

Parallels: Two specimens struck in the same boulloterion are preserved in the collections of the Hermitage (M-456, **Шандровская**, Синадинов, 180-181, рис. 2.6) and Fogg A.M. no 17 (unpublished).

Obv. The Virgin Hodegethria, standing, turned three quarters left and holding Christ on her r. arm. Sigla: ΜΡ || ΘΥ : Μ(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+| CΦΡΑΓΙC | CΕΡΑϣHC | CVNΑΔΗNH | ΕΙΡΗNHС

+ Σφραγίς σεβαστῆς Συναδηνῆς(ς) Εἰρήνης

The publisher of the Pernik specimen has accepted that the owner of the seal is the wife of the sebastos Manuel Botaneiates known solely from an epitaph. The information on him though scanty reports that Eirene outlived her husband leaving no children and took the veil under the religious name Maria (see **Lampros**, S. Εἰς τάφον Εἰρήνης τῆς Συναδηνῆς, NE, 8, 1911, 75.7-9).

In the prosopographical study on the family Synadenoī this identification is doubted, since the seal bears her father's name Synadene instead of that of her husband Botaneiates (**Hannick-Schmalzbauer**, Synadenoī, no. 20). This is the reason for the authors of this study to assume that the owner of the Pernik seal is the wife of a sebasos from the Synadenoī known solely from seals and represented without a homonym (on him, see **Laurent**, *Bulles metriques*, no 700).

Youroukova's arguments for the retaining by illusrous representatives of noble families of their father's name are justified. The identical iconographic subject of both groups of seals, that of Manuel Botaneiates' and of Irene Synadene's, unearthed together besides, is also significant. The more so as the depiction on the seals under discussion is quite rare: the Virgin Hodegetria Dexiokratussa "turned" (see **Shandrovskaja**'s commentary, Синадинов, c. 180).

The medium in which the Pernik seal was found along with bullae of other members of the family Botaneiatai: Nikephoros and Manuel also points to an identification of Irene

Synadene with the wife of the sebastos Manuel Botaneiates. At the end of this research, the proposition is made that one of the estates of this family was located in Pernik; thus Irene's and Manuel's letters could have been sent to another representative of the Botaneiatai located there or to their representative in the estate.

### 684. Θεόδουλος Συναδηνός (XI-XII c.)

Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia, no. 193. Find-spot: Pomorie. Passed on at the Archaeological Institute and Museum by Kiril Dimitrov. Before that I obtained a plaster cast of the same through I. Karaiotov. D. 22-23 (19?) 3 mm. Well-centered but nevertheless incomplete imprint. The bulla is in a good state of preservation.

Ed. **Йорданов**, Анхиало, № 15.

Parallels: **Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, p. 50, no 49, without deciphering the subject and reading the homonym; **Шандровская**, Синадинов, c. 178, published two specimens (M-6299 and M-6283). The first one is illustrated and comes from the same boulloterion as ours. The second one is perhaps from the former Schlumberger's collection.

Obv. Instrument of torture of Christ. In center, the martyr's cross, at r. the spear and at l. the sponge. In the quarters: IC || XC - NI || KA : 'Ι(σοῦ)ς Χ(ριστὸς) νικᾷ.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+| ΘΕΟΔΟΥ | Λ8ϣPCCV | NΑΔΗN. | ΦVΛΑΞ

+ Θεοδούλου στ(αυ)ρ(ὸς) Συναδηνοῦ φύλαξ

The owner of the seal affixed on correspondence to Anchialos is Θεόδουλος Συναδηνός, represented as a private person. Its dating, according to the paleography of some letters (C+T=ϣ) and the rare iconographic subject, is in the late XIth and the early XIIth c. at the earliest.

A person bearing these names is mentioned in Skylitzes Continuatus:

1080 "The emperor married to the Hungarian king his niece, who was daughter of Theodulos Synadenos but who returned to Constantinople, when her husband died" (**Skylitzes**, *Continuatus*, 185. 23-26).

Two groups of seals are also known bearing the names of Θεόδουλος Συναδηνός in his capacity as βεστάρχης from 1070s (according to an unpublished seal in the Zacos collection, III, no. 1578) and as νωβελίσσιμος from 1080s-1090s (**Шандровская**, Синадинов, c. 178, зам.20).

The common element in the three groups of seals, besides the names, is also the chronological continuity between them. He should have been granted his title (provided, of course, that he is identical with the one reported in Skylitzes) by son in-law. Emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1078-1081). At that time it was still a title intended for members of the imperial family. In the last group of seals, the one under discussion here, he should have retired from political life and with regard to the change of dynasty and presumably by this reason he did not have any title written out on his seal.

Who in Anchialos did Θεόδουλος Συναδηνός write to? It is impossible to answer this reasonable question with any certainty, but certain assumptions could be made. At that time the archbishop of Anchialos was Nikephoros, nephew of the patriarch of Anchialos (on him, see **Jordanov**, G. *Names*, no. 2.2.A), and the passage in Skylitzes Continuatus cited above says "And since the patriarch of Antiochos also died, the emperor appointed in his place a certain Nikephoros with the sobriquet Mauros, i.e. uncle of the archbishop of Anchialos."

**685. Ἰωάννης Συναδηνός** (second half, XI c.)

Private collection (S. Bilik from Sofia, formerly with Al. Vazov). Find-spot: Ahtopol area as well as perhaps Pomorie. D. 24-26 (20) 2.5 mm. W. 9.27 g. Well-preserved and well-printed specimen.

*Ed.* Билик, Фамилни имена, № 7; Йорданов, Койчев, Мутафов, Ахтопол, № 10.  
*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of St. Theodore holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription:  
Θ-Θ-Ε-Ο || Δ-Ω-.: 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Θεόδω[ρ(ος)].

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ' | ΛΩΙΩΤΩCΥ | Ν.ΔΗ | Ν  
+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δ(ού)λῳ Ἰω(άννῃ) τῷ Συν[α]δην(ῳ)

An unpublished bulla perhaps of the same John Synadenos is preserved in the Zacos collection, III, no. 1728.

*Obv.* Two bishops (St. Basil and St. Nicholas) standing to front.

*Rev.* + |ΚΕΡΟΗ|ΙΩΟCΙ|ΝΑΔΙΝ

For more information on the person of John Synadenos, see no. 686, where he is represented in his capacity as kouropalates and doux.

**686. Ἰωάννης Συναδηνός κουροπαλάτης καὶ δοῦξ** (late XI c.)

Historical Museum, Kazanluk. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 23-24(over 24) 3 mm. Incomplete imprint in a poor state of preservation. Perforated in the upper end. All this renders the reading difficult. The text is restored largely following other specimens of the same individual with the same positions preserved in collections abroad.

*Ed.* Йорданов, Берое, III.4.  
*No exact parallels.*

*Obv.* The Virgin seated on a throne holding a medallion of Christ before her.

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines :

+ ΙΩΑΝ.. | Κ8ΡΟΠΑ.. | ΣΔΟΥΞΟ | ..ΝΑΙΔΙ.  
+ Ἰωάν[νης] κουροπα[λάτ(ης)] (καὶ) δοῦξ ὁ [Συ]ναδι[ν(ός)]

Known are also other groups of seals bearing the name of John Synadenos:

1) in his capacity as proedros (according to an unpublished specimen in the Shaw collection, no. 1292).

*Obv.* St. John Theologian standing.

*Rev.* ΤΟΝCΥΝ | ΔΗΝ8ΠΡΟ | ΔΡ8ΙΩ. | ΝΝΟ.

2) in his capacity as protoproedros and doux (according to an unpublished specimen in the Shaw collection, no. 1293).

*Obv.* The Virgin seated on throne as above.

*Rev.* ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΩΠΡΩΤΟ. | ΡΟΕΔΡΩ | Δ8ΚΙΤΩ | CΥΝΔΗΝ

3) in his capacity as kouropalates (according to an unpublished specimen in the Shaw collection, no. 1293).

*Obv.* The Virgin turned three quarters on l., holding Christ on r. arm.

*Rev.* ΤΟΝCΥ|ΝΑΔΙΝΟΝ|ΩΠΑΝΑΓΝΕ|Ρ'Θ'Κ8ΡΟΠΑ|ΛΑΤΙΝ ΙΩ|CΟΝΑ.Τ

4) in his capacity as kouropalates and doux, besides our seal, also according to

- an unpublished specimen in Zacos, III, no 1588/1.

*Obv.* The Virgin, as above, seated on a high-backed throne.

*Rev.* - ο - | ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΙΩΚΟΝΡΟ | ΠΑΛΑΤΗ | ΣΔ8ΚΙΤΩ | CΥΝΑΔΗΝ|

- an unpublished specimen presumably from the same boulloterion in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection DO. 55. 1. 3341.

*Obv.* the Virgin, as above.

*Rev.* | ....' | ..ΚΟΥΡ. | ..ΑΛΤΗ | Δ8ΚΙΤΩ | CΥΝΔΗΝ|

5) as a private person (see no. 685 above).

Thus, there are already five available groups of seals bearing the names of John Synadenos. We cannot be sure whether they all belong to one person. The doubt stems from the difference in iconographic subjects between the first and last groups and our bulla. But it is not of the kind that should exclude them from the inquiry. We can assume with greater certitude however that the seals from the second to the forth groups inclusive belong to one person. In addition to the identical names and iconographic subject, there is also continuity of the titles and positions of John Synadenos.

All those seals are generally dated to the last quarter of the XIth c. There is a representative of the family Synadenos known from this period. He is the kouropalates John Synadenos who assisted at a session of the Blachernae synod in 1094 (see **Gautier**, Blachernes, no. 23).

The seals documented above along with the information from the Blachernae synod outline the following cursus honorum of John Synadenos:

- a) proedros (1070s-1080s)
- b) protoproedros and doux (1080s)
- c) kouropalates and doux (before 1094)
- d) kouropalates (1094)

These seals reflect the high position which John Synadenos occupied in the rank hierarchy of the Empire and his office of a military commander during the first third of the reign of Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118).

**687. Νικόλαος Σινέσιος πρωτοπρόεδρος** (third quarter, XI c.)

National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 28687 (from the former collection of Angel Borisov Kotsev). Find-spot: uncertain, generally southern Bulgaria. D. 15-17 mm. Incomplete imprint. The last line (*Rev.*) is unclear, rendering the reading of the patronym uncertain.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand). Vertical inscription:

Θ-N-I || Κ-o-ΛΑ' : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Νικόλα(ος).

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

+ ΚΕ.. | ΝΙΚΟΛ. | Α'ΑΕΔΡ. | ΤΩCΥΝΕ | -CΗ-  
+ Κ(ύρι)ε [β(οή)θ(ει)] Νικολ[ά(ω)] (πρωτο)(προ)έδρ[ω] τῷ Συνεσ[ή(ω)]

Nicholas Synesios, the owner of the seal affixed to a correspondence to an unknown addressee in the region of southeastern Bulgaria, is unknown from the narrative sources.

Two unpublished bullae of the same Nicholas Synesios, but in his capacity as



πρωτονοβελίσσιμος are preserved in the collections of the Hermitage (M-9927) and Dumbarton Oaks (DO. 55. 1. 3307). A third specimen struck in the same boulloterion was found in the Ras fortress (see **Maksimovic, L.** Olovni pecati vizantijskog Porekla.- Popovic, Marko. *The fortress of Ras/Tvrđava Ras*, Beograd, 1999, 437-438).

*Obv.* Bust of St. Nicholas, as above.

*Rev.* ROHΘEIT.[CΩΔOYΛΩ | NIKOΛAΩ|A'NOREAI| CIMOTΩ| CINECI | Ω

The dating of this seal is to the late XIth or the early XIIth c. undoubtedly reflecting a later stage in the career of Nicholas Synesios.

The Alexiad mentions several times one of the close associates of the emperor, Synesios. We have no direct indications that it is the patronym, but as practice shows, Anna Komnene usually uses patronyms. That gives us reasons to consider the events and places, where the name of this Synesios is mentioned:

When in 1087 the Pechenegs crossed the mountains and built their camp between Goloe, Diampoleos (Iambol) and Marcela, Emperor Alexios I sent Synesios armed with a chrysobull to the Scythians to treat with them into an alliance against the Cumans... "The mentioned Synesios went to the Scythians...and persuaded them to enter into an alliance with the emperor" (*Alexiade*, II, 106).

"Monastras, Uzas and Synesios, who were brave followers of Ares also arrived at Rusion" (*Alexiade*, II, 120.14-16) were mentioned among the military commanders of the emperor, who did not take the field in this unrealized battle between the two armies (of the Peshenegs and the Byzantines) at Rusion in 1090.

After the rout of the Pechenegs at Levunium on April 29, 1091, which occurred with the help of the Cumans, at dinner time, when the lamps were lighted, the man called Synesios appeared before the emperor and suggested that all the Pechenegs prisoners should be killed. The emperor refused, but at night the slaughter was done and the emperor ordered that Synesios was arrested and thrown into chains. But the emperor's relatives intervened with a plea for mercy and he was pardoned (*Alexiade*, II, 144).

This information leaves us with the impression that Synesios was a military commander and a good diplomat, well aquatinted with the way of life and manners of the nomads. It could be assumed that he was a nomad by origin, who had switched over to service to the Empire, or at least a descendant of such.

A seal of another representative of the family Synesios from the XIth c., George Synesios β'πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Λικανδοῦ, is preserved in the collection of the Hermitage (M-6677).

*Obv.* Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and shield (l. hand).

*Rev.* + ΓΕΩΡΓ'Α'CΠAΘ'.|CTPAT'Λ|KANΔ'OC|.NECIC

It may well be that some of the members of the family Synesios were connected with the described events and person.

#### 688-695. Κωνσταντῖνος Συρόπουλος σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος καὶ κομμερκιάριος Δεβελτοῦ (X<sup>th</sup>-XI<sup>th</sup> centuries)

- a. Private collection (a plaster cast from the collection of Prof. T. Gerassimov). On the reverse it is noted that the original was owned by Dr. V. Haralanov from Shoumen. Now in Archaeological Museum Sofia, no. 154. Probable find-spot: Silistra (from where most seals in the collection of Dr. Haralanov come). D. 17-20 mm; field over 20 mm; thickness ? mm. Incomplete imprint. Blank too small for die.

*Ed.* Йорданов, Девелт, VI.12.1; *Jordanov, G. Names*, no.22.8a.

- b. Historical Museum, Shoumen, no. 12389. Offered for purchase by Al. Boev from Silistra. D. 19-20 mm;

field over 20 mm; thickness 3 mm. It may be assumed that this specimen is the same as the former one but it is just quite similar to it. Incomplete imprint. Many letters are out of the blank.

*Ed.* Йорданов, Девелт, VI.12..2; *Jordanov, G. Names*, no.22.8b.

- c. Historical Museum, Pomorie. Found in the city area. Offered for documentation by the curator of the museum on 14<sup>th</sup> June 1989 during my stay in the city of Burgas. D. 22-23 mm; field (?); thickness 3 mm. Weakly imprinted. Struck off-centre. Many letters are out of the blank.

*Ed.* Йорданов, Девелт, VI.12..3; *Jordanov, G. Names*, no.22.8c.

- d. Private collection (Ivan Yotov from Iambol). Find-spot: probably somewhere in the region. Most of the seals of this collection are from the stronghold near the village of Melnitsa, district of Elhovo or from the village of Zlati Voyvoda, district of Sliven. D. 20-21 mm. Incomplete imprint.

*Ed.* *Jordanov, G. Names*, no.22.8d.

- e. Private collection (Vurban Vurbanov from Elhovo). Delivered to the National Historical Museum in Sofia by the police. Most of the seals of this collection are from the stronghold near the village of Melnitsa, district of Elhovo. D. 21-22 mm. Incomplete imprint.

*Ed.* *Jordanov, G. Names*, no.22.8e.

- f. Private collection (N. Nikolov from Razgrad). Before being sold it was given to us. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 19-18.5 mm; field (?); thickness 3 mm. The imprint is incomplete like the latter specimens. Some of the letters are out of the blank.

*Ed.* *Jordanov, G. Names*, no.22.8f.

- g. Private collection (Nikolov from Razgrad, now in the collection of Regional Historical Museum in Shoumen). Find-spot: uncertain. D.18-20 mm. Incomplete imprint like the specimens mentioned above.

*Ed.* *Jordanov, G. Names*, no.22.8g.

- h. Private collection (V. Pantelev from Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 20-21 mm. W. 6.60 g. Incomplete imprint like the specimens mentioned above.

*Ed.* *Jordanov, G. Names*, no.22.8h.

The eight specimens are struck by the same die. They are preserved to a different extent and the quality of their imprints is poor.

*Parallels* : Шандровская, Девелта, с.150, M-6141 Imprinted by another boulloterion.

*Obv.* Inscription of four lines:

+ KON | CTANT | ΠAΘAP | KANΔA'

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

SKOME .| KHAPΓ'ΔE | .EΛT'OCV | ..Π8A'

+ Κονσταντ(ῖνος) σπαθαρο(ο)κανδ(ι)δ(ᾶτος) (καὶ) κομε[ρ]κηάρι(ος)

Δε[β]ελτ(οῦ) ὁ Συ[ρό]πουλ(ος)

The presence of the seals of kommerkiaria of Debeltos in Dristra during XI<sup>th</sup> century (as in the aforementioned cases) looks quite natural. At this time Dristra was a residence of the katepanate of Paristrion and boundary city of the Empire, and it facilitated the imperial contacts with the countries north of the Danube. It is noteworthy however that there were seals of this kommerkiaria along the former Bulgarian-Byzantine frontier line.

The wide distribution of the seals of Constantine Syropulos proves the activity of the kommerkiaria during that period.

#### 696. Ρογέρης ὁ τοῦ Τακουπέρτου (end of the XI c.)

Private collection (Veselin Stankov from Batak, who sent me a plaster cast). Find-spot: Parvomai area. D. 15-15.5 (14) mm. Well-centered and well-preserved imprint, despite the small blank.

*Ed.* Йорданов, Западни, № 5, 191-192.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of St. Peter with short beard, facing; wears chiton and himation; r. hand before

chest in benediction; in l., long cross. Remains of the inscription: ....|| .ΤΡΟC : [῾Ο ἄ(γιοC) Πέ]τροC.

Rev. Inscription in five lines.

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8 | ΛΩΡΟΓΕΡ | .ΩΤΑΚΟ | ΠΕΡΤΩ

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Ρογέρ(η) [τ]ῷ Τακοπέρτῳ

The seal dates generally to the second half of the XIth c. or its end.

The Alexiad of Anna Komnene mentions a person by a similar name - 'Ρογέρης ὁ τοῦ Τακουπέρτου.

According to the prosopographical analysis of V. Skoulatos, His name is associated with the following events (see **Skoulatos**, *Personnages*, no. 180):

He was a Norman by origin and took part in the campaign of Robert Guiscard for invading Italy. A little before the Normans invaded Illyria in 1081, he deserted to the Romans and gave details of the preparations for the war against them (see *Alexiade*, I, p. 55.14-19; **Любарский**, *Алексида*, с. 86, пр. 166).

In 1108, he accompanied Emperor Alexios I Komnenos during his campaign against Bohemond, and together with other noblemen (the sebastos Marinos from Naples, Peter of Aliphas, etc.), who had sided with the Empire, advised the emperor on the question of stirring up discord between the Normans and breaking their harmony (*Alexiade*, III, p. 101.8-27).

In the course of negotiations, a meeting was arranged between Alexios I and Bohemond. The latter demanded that noble hostages were given to him and sent as such were Marinos, Roger, Constantine Euphrobenos and a certain Adralestos, who understood the Norman (Keltic) language (*Alexiade*, III, p. 117.15-25).

In the same year 1108 (in the month of September of the second indiction, in the year 6617), Bohemond swore allegiance to the emperor and signed a treaty. On the side of Emperor Alexios I the treaty was signed by Roger, the son of Dagobert <Takoupertus>, in the second place. This is the first time, when Anna Komnene mentions his both names.

The name of Roger is no more mentioned in the Alexiad.

Known however is his epitaph written by Nicholas Kallikes at the time of his death. According to it, Roger participated in the military campaigns of Alexios I against Pechenegs and Turks and for his merits was honoured with the title sebastos. He married into a noble Byzantine family and had children (**Kallikes**, 315-393).

According to Albert d'Aix, in 1096, Roger, the son of Dagobert, was sent as an envoy to the court of duke Godfrey de Bouillon (**Albert d'Aix**, *RHC.*, *Носс*, VI, p. 305, 14-16 <Rotgerium fillum Dagoberti >).

All sources speak enthusiastically about Roger' courage and noble-mindedness.

According to some investigators, Roger was the founder of the family Rogerios in Byzantium, which had distinguished representatives in the palace. One of them, John Roger, married the emperor's sister and was conferred the title caesar.

The question we are facing is whether the owner of the present seal could possibly be identified with Roger, the son of Dagobert. The period he lived in and participated in the described events as well as the dating of the seal do not exclude the possibility of his being one and the same person. In this case, a reasonable question will be: why isn't there any title inscribed on his seal, while according to Kallikes, he was sebastos? Anna Komnene does not mention any such title, while about Marinos from Naples she specifically points out that he was a sebastos. But Anna Komnene likewise does not report the titles of many other participants in the events. Probably as soon as he deserted to the Romans, Roger the son of

Dagobert was conferred a title that must have been promised to him as early as the talks over his desertion.

This is perhaps another case of a private seal of a high-ranking Byzantine dignitary.

### 697. Γεώργιος Τανούτερης (XI c.)

Private collection (Georgi Dimitrov from Shumen). It was offered for purchase at the Historical Museum, Shumen, where I documented it. D. 20-20 (17) 2.5 mm. Cracked along the channel (*Obv.*). The *Rev.* with the text is partially printed rendering the overall reading difficult.

*Unpublished.*

No parallels known.

*Obv.* Bust of a military saint with short curly hair, holding a spear on shoulder.

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

. ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΓΕΩΡΓ' | .ΩΤΑΝΟ | .ΕΡΗ

[+ ]Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Γεωργ(ίῳ) [τ]ῷ Τανο(υ)[τ]έρη

### 698. Στέφανος Τανούτερης (XI c.)

Private collection (V. Panteleev from Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 22-24 mm. W. 6.88 g. Well-centered imprint, but not distinct enough. The letters are very characteristic, differing from the standard ones.

*Unpublished.*

*Parallels:* Another specimen from the same boulloterion is preserved in the Zacos collection, III, no. 1546.

*Obv.* Bust of St. John the Baptist holding (l. hand) a long cross. Vertical inscription visible:

Θ-ΙΩ || ο-Π-.: ῾Ο ἄ(γιοC) Ἰω(άννης) ὁ Πρ(ό)[δ(ρομοC)].

*Rev.* Inscription in five lines:

+ ΚΕΒΩ | ΗΘΗCΤΕ | ΦΑΝΩΤ | ΩΤΑΝΟ | VΤΕΡ

+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθη Στεφάνῳ τῷ Τανουτέρ

I am not familiar of such a family. It is obviously not Greek. Perhaps an Armenian or Georgian.

An interesting fact however is that two of its representatives have written to Bulgaria.

### 699. Ἰωάννης Ταρσίτης β' πρωτοσπαθάριος (X-XI c.)

Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 17641. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 22.5-25(20) 2 mm. Well-centered imprint, but some letters did not print, rendering the reading of the patronym problematic.

*Ed.* Йорданов, *Преслав*, № 96.

*Parallels:* Another specimen from the same boulloterion is preserved in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (DO.55.1.3349).

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin holding a medallion of Christ before her chest. No sigla visible.

Remains of circular inscription: + ΘΚ...Δ...

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

+ ΙΩΑ | NNHR'A' | CΠΑΘΑ | Ρ'ΩΤΑΡ | .ΙΤΗ.

+ Θ(εοτό)κ[ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῶ]δ[ούλω] Ἰωάννη β'(πρωτο)σπαθαρίω ὦ  
Ταρ[σ]ίτη[ς]

In the cited publication, two variant readings of the patronym were proposed. Since there is already a better specimen available in the Dumbarton Oaks collection, we accept the reading of the patronym as Ταρ[σ]ίτη[ς] (see **Seibt**, *BZ*, S. 135). Its etymology could be associated with the name of the town of Ταρσός, the birthplace of Apostle Paul (see *TIB*, 5, 428-429).

The Orghidan collection contains a bulla of a certain Θεόδωρος Θαρσίτης as a private person from the XIth c. (see **Laurent**, *Orghidan*, no. 472). Whether these are members of one family or they both originate from the town of Tarsus is an open question.

#### 700. Ἰωάννης Ταρχανειώτης (XIII c.)

Private collection (V. Panteleev from Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. Incomplete imprint in a fairly good state of preservation. Punctured at one side and presumably suspended from the document.

*Unpublished.*

*Parallels:* Other four copies were kept in DO. 58. 106. 4689 and Zacos, III, see **Leonitades**, *Tarchaniotes*, no. 34b.

*Obv.* St. John the Baptist standing holding a long cross (r. hand), his left hand raised above the shoulder in benediction. Vertical inscription: O-.-I-OC || ἸΩ-ο-ΔΜ-OC : Ὁ [ἄγ]ιος Ἰω(άννης) ὁ Πρ(ό)δ(ρο)μος.

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

.|.ΩΝΗΝ | ΚΗΡΥΤΤΩΝΤΩ|.ΡΟΧΩΤΗC...|.ΔΟCΙΩCΚΕΠΗC| ΜΕΤΑΡΧΑΝΙ |  
ΩΤΗΝ:.

[+Φ]ωνήν κηρύττων τῷ [τ]ροχῷ τῆ(ς) [σφραγί]δος Ἰω(άννην) σκέπ(οι)ς με  
Ταρχανιώτην

Several other groups of seals bearing the name of John Tarchaneotes with a similar iconography and text are also known (see **Leonitades**, *Tarchaniotes*, no. 34a,c). The author of the prosopographical study on the family has not attempted to identify the owner of these seals (see **Leonitades**, *Tarchaniotes*, no. 34).

#### 701-703. Κατακαλὼν Ταρχανειώτης (1074-1095)

A.

Private collection (E. Kosev from Shumen). Later in the collection of V. Panteleev from Varna (as far as I know). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 14-15 (?) 3 mm. Incomplete but well-preserved imprint. The blank was much smaller than the dies.

*Unpublished.*

*Parallels:* Another specimen struck in the same boulloterion is preserved in the Fogg A. M. collection no. 1357 (see **Leontiades**, *Tarchaneotes*, no 7d).

*Obv.* Inscription of five lines:

ΚΑΤ. | .ΑΛΩΝ. | .ΡΑΓΙCΜ | .ΩΝΓ.. | ...

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

.ΡΑΧΑ | ..ΩΤ8Ο' | ..ΕΠΟΙC | .....

Κατ[ακ]αλὼν [σφ]ράγισμ(α) [τ]ῶν γ[ραφῶν τόδ(ε)]  
[Τ]ραχα[νι]ώτου ὅ(ν) [σκ]έποις [Θ(εο)ῦ Λόγ(ε)]

B.

Private collection (Al. Peikov from V. Turnovo, subsequently in the collection of V. Panteleev from Varna).

Find-spot: uncertain. D. 15-24 (17) 3 mm. Half of what was once poor imprint. The letters are of various size and blotted out at the striking, which renders the reading of the text difficult. The preserved letters makes it closer to the above, but it is definitely from a different boulloterion or pair of dies.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Inscription of four lines:

- ? - | ....ΚΑΛ' | ....ΓΙCΜ' | ...ΠΑΤΩ | ..ΟΔΕ | - ο -

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

- \* - | ΤΑΡΧΑ... | ΤΟVΟNC.. | ..ΙCΘ.. | .οΓΕ | - \* -  
[Κατα]καλ(ὼν) [σφρά]γισμ(α) [τῶν γ]ραφῶ[ν τ]όδ(ε)  
Ταρχα[νι]ώτου ὅ(ν) σ[κέπο]ις Θ(εο)[ῦ Λ]όγε

C.

Historical Museum, Silistra, no. 26. Find-spot: the town. D. 16-17 (14) 2 mm. Once it was a good, complete imprint, but now parts of it are broken.

*Ed.* **Йорданов**, *Silistra*, II, № 7; **Leonitades**, *Tarchaniotes*, no. 7a.

*No exact parallels known.*

Another specimens with the same text but struck on both sides of the bulla is preserved in the collection of the :Warsaw Museum, see **Szemioth-Wasilwski**, *Varsovie*, II, no. 96; DO. 58. 106. 4264; Fogg A.M., no. 1580 and Zacos, III..

*Obv.* St. Michael standing frontally holding a scepter (r. hand) and a globus (l. hand).

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines :

ΚΑΤΑ | ΚΑΛΩΝ | ΤΑΡΧΑ | ΝΙΩΤ'  
Κατακαλὼν (ὁ) Ταρχαν(ε)ιώτ(ης)

Clearly, the three groups of seals belong to one person, Katakalon Tarchaniotes. Another group of seals bearing his name is also known, on which he is κουροπαλάτης (Shaw 251 no. 1300, see **Mordtmann**, *Peri*, no. 36; **Leonitades**, *Tarchaniotes*, no.7b).

Who was Κατακαλὼν Ταρχανειώτης ?

A person by these names is several times mentioned in the Alexiad. Here in brief are his activities.

Κατακαλὼν Ταρχανειώτης was the son of magistros Joseph Tarchaniotes. In 1074, after his father's death, still very young, he tried to suppress the revolt in Antioch. After Isaakios Komnenos' arrival in the city in his capacity as doux, Katakalon was moved to the position of katepano of Adrianoupolis (in 1077). Nikephoros Bryennios' revolt found him precisely there. Initially he was loyal to the Emperor Michael VII Doukas, but subsequently after the marriage of his daughter to the nephew of Nikephoros Bryennios, he took the latter's side. In the decisive battle at Kalavrye (in April 1078), he commanded the left wing of Bryennios' army composed of three hundred Macedonians and Thracians. Presumably after the suppression of this revolt, he was amnestied by Botaneiates or Alexios I Komnenos, but in 1095 he was again reported among the city's notables. This is in fact the last information

about him (see **Skoulatos**, *Personnages*, no 194).

It is hard to say, as about the other personages of the Alexiad, to which period we should ascribe these basically private seals of Κατακαλὼν Ταρχανειώτης. Presumably after his retirement from active service, i. e. ca. 1095.

**704-705. Μιχαήλ Ταρχανειώτης πατρίκιος, πρωτοανθύπατος καὶ στρατηγός**  
(1080s-1090s)

a. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 2211. According to T. Totev, it was discovered in the course of excavations of the Zabuite "Beneath the monastery" in 1979. D. 21-21.5 (19) 5 mm. Very good imprint and a bulla in a very good state of preservation.

Ed. **Totev**, T. Un sceau inedit de Michel Tarchaniotes.- *Etudes Balkaniques*, 25,4, 1989, 110-112.

b. Historical Museum, Burgas. Found in the course of excavations in the medieval town of Sozopol in 2002. Presented to me for documentation by the research associate Tsonia Drazheva, director of the Regional Historical Museum, Burgas. D. 22-23(20) 3.5 mm. As the above specimen. Well-centered and preserved specimen.

Unpublished.

Parallels: **Ebersolt**, *Constantinople*, no 472; **Шандровская**, Болгарии, 147-148;

Unpublished in DO 58. 106. 5365.

The specimens in DO. 55. 1. 3345; 55. 1. 3346; and Zacos, III, are from a different boulloterion, see **Leontiades**, *Tarchaniotes*, no. 5.

Obv. Bust of St. Demetrios holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription: Θ-Δ-Η || Μ-Ι-ΤΡ': Ο ἄγιος Δημήτριος. Circular inscription along a border of dots: + ΑΓΙΕΔΗΜΙΤΡΙΕΡΟΗΘΕΙΜΟΙ ("Ἄγιε Δημίτριε βοήθει μοι)

Rev. Inscription of seven lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8' | ΜΙΧΑΗΛΠΡΙ | Α'ΑΝΘΝΠΙΑΤ' | SCTPATHΓ' | ΤΩΤΑΡΧΑ | ΝΙΩΤ'

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δού(λῳ) Μιχαήλ π(ατ)ρ(ικίῳ) (πρωτο)ανθυπάτ(ω) (καὶ) στρατηγ(ῶ) τῷ Ταρχανιώτ(η)

In addition to these two groups, a third one attested by five specimens (see **Leontiades**, *Tarchaniotes*, no. 8) is also known in the literature:

Obv. St. Michael standing as above.

Rev. |+ CΦΡΑ|ΓΗCΜΙΧΑ|ΗΛΠΡΙ|Τ8|ΤΑΡΧΑΝΙ|ΩΤ'

Most investigators (**Шандровская**, Болгария, с. 147 and **Seibt**, *Bleisiegel*, no 146) accept that it refers to one and the same person. The group with St. Michael is the earlier.

The dating of our seal proposed by the publishers is 1080s-1090s, against which we cannot make any objections, but nevertheless we should take into consideration the fact that at this period the office of strategos had already developed into katepano and doux.

Michael Tarchaniotes is unknown from the XIth-century narrative sources. Indeed, πρωτοπρόεδρου τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Ταρχανιώτου is reported among the attendants of the Blacheranae synod of 1094 (see **Gautier**, *Blachernes*, no. 30), but we can hardly support the stand that this is the owner of the present seal. For information on the rest of the representatives of the Tarchaniotes family, see **Seibt**, *Bleisiegel*, 279-280; **Leontiades**, *Tarchaniotes*, 41-55.

**706. Ἰωάννης Ταρωνίτης σεβαστός** (XII c.)

National Historical Museum, Bucharest. Find-spot: Silistra-Kalarash. D. 21-23 (over 23) 2 mm. Incomplete imprint. The blank was irregularly shaped and the strike was off-center.

Ed. **Barnea**, Noi sigilii, no 18; **Йорданов**, Севастии, № 19.

Parallels: **Лихачев**, *Богоматери*, табл. VII.17; Unpublished in the collections of: DO. 55. 1. 3342; Shaw no 394 (1309-1310); IFEB, no 9; Zacos, III, no 1596. They are of the same type and presumably from the same boulloterion.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans holding a medallion of Christ before her. Sigla : MP || ΘV: Μ(ήτηρ) Θ(εο)ῦ.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

..... | NAR'Θ'MO. | ΤΩCΩΔ'ΙΩ | CΕΡΑϣ'ΩΤΩ | ΤΑΡΩΝΙ | ..

[+Δέσποι]να β(οή)θ(ει) μο[ι] τῷ σῷ δ(ούλῳ) Ἰω(άννῃ) σεβαστῷ τῷ Ταρωνί(τη)

In addition to this group, further three groups of seals bearing the name of John Taronites are preserved in various collections:

1. Obv. The Virgin as above.

Rev. + | ΔΕCΠΟΙΝΑ | ΡΟΗΘΕΙΜΟΙ | ΤΩCΩΔ8ΑΩ | ΙΩΤΩΤΑΡΩ | ΝΙΤΙ

(represented by six specimens in the following collections: Thierry, no. 155; Reggiani, no. 6; on them, see **Seibt**, Reggiani, 292-295; Unpublished in: Fogg A. M. nos. 477, 665; Shaw no 1423; Zacos, III, no 1396)

2. Obv. The Virgin as above but without a medallion on her breast.

Rev. +ΘΚΕΡ'Θ'|ΤΩCΩΔ'| ΙΩΤΟΤΑ | ΡΟΝΙΤ'

(attested by two specimens: **Konstantopoulos**, no 692b; *Seyrig*, no 320)

3. Obv. ..TA | ..NITHN | .ΚΟΝΡΩΠ | ΑΛΑΘΗΝ | ΙΩ

Rev. +ΚΕΠΙΟ. | CΜΕΜΗ.. | ΡΤΟΝΑ. | ΓΟΝ

Our attempts to identify the owner of the seal affixed to the correspondence to Dristra with some namesake from the narrative sources have been rendered difficult by the existence of at least two representatives of the family Taronites bearing the proper name John and living at the same time :

(1) John Taronites, the son of Michael Taronites and Maria Komnene (sister of Emperor Alexios I, on her, see no. 322). Michael Taronites was a distinguished military commander, and perhaps after becoming related with Alexios Komnenos, he advanced in his career. Initially he was granted the title protovestis and subsequently panhypersebastos. Hence, his probable son should also be a sebastos. The name of this John Taronites is reported regarding the following events:

1092/1093: it is assumed that one of the letters of Theophylaktos of Ohrid has the following address: τῷ Ταρωνειτοπούλῳ τῷ δουκὶ Σκοπίων (**Theophylacte d'Achrida**, *Lettres*, no 18.1);

1094: he took part in the Blachernai synod and is reported fifth among the emperor's relatives: τοῦ σεβαστοῦ κῦρ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ταρωνίτου (**Gautier**, *Blachernes*, p. 217.9);

1095 (first half): the nephew of the Emperor John Taronites along with the caesar Nikephoros Melissenos and George Palaiologos were dispatched to Beroe to defend the town and its surroundings against the Cumans' invasions (*Alexiade*, II, 193.4);

1102 (August): according to a document from the Constantinopolitan patriarchate, he is a sebastos, praitor and anagrapheus of Thrace, Macedonia, Strymon, and Thessalonike (**Dölger**, *Regesten*, no 1217);

1105/1106: Gregory Taronites rebelled in Trebizond. After the failed attempts of Emperor Alexios I to pacify him by letters and messages, he dispatched his cousin John Taronites with an army. He captured him and sent him to Constantinople (*Alexiade*, III, 76.8-25)

(2) John Taronites is unknown.

1094: Ἰωάννου κουροπαλάτου καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων τοῦ Ταρωνίτου also assisted at the session of the Blachernai synod (**Gautier**, *Blachernes*, p.217. 23, no 18);

1107 (November): On his way to Thessalonike, undertaking a military campaign, Emperor Alexios I Komnenos reaching Chcerobacchi appointed John Taronites eparchos of the capital, who, according to Anna Komnene, “was a man of noble birth, had been adopted by the emperor as a child and served him a long time as under-secretary; he was of a very energetic disposition and an expert in Roman law” (*Alexiade*, III, 88.2);

(3) John Taronites sebastos took part in a session of the Synod of 1147 (**Gautier**, *Blachernes*, p.237, n. 57). He was probably mentioned in John Tzetzes’ letter (**Tzetzes**, *Epistule*, p. 124.19).

It is hard to accept that he can be identified with the above two due to chronological hiatuses.

The purpose of the presented information is to help identify from the above listed individuals the possible owner of the bulla once affixed to a correspondence to an unknown addressee in Dristra.

The original publisher of the present bulla did not succeed in deciphering the beginning of the text and did not draw on its published parallels, for which reason he probably identified John Taronites with nos. 2 and 3.

Regarding John Taronites no. 2, there is no information that he was introduced into the rank of the sebastoi, and regarding no. 3, there is a chronological difference. The dating of the bulla should not exceed the XIth c., the beginning of the XIIth c. at the latest.

It is more likely that the owner of the seal affixed to the correspondence to Dristra is John Taronites no. 1, whose career was connected with the Bulgarian lands. It is possible that his correspondence to Dristra was received in 1095, when he was dispatched to Beroe. It was perhaps necessary to coordinate joint operations with the governor of Paristrion. At that time doux of Paristrion was Leo Nikerites, another personage from the Alexiad (on him, see nos. 523-524).

#### 707-708. Θεόδωρος Τατούκας β' πρωτοσπαθάριος (Xth-XIth c.)

a. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 20793. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav.D. 27-28 (24) 2.5 mm.

W. 12.75 g. Superb imprint in an excellent state of preservation.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 94.

b. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 17628. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav.D. 23-27 (24) 2 mm.

W. 5.50 g. Low-quality imprint, overstruck on another bulla with a text partially deciphered.

Ed. **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 95.

No parallels known.

*Obv.* Ten radial rays, a letter at each end and the letter W in center. When joined together, they give the invocation: ΚΕΡ'ΤΩΩΔΔΩ

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

— ∴ — | + ΘΕΟ | ΔΩΡΟΡ'Α' | ΣΠΑΘ'ΤΟΤ' | ΟΥΚΑ | — ∴ —

+ Κ(ύρι)ε βο(ή)θει τῷ σῷ δ(ού)λῳ Θεοδώρῳ β'(πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίῳ) το Τ(ατ)ούκᾱ

The patronym is unknown and obviously not Greek.

According to Constantine Porphyrogenetos, during the reign of Leo VI (886-912), a certain Ταυτούκας of Armenian stock rebelled along with his brothers (see *De themat.*, 31.3;316.4).

Mordtman (*Peri*, p. 74, no. 17) and Schlumberger after him (*Sig.*, p. 707) associated his

person with the owner of a bulla in the collection of MK in Vienna no. 310 (see **Wassilou**, **Seibt**, no. 279).

*Obv.* St. Michael with very big open wings in contrast to the small legs. He holds (l. hand) a globus cruciger.

*Rev.* ΚΕΡΟ'Θ | ΤΑΥΤ8ΚΑ | ΠΡΟΕΔΡΩ | ΣΚΑΤΕΠΑ | ΝΩCΑΜΟ | CΑΤΩ

= Κ(ύρι)ε βο(ή)θ(ει) Ταυτούκᾱ προέδρῳ (καὶ) κατεπάνω Σαμοστάτῳ(ν)

The main objection against this identification is the fact that this bulla should be dated to the second half of the XIth c., while Constantine Porphyrogenetos’ information refers to the period down to the end of the Xth c. (see the objection of **Wassilou**, **Seibt**, p. 269).

The Dumbarton Oaks Collection contains a bulla (see Fogg A. M. no 683) with a bust of St. George on the obv. and the following text on the rev.:

+ ΤΑΤ8 | ..CΤΡΑ | ΤΗΓ'Τ8Π' | ΑΝΔ' = + Τατού[λη] στρατηγῷ τοῦ Π(οδ)ανδ(οῦ)

The publishers of the specimen (*DOS*, 4, no. 54.1) propose the above compilation, but Τατούκᾱ is also possible.

But let us go back to our seal. Besides the reading of the patronym offered hitherto, it could be assumed, applying a modicum of imagination, that it is the minuscule ζ and not the abbreviation sign which follows the T in line 3 on the reverse. In this case the patronym is Τζούκας (this is the proposition in Seibt’s review, *BZ*, S. 135). It is likewise unfamiliar to me neither from narrative sources nor from seals.

#### 709. Θεόδωρος Τεμισης or Στεμισης (XII c.)

Historical Museum, Haskovo, no. 940. Found in the course of excavations in the fortress near the village of Mineralni Bani at a depth of 0.5 m on 31st July 1961. D. 28-29 (22) 3.5 mm. Well-centered and well-executed imprint but some fields from the dies did not print causing problems in the reading.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

*Obv.* St. Theodore standing frontally, holding a long spear (r. hand), l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground. Vertical inscription: Θ-ΘΕ-Ο || ΔΩ-ΡΟ-С : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Θεόδωρος.

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

+ | ΘΕΟ | ΔΩΡΟС | ТЕМ | СН

+ Θεόδωρος (ὁ) Τεμισης or Στεμισης

There are some problems in the reading of this seal. I did not have the opportunity to work with the original. In the photo sent to me by D. Aladzhov, between lines 2 and 3, there is a visible sign resembling ? from the combination Ч, but it is quite possible that it is due to deformation. For this reason I assume two variant readings. No such patronyms are familiar to me.

#### 710. Ἀρσένιος Τζαμπλάκων μοναχὸς (XIV c.)

Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia, no. 183. Find-spot: Silistra? Entered the museum’s collection along with other materials. Bulla in a good state of preservation. Complete imprint, but not distinct enough. D. 35-36 mm. Metrical text composed of two twelve-syllable verses; it is difficult to decipher due to the characteristic XIVth-century paleography of the letters.

Ed. **Йорданов**, **И**. Печат на монаха Арсений Тцамблук, намерен в България- *Трудове на катедрите по*



Obv. The Virgin nimbate, standing on a souppediton, wearing himation and maphorion. Both hands raised in orans. No medallion on her chest. Sigla:  $\overline{\text{MP}}$  ||  $\overline{\text{OV}}$ : M(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ.

Rev. Metrical inscription of seven lines:

+ ENCO. | MONXOCAP | CENIOCTAM | ΠΛΑΚΩNC... | ΓΗΣΚΥΡΟVC. |

ΓΡΑΦΑΣΚΑΠ | ΡΑΚΤΕΑ

+ Ἐν σο[ι] μοναχὸς Ἀρσένιος Τζαμπλάκων σ[φρα]γῆς κυροῦσ[α] γραφὰς καὶ πρακτέα

The existence of such a monument poses the question of the possible owner of this seal and the information we have about him.

The owner of the seal Ἀρσένιος Τζαμπλάκων is a representative of the well-known family Τζαμπλάκων (see Яцимирский, А. И. Григорий Цамблак, Санкт Петербург, 1904; Dujcev, I. BZ, 51, 1958, S. 422; Byzbulgarica, 5, 1978, p. 295 - Τζαμπλάκων (1334); Theocharides, Tzamlakon, 124-183; Oxford B.D. p. 2135; PLP, nos. 27743-27763).

Who was Arsenios Tzamlakon? Scanty information about him can be found in the History of John Kantakouzenos (see Cantakuzenos, libri IV, I-III, Bonnae, 1828-1832) and mostly in documents related with the person of Arsenius Tzamlakon himself (see Theocharides, Tzamlakon, 128-134).

So, when and how did Arsenios Tzamlakon appeared on the historical scene?

It is assumed that the origin of the family Tzamlakones is Genoese (see

Banescu, N. Peut-on identifier le Zamblacus des documents ragusiens? - Melanges Charles Diehl, I, 31-35).

The first known representative of the family Tzamlakon, whose proper name is unknown, occupied the high Byzantine office of domestikos of the Schools. He lived before 1261, during the reign of Emperor John III Doukas Batatzes (1222-1254), and was grandfather of Arsenios Tzamlakon (in his charter Arsenios Tzamlakon talks about his grandfather and father without mentioning their names, see Theocharides, Tzamlakon, 131.12-14).

When comparing different sources, it is accepted that the father of Arsenios Tzamlakon was Ἀλέξιος Τζαμπλάκων. Under Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282-1325), he was μέγας τζαούσιος and governor of Serres and after the enthronement of Andronikos III Palaiologos and particularly in July 1326 he was promoted to μέγας παπίας and granted an estate near Thessalonike. In 1330 he became a monk under the name of Anthony (see Theocharides, Tzamlakon, 161-164). Besides Arsenios, he also had two more sons, Ἀσωματινὸς Τζαμπλάκων, μέγας δοῦξ and Δημήτριος Τζαμπλάκων, μέγας στρατοπεδάρχης, and a daughter, who presumably adopted her husband's name, Τορνίκινα (see Theocharides, Tzamlakon, 169-174).

Arsenios is known solely by his religious name, but his secular one is unknown. There is likewise no information on his prior career (for which reason some authors have assumed that Alexios and Arsenios Tzamlakon are identical).

His name is for the first time mentioned between November 1332 and December 1333, when he brought a charge of conspiracy against the grand droungarios of the fleet Sigrianos (see Theocharides, Tzamlakon, p.165). As it seems, after Alexios Tzamlakon had retired from secular life, his son Arsenios became μέγας παπίας. For the first time he put his signature as such under a charter of donation to the Hilandar monastery in Thessalonike on

December 24, 1333 (see Actes de Chilendar, p. 258).

The residence of Arsenios Tzamlakon as μέγας παπίας was in Thessalonike, where he had properties later donated to the Vatopedi monastery.

No more is known about Arsenios during the following eight years (from 1333-1341, see Theocharides, Tzamlakon, p. 166).

Andronikos III died on June 15, 1341. Then the governor of Thessalonike Theodore Synadenos, other dignitaries as well as μέγας παπίας Τζαμπλάκων informed the megas domestikos John Kantakouzenos of their joint decision to recognize him as co-emperor and regent of the minor Emperor John VI. The μέγας παπίας Τζαμπλάκων mentioned without his first name is undoubtedly the Arsenios Tzamlakon of Thessalonike, because there was no other μέγας παπίας at that juncture (see Cantakuzenos, III, 11, Bonn, II. 77.18).

In the following year 1342, Kantakouzenos dispatched Consantine Palaiologos, John Angelos and Arsenios Tzamlakon on a mission to the king of Serbia Stefan Dusan for making treaties. This time Kantakouzenos noted the first name of Arsenius but omitted his title μέγας παπίας (see Cantakuzenos, III, 42, Bonn, II, 256.10-12). Due to the precarious situation, the envoys took cover with a Serbian shepherd. The latter, when hearing that Kantakouzenos was abandoned by his adherents and the ruling power in Thessalonike, which had passed over in the hands of Alexios Apokapes and the zealots, captured his guests and delivered them in Thessalonike. He received as a reward the whole real property of Tzamlakon.

Apokapes imprisoned Constantine Palaiologos and John Angelos and turned Arsenios Tzamlakon over to the sailors zealots to disgrace him (see Tafralii, Thessalonique, p.232). The latter he did, because Arsenios Tzamlakon was a relative by marriage of John Kantakouzenos. Then Arsenios was also thrown into prison, where he spent five whole years, i. e. from 1342-1347.

On February 3, 1347 John Kantakouzenos entered the capital in triumph and on 13th May 1347 he was crowned emperor. Arsenios was released from prison precisely at that time. We again come across him in 1349 as apographeus of Kantakouzenos in Constantinople (see Theocharides, Tzamlakon, p. 168). It was precisely then when Arsenios Tzamlakon composed the charter in favor of the monastery the Virgin of Psychosostis (Byzant. Neugr. Jahrbucher, 13, 1937, p. 308, §.46-47).

After Kantakouzenos had been enthroned, he perhaps released the father of his son-in-law and took him by himself as a government official. After the disgrace, imprisonment and loss of real property, Arsenios Tzamlakon never ever returned to Thessalonike.

We last encounter μέγας παπίας Arsenios Tzamlakon in 1352 on a government service as archon of Didymoteichon. Kantakouzenos asked through the protostrator Tarchaniotes whether the Emperor John VI could be received in Didymoteichon on his way back from Enos (see Cantakuzenos, IV, 32, Bonn, III, 237.10-12).

On 22nd November 1354 Kantakouzenos withdrew from the throne and entered a monastery under the religious name Joasaf. In February of the following year 1355, after three months, Arsenios μέγας παπίας, a friend and a relative by marriage of Kantakouzenos, also entered a monastery, as shown by his charter in favour of the Vatopedi monastery and already signed as a monk (see Theocharides, Tzamlakon, 131-132; Pavlikianov, C. The Medieval Aristocracy on Mount Athos, Sofia, 2001, 137-139).

According to a document of the Vatopedi monastery dated 1373, Arsenios Tzamlakon died as a monk in the Vatopedi monastery between 1356 and 1360, but in any case before 1362, when the only living of the Tzamlakones brothers remained Δημήτριος Τζαμπλάκων

(see **Theocharides**, Tzamlakon, p.169, 2-3).

Arsenius had two sons Μιχαήλ Καβαλλάριος Τζαμπλάκων and Ἀλέξιος Καβαλλάριος Τζαμπλάκων. The name Καβαλλάριος came most probably from their mother, wife of Arsenius Tzamlakon and a descendant of an old Genoese family, and this name was handed down to his sons and grandsons (see **Theocharides**, Tzamlakon, 174-176).

Many of the representatives of the family Tzamlakon scattered on the whole Balkan peninsula. It is assumed that the family Tzamlakon in Bulgaria is connected with the family Tzamlakon in Byzantium. The megas primikerios Tzamlakon is attested in Bulgaria in the years Tsar John Alexander in the second half of the XIVth c. The famous Gregory Tzamlakos also came from his family.

When and to whom in Bulgaria did Arsenius Tzamlakon write?

First, let us try to date his seal. He is reported on it solely as a monk. That does not help us much, since during a long period of his life Arsenius Tzamlakon was a so-called “secular monk”, i.e. he did not live in a monastery and only wore a cassock. He was a government official holding the title of μέγας παπίας and signing like the other imperial servants: ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ κραταιοῦ καὶ ἁγίου ἡμῶν αὐθέντου καὶ βασιλέως Ἀρσένιος μοναχῆς Τζαμπλάκων, ὁ μέγας παπίας (December 24, 1333, see *Actes Chilendar*, p.123.85). He signed for the first time as a monk without secular titles in February 1355 in favour of the Vatopedi monastery, and now on our seal. It seems he must have grown very old then and sought peace in a monastery abandoning his titles and secular life.

Therefore, he would have sent his correspondence to Bulgaria after 1355 until 1360. This was perhaps the time of the megas primikerios Tzamlakon known solely from the Synodikon of Boril (see **Билярски, И.** Институциите на средновековна България, С., 1998, с.166). Besides him, there were also other representatives of this family. The question of his possible addressee, a relative or a follower, will remain of no answer.

#### 711. Θεόδωρος Τζάντζης β'σπαθάριος καὶ τοποτηρητῆς τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ (X-XI c.)

Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 21578. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 23-23 (20) 2 mm. W. 6.70 g. Low-quality imprint, well-centered but struck rather weakly in the boulloterion, and as a result not all letters were printed out.

Ed. **Йорданов, Преслав**, № 183.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription in two columns: Θ-Γ-Ε || .... : Ὁ ἄ(γιος) Γε[ώργιος].

Rev. Inscription of seven lines:

. ΚΕΡ'Θ' | .ΘΕΩΔΟΡ' | ..ΠΑΘ'ΣΤ | .ΟΤΙΡΙΤΙ | .ΟΝΑΡΙΘΜ' | ΤΟΝΤΖΑΝ | ΤΖΙ  
[+]Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Θεωδόρ(ω) [β'σ]παθ(αρίω) (καὶ) τ(ο)[π]οτιριτι [τ]ὸν  
ἀριθμ(ὼν) τὸν Τζάντζι

Kazhdan assumes that the family Τζάντζης has definitely an Armenian origin (see **Каждан, Армяне**, № 21). To supplement his inquiry, which contains rather scanty information on this family in the XIth c.

I wish to add the data from some seals applying to Νικόλαος Τζάντζης:

a. as private person, according to three unpublished bullae in: DO 58.106.3563; Fogg A.

M. no 182; Shaw 1427, dated to the second half of the XIth c.

Obv. + ΚΕ | ΡΟΗΘΕΙ | ΤΩCΩ | Δ8ΛΩ

Rev. | ΝΙΚΟ | ΛΑΩΤΩ | ΤΖΑΝ | ΤΖΗ

Shaw 1427 (no. 2090)

Obv. .ΕΡΟ. | ΘΕΙΤΩ | CΩΔΟΝΛ | Ο

Rev. ΝΙΚ. | ΛΑΩΤΩ | ΤΖΑΝ | ΤΖΗ

b. as βέστης, β'πρωτονοτάριος τοῦ (σεκρέτου), σακελλάριος καὶ κριτῆς Χαρσιανίτου, according to an unpublished specimen in the Zacos collection, III, no 1604:

Obv.: | ΚΕΡΟ | ΗΘ'ΤΩCΩ | ΔΟΝΛΩΝ | ΚΟΛΑΩΡ. | - CTH - |

Rev. | Ρ'Α'ΝΟΤ | Τ8CΑΚΕΛΑ | SKPIT'ΧΑΡ|CIAN8ΤΩ | ΤΖΑΝΖΗ |

c. as σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος ἀσηκρητῆς καὶ κριτῆς Μακεδονίας (see **Nesbitt-Oikonomides, DOS**, 1, no. 43.14).

The name of a dignitary by the same names is reported in the Patmos acts: at an earlier stage he was β'νοτάριος τοῦ σεκρέτου τοῦ σακελλάριου, and in 1088, μάγιστρος, κρητῆς καὶ ἀναγραφεὺς τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων (*Patmos*, II, no. 51, p. 39.372).

It could be assumed that the data from the seals and sphragistic monuments apply to one and the same person, but his direct connection with Θεόδωρος Τζάντζης is hard to determine. The reasoning in my previous publication remain valid for the latter.

#### 712. Βασίλειος Τζηντζιλύκης πρωτοσπαθάριος (XI c.)

Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 2383. Discovered by the well of the atrium in the Round Church in 1938. D. 23-23 (20) 1.5 mm. W. 7.65 g. Well-centered imprint in a good state of preservation.

Ed. **Йорданов, Преслав**, № 92.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Michael holding a scepter (r. hand) and a globus (l. hand). Sigla: M|I - X|A.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

— — | +RACI | ΛΙΟΑ'СПА | ΘΑΡ'Τ'ΤΖΗΝ | ΤΖΙΑ8Κ' | — —

+ Βασιλίο (πρωτο)σπαθαρι(ώ) τῷ Τζηντζιλύκ(η)

#### 713-714. Λέων Τζηντζιλύκης (second half, XI c.)

a. National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 15036. Find-spot: the bank of the Danube at Silistra. D. 16-17 (12) 2.2 mm. Good imprint and a well-preserved bulla.

Ed. **Йорданов, Silistra**, I, № 11.

b. Private collection (S. Bilik, Sofia). Find-spot: uncertain. D.10-16 (12) 2 mm. W. 1 g. Half of a once good imprint.

Ed. **Билик, Фамилни имена**, № 10.

Both specimens come from the same boulloterion.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription in two columns: Θ-Γ Ε-Ο || Ρ-ΓΙ-Ο': Ὁ ἄ(γιος) Γεόργιος(ς).

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΛΕΟΝΤ' | ΤΟΤΖΗΜ | ΤΖΙΑ8Κ'

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θει Λέοντ(ι) το Τζημτζιλύκ(η)

G. Zacos' collection with family names contains a specimen of the following description (Zacos, III, no. 1600):

*Obv.* Bust of St. Michael holding a scepter (r. hand) and a globus cruciger (l. hand).

*Rev.* + ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΛΕΟΝΤΑΚ | ΟΤΣΙΤΣΙ | Λ8ΚΗ

I cannot be sure whether it applies to the same person. The arguments for not being absolutely certain are the following: it is not only because of the different iconographic subject; it is also due to the abbreviation of the homonym with our specimen, as well as for the fact that it applies to a representative of an Armenian family, in which Leontak is a very common name.

#### 715. Μανουήλ Τζηντζιλύκης πρωτοσπαθάριος, πανθεώτης καὶ πριμικήριος (XI c.)

Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 22901. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 26-29 (20) 2.5 mm. W. 13.91 g. Unsuccessful imprint. Dislocation due to looseness of the dies in the boulloterion. Missing letters, which makes the reading uncertain.

*Ed.* Йорданов, Преслав, № 66.  
*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of St. Panteleimon blessing with his r. hand before chest and holding a scroll in his l. hand. Vertical inscription : .... || T- E-Λ-Ε' : [Ο ἄ(γιος) Παν]τελε(ήμων).

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

[+ ΜΑΝ8Η'] .CΠΑΘ'ΠΑΝ | Θ'ΣΠΙΜΙΚ | ΤΩΤΙΝΤ | Λ'

+ Μανουή(λ) [(πρωτο)]σπαθ(αρίω) πανθ(εώτη) (καὶ) πριμικ(ηρίω) τῷ  
Τζηντζ(ι)λ(ύκη)

The reading of the title of Manuel Tzintziloukes presented the basic problem in the previous publication. From the available letters in line 2 and the first letter in line 3 . CΠΑΘ'ΠΑΝ | ., I assumed that it was the misspelled title σπαθ(αρο)καν[δ(ιδῶτω)]. The present suggestion seems happier and in accordance with the available letters, without assuming an erroneous writing.

Manuel Tzintziloukes possessed two or three titles, the highest of which was πρωτοσπαθάριος followed by πανθεώτης. It could be assumed that πριμικήριος was an effective position, but since it was not specified, it is more likely to have been his third title. The seal of Manuel Tzintziloukes is an illustration of the hierarchical gradation between these three titles and corroborates the above assumption that the position πανθεώτης has developed into a title of not very high rank.

It is an interesting fact that at least three representatives of this family have written to an addressee/addressees located in modern northeastern Bulgaria (Preslav and Silistra). A relative of theirs perhaps sojourned or was in service here. For the rest of the representatives of the family Tzintziloukes, see **Каждан**, *Армяне*, № 31 and **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 92.

#### 716. Βασίλειος Τζιρίθων ἀνθύπατος, πατρίκιος, κριτῆς τοῦ βήλου καὶ Δρουγουβιτείας (1050s-1060s)

Private collection. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 22-37 mm; field 30 mm; thickness 7 mm. Well imprinted on a large and thick blank, of which no more than half is preserved. This hampers the deciphering of the inscription and especially its fourth line where some extra office of Basil Tziriton might have been inscribed.

*Ed.* Jordanov, *G. Names*, no. 24.1.  
*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* The Virgin standing and holding Christ (l. arm).

*Rev.* Inscription of eight lines:

...ΕΡ'Θ' | ...ΩΔ8ΛΩ | ....ΛΕΙΩΠΡΠ | ....ΠΑΤΩΚΡΙ | ..... | ....ΔΡ8Γ8Ρ | ..ΙΑCTΩ.  
| .ΡΙΘΩΝ  
[ + Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθ(ει) [τῷ σ]ῷ δούλω [Βασι]λείω π(ατ)ρι(κίω) [ἀντ]υπάτω  
κρι[τῇ] τοῦ βήλου ... [καὶ] Δρουγουβ[ιτ]είας τῷ [Τζι]ρίθων

Basil Tzirithon is known from narrative sources and his seals. They define his cursus honorum as:

1. πρωτοσπαθάριος ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσोटρικλίνου, κριτῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου καὶ β'νοτάριος τοῦ εἰδικοῦ λογοθέτου (1045), see **MM**, 5, no. I, p.2.

2. ἀνθύπατος, πατρίκιος, κριτῆς τοῦ βήλου καὶ Δρουγουβιτείας (1050s).

3. ἀνθύπατος, πατρίκιος, κριτῆς τοῦ βήλου καὶ γηροτρόφος (1050s-1060s), see **Konstantopoulos**, *Stamules*, no. 812.

4. πρωτοβεστάρχης κριτῆς τοῦ βήλου καὶ τῶν Κιβυρρειωτῶν (1060s-1070s), see **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 2. no. 59.7.

5. πρωτοπρόεδρος, δικαιοφύλαξ καὶ ἐξισωτῆς τῆς Δύσεως (1080s), see **Шандровская**, *Сфрагистика*, № 721.

6. ἐξισωτῆς τῆς Δύσεως (1082), see *Actes Lavra*, I, no. 44.16-17.

7. πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ ἑπαρχος (1080s), see **Konstantopoulos**, no. 483; **Шандровская**, *Сфрагистика*, № 747; **Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, no. 1032.

8. πρωτοπρόεδρος (October, 1089), see *Actes Lavra*, I, no. 49.14.

The text of the seal presented here reports a new and unknown period of the career of Basil Tziriton, as well as the name of a new judge of the Drougoubiteia theme.

#### 717. Κατακαλὼν Ν., β'πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μαγλαβίου (X-XI c.)

Private collection. Find-spot: uncertain, presumably Preslav. D. 24-26 mm. Incomplete imprint in a good state of preservation.

*Unpublished.*  
*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Inscription of four lines:

ΘΚΕ | ΡΟΗΘ'ΚΑ | .ΑΚΑΛ'Ρ' | Α'CΠΑ.

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

ΕΠΙ | Τ8ΜΑΓ | ΛΑΡ'ΟΤ | ..ΑΚΙ

Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθ(ει) Κα[τ]ακαλ(ῶν) β'(πρωτο)σπα[θ(αρίω)] ἐπὶ τοῦ  
μαγλαβ(ίου) (τ)ο Τζ[ούρ]ακι

The restration and the overall reading was to a certain extent prompted by the existence of another representative bearing a similar surname: Nikephoros (see nos. 718-719).

#### 718-719. Νικηφόρος Τζουράκης / Τζυράκης πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ δομέστικος τῶν ἱκανάτων (XI c.)

a. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 2391. Find-spot: the strategia of Preslav. D. 22-23 (over 22) 4 mm. W. 13.06 g. Well-preserved but incomplete imprint.

*Ed.* Йорданов, Преслав, № 176.

b. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 11680. Find-spot: the strategia of Preslav. D. 21-22 (over 22) 2 mm. W. 8.45 g. Unsuccessful imprint. Dislocation between the two sides of the dies. The surface of the imprint is subsequently corroded.

Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 177.

Both specimens were struck with the same pair of dies.

No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of five lines:

.. ERO | .ΘΕΙΤΩC | Δ8Λ'ΝΙΚΗ | ΦΟΡ'Α'CΠΑ | ΘΑΡ..

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

ΚΑΙ | ΔΟΜΕCΤ. | ΚΩΤΙΚΑΝ. | Τ'ΤΟΝΤΖ. | - ΡΑΚ'-

[+Κ(ύρι)]ε βο[ή]θει τῷ σ(ῶ) δούλ(ω) Νικηφόρ(ω) (πρωτο)σπαθαρχ[ίω] καὶ  
δομεστ[ί]κω τ(ῶν) ἱκαν[ά]τ(ον) τὸν Τζ[ου]ράκ(η)

The new elements in the interpretation of this seal are as follows:

- a) the proposition for ruling out the reading of the patronym as Οντζυράκης;
- b) a proposition for a new variant reading of the patronym Τζυράκης, whose analogue we find in the Patmos (*Actes Patmos*, I, no 41.2; *PLP* nos. 28154-28159).

## 720. Χριστόφορος Τιμωνίτης κριτῆς τοῦ βήλου (second half of the XI c.)

Private collection (V. Panteleev from Varna, no. 281). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 15-32 (24) mm, W. 7.50 g. Half of what was once a low-quality imprint (especially the Rev.).

Unpublished.

Parallels: More than eight specimens struck in the same boulloterion are preserved in various collection round the world: the Hermitage (three specimens) see Лихачев, *Богоматери*, с. 125, № 4, табл. 31; Athens № 397a, see Konstantopoulos, no. 397a; Stavrakos, no. 260; DO. 55. I. 3393, DO. 55. I. 3394; Bruxelles, BN., Coll. Kimps, no.67; ANS.Coll. Mabbott, no. 203, see Laurent, *Corpus*, II, no. 828.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin holding the Christ Child at l. Inscription of vertical lines at l.:  $\overline{MP}$  ||  $\overline{\Theta V}$   
- HRO-HΘO-C = Μ(ήτ)ηρ Θ(εο)ῦ ἡ Βοηθός.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

....R'Θ' | ...ΦΟΡ | .....8RH | ...ΤΩΤΙ | ...ΙΤΗ | --

[+Θ(εοτό)κε] β(οή)θ(ει) [Χριστο]φόρ(ω) [κριτῆ] τ(οῦ) βή[λου] τῷ Τι[μων]ίτη

Christophoros Timonites is unknown from other sources. The Dumbarton Oaks Collection contains a seal (Fogg A. M., no. 3605), which, according to Laurent's reserved opinion (see Laurent, *Corpus*, II, p. 439), could be associated with the person of John Timonites.

Obv. Completely obliterated surface.

Rev. ΘΚΕΡ. |  $\overline{ΙΩΤΟ}$ . | ΜΟΝΙ | ..

## 721-722. Δημήτριος Τορνίκης (XII-XIII c.)

a. Archaeological Museum, Asenovgrad, no. 1615. Found in the course of excavations of the Asenov fortress. D. 30-30(21) 3.5 mm. Complete imprint in a good state of preservation.

Ed. Jordanov, Plovdiv, no 12.

b. Private collection (S. Bilik, Sofia). Find-spot: uncertain. 16-32 (21) 3 mm. W. 7.61 g. Half of what was once a good imprint.

Ed. Билик, Фамилни имена, № 5.

Both specimens were struck in the same boulloterion.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Demetrios holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription in two columns:  $\overline{\Theta}$ -ΔΗ-ΜΗ || T- ΠΙ-ΟC : [ἽΟ ἄ(γιος) Δημήτριος.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ ΔΗΜΗ | ΤΡΙΟΝCΚΕ | ΠΟΙCΜΕΜΑΡ | ΤΥCΤΟΡ | ΝΙΚΗΝ

+ Δημήτριον σκέποις με μάρτυς Τορνίκην

The Dumbarton Oaks Collection (Fogg A.M., no. 1453) contains a seal of the following description:

Obv. St. Demetrios standing holding a long spear (r. hand), l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground. Vertical inscription: O-A-I-O-C || ΔΗ-ΜΗ-ΤΡΙ-Ο-С

Rev. Monogram occupying the whole field (table ) and containing the name ὁ Τορνίκης  
Circular inscription beginning from top: +  $\overline{C}$ ΦΡΑΓΙCΜΑ ....ΗΜΗΤΡΙ8

If the restoration of the missing letters is correct, the seal belonged to the same person reflecting an earlier or later stage in his life.

The difficulties in the identification of the owner of this seal stem from the fact that in the XIIth-XIIIth c., the general dating of the bulla, several representatives of the Tornikioi named Demetrios are known:

*Demetrios Tornikes no. 1:*

Brother of the writer and metropolitan of Ephesos - Gregory Tornikes, who served in Branichevo in the mid-XIIth c. (1153 ?) under the command of the future Emperor Andronikos Komnenos, known to us solely from his brother's letters, in which he is an object of his concern. His identification with no. 2 is problematic due to the chronological discrepancy between them (see Darrouzes, *Tornikes*, no. 4.1-4; Каждан, *Армяне*, № 15.20).

*Demetrios Tornikes no. 2:*

The earliest mention of Demetrios seems to have been in a letter of his friend Gregory Antiochos, who wrote three letter to him containing no indications of titles or positions (Darrouzes, J. Notice sur Gregoire Antiochos.- *REB*, 20, 1962, 61-89). These letters must have been earlier than Demetrios' attestation in Choniates' history in 1183 as κριτῆς τοῦ βήλου, a participant in the trial against the former empress Maria (see *Choniates*, 265,3-4).

In January 1186, he was ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου, a position he had already held for a few months, since he was reported with that tile in the first of Michael Choniates' letters written in Athens on the occasion of Andronikos I's death (September 1185) (see *Choniates*, M. *Epistule*, no. 31). Further three letters of the Athens metropolitan (32, 49, 51) also bear the same title. In August 1186, he countersigned a chrisobull to the monastery of Patmos in his capacity as σεβαστὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου (*Actes Patmos*, I, no.10, p. 100.38).

He was already λογοθέτης τοῦ δρόμου at a synodical session on 10<sup>th</sup> September 1191 regarding Patriarch Dositeos' deposition (see Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta*, II, 362.24-25). In this capacity he was reported in April 1192 as a participant at the signing of the treaty with Genua (see MM, III, 26-27.1;32.24-25); in three of Michael Choniates' letters dated from 1194 to 1198/99 (see *Choniates*, M. *Epistule*, no.57, 58, 67); in the negotiations with Venice held in November 1198 (see Dolger, *Regesten*, no. 1647); in a document regarding the Chielendar monastery countersigned by him in June 1199 (see *Actes Chilandar*, no. 5, p. 14.82).

He died ca. 1200. There is also his extant epitaph written by Euthymios Tornikes, presumably his son (see Darrouzes, *Tornikes*, 35-39). He was not only a noted statesman but

also a writer and polemicist (see **Darrouzes**, *Tornikes*, 33-34).

*Demetrios Tornikios no. 3:*

Grandson of no. 2. The earliest information on him is found in a letter of Michael Choniates, in which he reports the names and positions of three of Demetrios' predecessors, whom he knew in person: his grandfather Demetrios and his father Constantine (see **Choniates**, *M. Epistule*, no. 180).

He occupied high administrative positions at the Nicaean court under Theodore I Laskaris (1208-1222) and John III Doukas Batatzes (1222-1254). In 1242, along with the grand domestikos Andronikos Komnenodoukas-Palaiologos (on him, see no. ) he took part in the military expedition against the Bulgarian strongholds. He died in 1252 as governor of Melnik (see **Beck**, *H. G.* Der byzantinsche "Ministerpräsident.-BZ, 48, 1955, 320-321; **Vereaux**, *J.* Contribution a l etude de l'administration byzantine.- BSL, 16, 1955, 274-275; **Каждан**, *Армяне*, № 15.26; **Schmalzbauer**, *Tornikes*, p. 117; **Asdracha**, *Rodopes*, 285-286).

It is hard to determine with whom of the above three or with an unknown forth individual the owner of the present seal could be identified. Nevertheless, we favour no. 3, whose activities were directly connected with the Bulgarian lands. According to the account of George Akropolites, his wife was from the family, cousin of Andronikos Palaiologos, father of the future Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos. A relevant fact of importance is that a gold ring of Theodora Tornikina-Palaiologina originates precisely from Asenovgrad (see *ИБАН*, 7, 1919-1920, 152-153). The discovery of her ring in the fortress near modern Asenovgrad is a testimony to her presence in this town. It is quite possible that specifically she was the recipient of Demetrios Tornikes' correspondence.

### 723. Νικηφόρος Τορνίκιος (late XI c.)

Private collection. Find-spot: uncertain. Well-preserved imprint. D. 17-20 mm.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Inscription of four lines:

NIKI | ΦΟΡΩ | CΦΡΑΓ | ΜΑ

*Rev.* Inscription of three lines:

ΤΟΥ | ΤΟΡΝΙ | ΚΙΟΥ

Νικηφόρω(ν) σφράγι(σ)μα τοῦ Τορνικίου

Nikephoros Tornikes is unknown from other sources.

### 724-725. Νικόλαος Τορνίκης πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ ἐκ προσώπου (X c.)

a. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 18069. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 24-25 (19) 3 mm. W. 9.20 g. Very good imprint in a good state of preservation.

*Ed.* **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 141.

b. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 24571. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 13-21 (19) 2.1 mm. Half of what was once a very good imprint.

*Ed.* **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 142.

*Both specimens were struck with the same pair of dies.*

*Parallels:* unpublished from DO. 58. 106. 894; 58. 106. 1267 and 58. 106. 4088. They were struck with the same boulloterion.

*Obv.* Patriarchal cross on three steps with fleurons rising from base. Circular inscription along a border of dots: + ΚΕΡΟΗΘ' ΤΩCΩΔ.Λ'

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

NIKO | ΛΑΩΑ'CΠΑ | .ΣΕΚΑ'CΩ | Π'ΤΩΤΟΡ | ΝΙΚΗ

+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ει) τῷ σῷ δ[ού]λ(ω) Νικολάω (πρωτο)σπα[θ(αρίω)] (καὶ) ἐκ (προ)σώπ(ου) τῷ Τορνίκη

### 726. Μιχαήλ Τουρκοπούλος πατρίκιος (first half of the XI c.)

National Historical Museum, Sofia. Find-spot: Northeastern Bulgaria. Offered for purchase by Valentin Zhekov, whose find spot information is very often reliable. D. 18-19 mm.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of St. Michael facing, with nimbus and wings. No visible details of his dress and the insignia he holds.

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'. | ΜΙΧΑΗΛ | ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙ' | ΤΩ.8Ρ | ΚΟΠ8Λ'

+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ[θ(ει)] Μιχαήλ πατρικί(ω) τῷ [Τ]ουρκοπούλ(ω)

The owner of the present seal affixed to the correspondence to an unknown addressee in northeastern Bulgaria is the patrikios Michael Tourkopoulos. An individual bearing these names is unknown from the narrative sources. There is some kind of uncertainty in the reading of the patronym. Its initial letter is crumpled but it could be assumed that it was either Ξ or Ζ.

The etymology of the patronym Tourkopoulos in the XIth c. is associated with the Seljuks in service in Byzantium (see **Moravcsik**, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, 327-328). The dating of the present seal is in the first half of the XIth c.

### 727. Ρωμανὸς Τριαδιτζιώτης πρωτοσπαθάριος (X-XI c.)

Historical Museum, Iambol, no. II 4564. Found in the fortress near the village of Zlati Voyvoda in 1987. D. 24.5-25 (23) 4 mm. W. 7.23 g. Incomplete imprint.

*Ed.* **Jordanov**, *Zlati Voyvoda*, no 21.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Superb bust of St. Michael holding a scepter (r. hand) and a globus cruciger (l. hand).

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

.ΚΕ.. | ΤΩCΩΔ. | ΡΩΜΑΝΟ. | .CΠΑΘΑΡ' | .ΟΤΡΙΑΔΙ | ΤΖΗΟΤΙ

[+]Κ(ύρι)ε [β(οή)θ(ει)] τῷ σῷ δ[ού]λ(ω) Ρωμανο [β'(πρωτο)]σπαθαρ(ίω) [τ]ο Τριαδιτζιότι

The Dumbarton Oaks Collection contains an unpublished seal (DO. 58. 106. 186) of Λέων Τριαδιτζιώτης βεστιαρίτης from the XIth c.

*Obv.* Part of a bust of the Virgin. Sigla: ΜΡ || ΘΥ.

*Rev.* ΘΚΕ'Θ' | ΛΕΟΝΤΑ | ΡΕCΤΙΑΡΙ | ΤΙΤΟΤΡΙ | ΑΔΙΤΖΙ | ΩΤΙ

Whether both are of the same family or have the same origin related to Triaditza (Sofia) is an open question.



## 728. Ἰωάννης Τριακοντάφυλλος (1080s)

Private collection (Veselin Stakov from Batak). Find-spot: Starina locality at 2 km northwest from Velingrad, where there are remains of a fortress. D. 27-28 (26-27)? mm. The bulla is cracked at two places, but nevertheless is fairly well preserved.

Unpublished.

Parallels: unpublished specimens in: Shaw, 1435 (no. 1328) and DO. 55. 1. 3363.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin holding a medallion of Christ before her. Sigla: .. || Θ̄V: [M(ήτηρ)ρ] Θ(εο)ῦ.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

ΘΚ..Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8' | ΩΤΩΤΡ. | ΑΚΟΝΤ. | ΦΝΛΩ | - ο -

Θ(εοτό)κ[ε β(οή)]θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δού(λω) [ 'Ι]ω(άννη) τῷ Τρ[ι]ακοντ[α]φύλω

The owner of the seal is John Triakontaphyllos. Known are several groups of seals bearing his name:

1. With no title or position:

a) Two unpublished seals of the same type, but with some differences are preserved in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (DO. 58. 106. 1100 and 58. 106. 1166):

Obv. Bust of the Virgin holding Christ on l. arm.

Rev. +ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ8' | ΙΩΑΝΝ. | ΤΩΤΡΙΑ | ΚΟΝΤΑ | .ΝΛΩ

b) Seals of the same type but with no iconographic depiction are preserved in various collections throughout the world:

DO. 58. 106. 5577; Shaw 1434 (no. 1326); **Gray Birch**, no. 17.933; **Schlumberger**, *MA*, no. 136 :

Obv. +ΚΕ | ΡΟΗ ΘΕΙ | ΤΩC'Δ8 | ΛΩ

Rev. ΙΩ | ΤΩΤΡΙΑ | ΑΚΟΝΤΑ | .ΝΛΩ

Shaw 1434 (no. 1327);

Obv. +ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΤΩCΩ | Δ8ΛΩ | ΙΩ

Rev. ΤΩ | ΤΡΙΑ | ΚΟΝΤ | ΑΦΝΛ'

Istanbul, 532 (no. 178)

Obv. +ΚΕ | ΡΟΗΘ' | ΤΩCΩ | Δ8ΛΩ | ΙΩ

Rev. ΤΩ | ΤΡΙΑ | ΑΚΟΝΤΑ | ΦΝΛ | ΛΩ

2. πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ προνοητής Βουλγαρίας (see **Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, p. 241, no. 4).

3. πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ πραιτωρ Βουλγαρίας, represented by four specimens: (**Mordtman**, *Europe*, p. 145; **Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, p. 241, no. 5; **Gray-Birch**, no. 17780/17782; **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 1, no. 29.4.

4. κουροπαλάτης (see: **Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, p. 710, no. 1; **Gray Birch**, no. 17605; **Konstantopoulos**, no. 391 and 391a; **Ebersolt**, *Cple*, no. 357; **Muller-Henning**, *Bizans*, no. 12; **Stavrakos**, no. 265 and unpublished from : DO. 58. 106. 3095; **Fogg A.M.**, no. 1940; Shaw 252 (no. 1323); 253 (1324).

Which period of his life do the seals with no title and office reflect? Are they parallel with the others or do they refer to a later period of John's career?

There is only one mention in the sources of a person by this family name in the years of Emperor Romanos III Argyros (1028-1031): patrikios Triakontaphyllos (see **Peira**, p. 146, XXXIV.18). From the same person the emperor perhaps purchased a lot in the capital Constantinople intended for the Peribleptenos monastery (see **Janin**, *Eglises Constantinople*, p. 227).

As a kind of compensation, a considerable number of dignitaries are known bearing the same family name. The list below could be used as building material for a future prosopography of this family connected with the administration of the Bulgarian lands.

1. Θεόδουλος Τριακοντάφυλλος πρόεδρος (1070s-1080s).

a) κρητής τοῦ βήλου καὶ τῆς Βουλγαρίας (see **Mordmann**, *Europe*, p. 145.5).

b) καὶ πραιτωρ Βουλγαρίας (**Mordmann**, *Europe*, p. 145.5).

2. Κωνσταντῖνος Τριακοντάφυλλος:

a. πρόεδρος (last quarter of the XI c.), according to an unpublished lead seal in DO. 55. 1. 3362.

Obv. Bust of St. Theodore holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

Rev. +ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΚΩΝΠΡ' | ΕΔΡΩΤ' | ΤΡΙΑΚ | .Ν..

b. as a private person (last quarter of the XI c.), according to an unpublished lead seal in DO. 55. 1. 4005.

Obv. Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

Rev. +CΦΡΑ | ΓΙCΚΩΝ | ΤΟVΤΡΙΑ | ΚΟΝ.... | ...

3. Λέων Τριακοντάφυλλος

a. πρωτοσπαθάριος ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοτρικλίνου, μυστολέκτης καὶ κρητής Θράκης (XI c., see **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 1, 71.12).

b. πατρίκιος, κρητής καὶ ..... (see **Gray Birch**, no. 17742), dated after the mid-XIth c.

c. κουροπαλάτης (last quarter of the XI c.), according to an unpublished lead seal from **Fogg A.M.**, no. 2353.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion of Christ before her. Sigla: ΜΡ || Θ̄V

Rev. +ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΛΕΟΝΤΙΚ' | ΡΟΠΑΛΑΤ' | ΤΟΤΡΙΑΚΟ | ΤΑΦ. Λ'

4. Μιχαήλ Τριακοντάφυλλος πατρίκιος (mid of the XI c.), according to an unpublished lead seal from DO. 55. 1. 3365.

Obv. Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

Rev. +ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΜΙΧΑΗΛ | ΠΡΙΠΟΤΡΙΑ | ΑΚΟΝΤΑ | ΦΝΛΩ

5. Νικόλαος Τριακοντάφυλλος σπαθαροκανδιδάτος (XI c.) according to an unpublished lead seals from Shaw 1438 (no. 1329-1330)

Obv. The Virgin standing raising her hands up to her left where the hand of God is visible.

Sigla: ΜΡ || Θ̄V

Rev. +ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΝΙΚΟΛΑ. | .ΠΑΘ'ΚΑΝΔΔ' | ΤΟΤΡΙΑΚ' | ΤΑΦΝΛ'

6. Ῥωμανὸς Τριακοντάφυλλος, as a private person from the XIth c. (see **Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, p. 711, no. 5; **Gray Birch**, no. 17935; **Лихачев**, *Молитвословы*, табл. LXI.12).

7. Ν., Τριακοντάφυλλος (?), see **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 469.

## 729. Ἑλένη Τριπολίτηνα (XI c.)

National Historical Museum, Sofia. Purchased from a collector from Russe. D. 17-18 mm. Incomplete imprint.

The last two lines recording the patronym are problematic.

Unpublished.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans without a medallion. On either side, the sigla: .. || Θ̄: [M(ήτηρ)] Θ(εο)ῦ.

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

+ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΕΛΕΝΙ | ΤΗΝΤΡΙΑ | .ΟΛΙ. | ΝΑ

+Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Ἑλένι τὴν Τρι[π]ολί[τ(ι)]να

The Dumbarton Oaks Collection (Fogg A. M., no. 2291) contains an unpublished seal of a representative perhaps of the same family:

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion. Sigla:  $\overline{\text{MP}}$  ||  $\overline{\text{ΘV}}$ .

Rev. + TONT. | ΠΟΛΙΤΗΝ | ΡΑCΙΛΙΟΝ | ΜΕCΚΕ | ΠΟΙC

+ Τὸν Τ[ρι]πολίτην Βασίλιον με σκέποις

### 730. Νικόλαος Φαρακοπούλος (second half, XI c.)

Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 24594. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 20-23 (16-17) 3.1 mm. W. 8.76 g. Well-centered imprint in a good state of preservation, but the letters of the inscription are not distinct.

Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 420.

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand), and holding book (l. hand). Vertical inscription in two columns: Θ-N-I || K-O-Λ' : Ὁ ἄ(γιος) Νικόλ(αος).

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ'ΤΩCΩΔ' | ΝΙΚΟΛ' | ΤΟΦΑΡ | Κ'Π'

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δ(ούλῳ) Νικολ(άῳ) το Φαρ(α)κ(ο)π(ούλῳ)

The new proposition for the reading of the patronym as Φαρακοπούλος was made by W. Seibt in his review (*BZ*, S. 137). It may derive from the Arabic Farag (**Caracausi**, *Lessico greco*, p. 594).

### 730A. Φαραζμάνης πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Στρουμίτζας (mid-XI c.)

Archaeological Museum, Sofia, no.156 (former collection of V. Haralanov from Shumen). Find-spot: Silistra, Preslav or generally northeastern Bulgaria. D. 29-29 mm. Incomplete but well-preserved imprint. Some letters either did not print or were subsequently erased.

Ed. Йорданов, И. Печат на Фаразман стратег на Струмица от колекцията на Археологически музей при БАН в София.- Сб. В чест на Василка Тъпкова-Заимова (forthcoming).

No parallels known.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin holding a medallion of Christ before her. Sigla:  $\overline{\text{MP}}$  ||  $\overline{\text{ΘV}}$ .

Rev. Inscription of five lines:

- o - | ΦΑΡΑΖ | .ΑΝΑ'CΠΑ | ΘΑΡ'SCTP | .ΙΓ'CTP | ΜΙΤΑC | - o -

Φαραζ[μ]άν(ης) (πρωτο)σπαθάρ(ιος) (καὶ) στρ(α)[τ]ηγ(ός) Στρ[ου]μίτζας

Who was this Pharasmanes and when was he strategos of Strumitsa? These questions naturally arise from the reading of this short text.

The name Φαραζ[μ]άν(ης) is obviously non-Greek. According to Kazhdan, it has an Iranian origin and in Antiquity it was common with the Georgians, but was also found among the Armenians, for which reason he included it in his inquiry of the Armenians in Byzantium (**Каждан**, *Армяне*, 69-70).

Various written sources record several individuals bearing this name:

1. In 1043 the monk Theodosios copied the manuscript of homilies of John Crysostomites kept at Iveron for the spatharokandidatos and taxiarches Pharasmanes (τοῦ κύρου σπαθαροκανδιδάτου καὶ ταξιάρχου τοῦ Φαρισμάνου, see *Dated Greek minuscule manuscripts to the year 1200, fasc 3: Manuscripts in the monasteries of Mount Athos and in Mila*, edited by Kirsopp and Silva Lake, Boston, 1935, n° 102, pl. 178).

2. Eustathios Boilas' testament of 1059 mentions magistros Basil and vestarches Pharasmanes, children of doux Michael, without a patronym (ἔτι δὲ τὸν λαμπρότατον μάγιστρον κῦρ Βασίλεον καὶ τὸν περίβλεπτον βεστάρχη κῦρ Φαρεσμάνην τὸν αὐτάδελφον αὐτοῦ, see **Lemerle**, *Cinq*, p. 29. 275-276). The latter circumstance did not prevent most investigators from assuming that it applies to the Apokapes brothers (see **Lemerle**, *Cinq*, 51-52, no. 3; **Бартикан**, Р. М. Критические заметки о завещании Евстафия Воилы (1059).- *ВВр.*, 19, 1961, 26-37; **Grünbard**, Apokapes, 30-31, 40-41).

3. The name of vestes Pharasmanes Apokapes, a Georgian (according to **Skylitzes Continuatus**, p.131.15 - τὸν Φαρασμάνην βέστην τὸν Ἀποκάπην ἐξ Ἰβήρων τὸ γένους), or an Armenian (according to Michael Attaleiates - Φαρασμάνιον βέστην τὸν Ἀποκάπην ἐξ Ἀρμενίων τὸ γένους, see **Attaleiates**, *Historia*, 116,10-11; **Miguel Attaliates**, *Historia*, p.88.6) was reported during the reign of Romanos IV Diogenes (1059-1071). During the Syrian campaign of the same emperor, he was entrusted with the capture of the acropolis of Hierapolis (modern Manbij).

4. As it was mentioned above, this name was common among the Georgians too. Several Georgian aristocrats bearing a similar name are reported in the typikon of the Iviron monastery, but as it seems they were not in Byzantine service to be considered for the inquiry (see *Actes d'Iviron*, p.7, no.89; 46, n.2; 58, nos.2-5).

The following are known by their seals:

1. Symeon Pharesmanes, a private person, according to three bullae preserved in the Lihachev's collection (**Лихачев**, *Богоматери*, с. 60) and in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection 58. 106. 2042 and IFEB, no. 671 (the last two unpublished).

They have the following description:

Obv. The Virgin standing, raising her hand towards the Hand of God in the upper l. quarter.

On either side the sigla:  $\overline{\text{MP}}$  ||  $\overline{\text{ΘV}}$ ; and the vertical inscription: H-ΑΓΙ-ΟCΘ || ΠΙ-ΤΙ-CA: Μ(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ ἡ Ἀγιοσορίτισα

Rev. - + - | CΩΤΕΙ | ΡΑCΩΖ.. | CΥΜΕΩΝ | ΦΑΡΕCΜΑ | ...

- + - | Σώτειρα σωζ[οις] Cυμεὼν Φαρεσμ[ά]νην

2. A seal of a metrical text is included in the Orghidan Collection. The specimen is in poor condition resulting in an insecure reading of its text and a number of proposed variant readings:

Obv. Bust of St. Nicholas blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand). Vertical inscription:

Θ-NI-KO || Λ-A-O-C

Rev. CΦΡΑΓΙ. | ΚΩΝC'ΑΝ | ΤΙΝ8ΤΑΡΧ | .N...

The original publisher deciphered the family name as Ταρχανειώτου (see **Laurent**, *Orghidan*, no. 469). The author of the prosopographical study on the family Tarchaneiotas accepted this reading and included it in the survey, while wondering whether it actually did not apply to Φαρησμάνου (see **Leontiades**, *Tarchaneiotas*, S.115, N.1). In their review of the seals from Orghidan Collection, the authors Natasha and Werner Seibt emphasized once again this possibility (see **Seibt**, N. and W. *Orghidan*, S.202, N. 469). As it appears, this seal remains outside the inquiry.

3. An unpublished seal, whose reading also allows for the name Apokaphkos Pharasmanes,

is preserved in the Thierry Collection (no. 1968, (4) 96), according to the information of Jean-Claude Cheynet.

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin facing. Both hands raised in orans. Sigla:  $\overline{MP} \parallel \overline{\Theta V}$

*Rev.* + ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΑΠΟΚΑΦ | Α'ΣΠΑΘ'Σ | ΣΤΡΑΤΙΓ' | ΤΟΦΑΡ' | Μ'

So, is it possible that the owner of our seal discovered in northeastern Bulgaria has anything in common with the above individuals bearing the name Pharasmanes?

The seal bears only the proper name Pharasmanes. It is likewise written (despite some differences) both in the dated correspondence of 1043 and in Eustathios Boilas' will with the specification that he was the son of doux Michael. In Skylitzes Continuatus, the family name Apokapes is also added.

It is a quite inviting idea to identify the owner of our seal as Pharasmanes, the spatharokandidatos and taxiarches of 1043, who in a later stage, perhaps towards the late 40s, was promoted to the rank of protospatharios and appointed strategos of Strumitsa. Already in 1059 he may have been introduced to the rank of vestarches, but it is also possible that he took part in the Syrian campaign of Emperor Romanos Diogenes in 1069 already in his capacity as vestes, when the family name Apokapes was also added. The other individuals named Pharasmanes covered by the seals presented above should not be directly identified with his person. Apokapes and Symeon Pharasmanes could have been his sons.

Let us go back however to the basic information that the seal bears: strategos of Strumitsa.

This is the first document attesting that Strumitsa had the rank of strategia. It has been known so far as a bishopric subordinate to the archbishop of Bulgaria (**Laurent**, *Corpus V*, 2, p. 335; **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 1, p. 102).

The existence of strategia Strumitsa is corroborated by the information of another unpublished seal preserved in the Zacos collection III. no. 1668. It has the following description:

*Obv.* Bust of St. Menas and a vertical inscription: Α-ΓΙ-Ο || Μ-Α-ΝΑ-Σ

*Rev.* ΘΩΔΟ | ΣΠΑΘ'ΚΑΝ | .ΣΤΡΑΤ'Γ' | .Ρ8ΜΡΗ | .ΑCΟCΤV | ΠΙΟΤΗ |

+ Θ(ε)ώδο(τος) σπαθ(αρο)καν[δ(ι)δ(ᾱ)τος] (καὶ) στρατ(η)γ(ός) [Στ]ρουμβ[τζ]ας ὁ Στυπ(ε)ιότη(ς)

The same Theodotos Styypeiotes is attested by further three bullae discovered in the strategia of Preslav (see here nos. 678-679-679A).

The Theodotos in question could have been Pharasmane's predecessor.

Thus, the existence of the strategia Strumitsa is undoubted. When was it established?

It is hard to give any certain answer to this question. However, taking into consideration the dating of the presented seals to the 1040s, the events in the Bulgarian lands relating to the uprising of Peter Delyan, the beginning of the Pecheneg invasions, etc., it could be assumed that similar small themes, such as Strumitsa, Kastoria, Trajanopolis, etc., were established precisely in this period.

### 731. Φιλόθεος Φαραγκοπούλος πρωτοσπαθάριος ἐπὶ τοῦ Χρυσοτρικλίνου καὶ στρατηγὸς Πλίσκοβα (XI<sup>th</sup> century)

Historical Museum, Shoumen, no. 14716 Found by a treasure hunter with a metal detector on the territory of medieval Pliska. D. 26-27 (25) 4 mm. W. 20.50 g. Well centered but incomplete imprint. The end letters are erased. The surface of the bulla is perfectly preserved.

*Ed.* **Jordanov**, *G. Names*, no. 62.1.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of St. Michael holding scepter (r. hand) and a globus cruciger (l. hand). Inscription in two columns: ..|| X-A-Λ.

*Rev.* Inscription of seven lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΦΗΛ'ΘΕΟ | Α'ΣΠ'ΘΑΡΙΕ | Π'Τ8ΧΓΚ | Λ'Ν"ΣCΤΡ | Τ'Γ' ΠΛΚΑ | Τ'Φ'Ρ'Κ'

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Φηλ(ο)θέο (πρωτο)σπ(α)θαρί(ω) ἐπ(ι) τοῦ

Χρ(υσοτρι)γκλ(ί)ν(ου) (καὶ) στρ(α)τ(η)γ(ῶ)] Πλ(ίσ)κ(οβ)α τ(ῶ)

Φ(α)ρ(α)γκ(οπού)λω

All letters from the text of the seal are well-preserved. The problem is how to decipher the abbreviations which are evidently more than usual. The engraver probably found it hard to contain this large text on the comparatively small space of the seal and he was forced to make frequent abbreviations. It is difficult to read the toponym written by the four letters: ΠΛΚΑ. I have decided that this toponym hides the name of Πλ(σ)κα or Πλ(ίσ)κ(οβ)α, as it is in the Byzantine sources. The only Bulgarian source which mentioned the name of the old capital (the Chatalar column) writes ΠΛCΚΑ (on its etymology and orthography see **Бешевлиев**, *Първобългарски*, с. 217).

In another group of seals, the toponym ΠΕΡΔCΡΑ = Περδσ(λά)βα(ς) is written in a similar way (see nos. 273-278).

No details are known about the person of this strategos of Pliska. The Francopouloi family betrays Western provenance.

### 732. Θεόδωρος Φιλιππούπουλος πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ κόμης (XI c.)

MIRSR 48/19. Formerly in the collection of the director of the college in Silistra, Perikle Papahadgi. Find-spot: the town. D. 21-21 (15) ? mm. Complete and well-preserved imprint.

*Ed.* **Banescu-Papahagi**, *Silistrie*, 601-602.

*Parallels:* DO. 1. 3247. Poorly-preserved imprint, which seems to be from the same boulloterion.

*Obv.* Bust of St. Theodore holding a spear (l. hand) and a shield (r. hand). Vertical inscription in two columns: Θ- ΘΕ-Ο || Δ-Ω-Ρ' : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Θεόδωρ(ος).

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

+ | ΣΤΡΑΤΙ | ΛΑΤΑΡΟΗ' | ΘΕΟΔΩΡ'Α' | ΣΠΑΘ'SKOM | ΤΙΤΩΦΙΑ' | ΠΙΛΩ

+ Στρατιλάτα βοή(θει) Θεοδώρ(ω) (πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίω) (καὶ) κόμ(ι)τι τῶ

Φιλ(ι)π(ου)π(ού)λω

Problematic in the reading of the text are the last two lines, specifically after the title or office of κόμιτι. According to the publishers, the following is written there: ΤΩΦΙΡ' | ΠΙΛΩ, which they transcribe as κόμιτι τοῦ φιλοβασιλειων πλωίμων. The epithet φιλοβασιλειων πλωίμων is non-standard and is not found on other seals. If we apply the traditional approach, after the position κόμιτι and the definite article ΤΩ, the patronym should be inscribed. In 1998, in the photo archive in Vienna, I had the opportunity to examine a better photo of this specimen, on which the letters ΤΩΦΙΑ' | ΠΙΛΩ are well visible. In 2002, at Dumbarton Oaks I located the above parallel. All that gave me grounds to propose the above reading.

### 733. Ἀνδρόνικος Φιλοκάλης βεστάρχης καὶ κατεπάνω (1060-1070)

Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 20188. Find-spot: the strategia of Preslav. D. 19-19 (18?) 3 mm. W. 4.18 g. Low-quality imprint, made in a loose boulloterion. The imprint on the *Rev.* slipped and moved 7 mm aside. The blank was smaller than the dies. The letters from the text are not distinct, some preserved only in outline. Nevertheless, the reading is secure.

*Ed.* Йорданов, Преслав, № 323.

*Parallels:* Further five specimens from the same boulloterion were found in Istanbul (unpublished in DO. 77. 34. 24); Srem, modern Serbia (see *SBS*, 3, 117-118, no 3) and unpublished in the collection of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, no. 1978.61 (originates from Asia Minor); in Istanbul (Istanbul, III, 554 [309]; and in the O'Hara collection, no. 20.

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion. No sigla visible.

*Rev.* Inscription in seven lines :

.. ΕΡ'Θ' | .. CΩΔ8Λ' | ...ΡΟΝΙΚΩ | ..CΤΑΡΧΗΣ | ..ΤΕΠΑΝΩ | .ΩΦΗΛΟ | .ΑΛΗ  
[Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) [τῶ] σῶ δούλ(ω) [ Ἀνδ]ρονίκω [βε]στάρχῃ (καὶ)  
[κα]τεπάνω [τῶ] Φηλο[κ]άλῃ

The following specimens bearing the same names are preserved in various collection around the world:

1. Unpublished in Dumbarton Oaks (DO. 55. 1. 3248) of the following description:

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin, as above.

*Rev.* + ΘΚΕ | Ρ'Θ'ΑΝ | ΔΡΩΝ | ΚΤΦΝ | ΛΚΑΛ

2. Unpublished in Zacos, III, no 1416:

*Obv.* The Virgin seated on a low-backed throne holding Christ on l. arm.

*Rev.* + ΑΝΔΡΟ | ΝΙΚΩCΚΕ | .ΟΙCΜΕ | ΤΩΦΙΑ. | ΚΑΛΗ

Due to the coincidence in names, the iconographic subject and the apparent chronological continuity, it could be assumed that they belonged to one and the same person.

The proposition for identification of the owner of these seals with the namesake katepano of Bulgaria from 1065/1066 is plausible.

### 734. Εὐμάθιος Φιλοκάλης γραμματικός (second half, XII c.)

Historical Museum, Kazanluk, no. 4. Find-spot: uncertain, Kazanluk region. After its "conservation" in the workshop in Turnovo, it is now in an awful condition. The image and letters are better visible on some twenty year old plaster cast of the same bulla, before it was cleaned, preserved in the collection of T. Gerasimov. D. 30-30 mm.

*Unpublished.*

*Parallels:* Another specimen struck with the same pair of dies is preserved in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (DO. 55.1. 3962) (see *Laurent*, *Corpus*, II, no. 1192).

*Obv.* St. Demetrios standing, holding a long spear (r. hand), l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground. Vertical inscription in two columns: Ο-Α-ΓΙ-ΟC || ΔΙ-ΜΙ-ΤΡ': Ὁ ἅγιος Διμίτρ(ιος).

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

+ | CΕΡΑΨΟΠΑ | Π..ΤΩΝΓΡΑ | Φ.ΝΕ..ΑΘΙ8 | ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚ8 | CΦΡΑΓΙCΜΑΤ8 |  
ΦΙΛΟΚΑΛΗ|  
+ Σεβαστοπά[που] τῶν γραφ[ῶ]ν Ε[ὐ]μάθιου γραμματίκου σφράγισμα τοῦ  
Φιλοκάλῃ

We find the name of Εὐμάθιος Φιλοκάλης in various XIth- and XIIth-century narrative sources, obviously applying to different individuals:

Εὐμάθιος Φιλοκάλης (1):

According to Anna Komnene, he was an influential noble from the circle of Alexios I. In 1092, he was appointed stratopedarches and was entrusted with the defense of Cyprus. He stayed on the island in his capacity as doux presumably until 1100, when he addressed a request to the emperor to be also entrusted with the defence of Antiochos, after which he waged successful war against the Seljuks (*Skoulatos*, *Personnages*, no. 54). According to the data of a later work (that of Theodore Skoutariotes), in ca. 1105, the sebastos Εὐμάθιος Φιλοκάλης was at the head of an embassy to the Hungarian king's court on the occasion of the marriage of the future Emperor John II Komnneos (1118-1143) to a Hungarian princess (see *Skoutariotes*, *MB*, VII, 181.30). To the same perhaps applies the qualification: τοῦ πανσεβαστοῦ μεγάλου δουκὸς καὶ πραίτωρος κυροῦ Εὐμαθίου τοῦ Φιλοκάλῃ, found in a charter of 1118 regarding a complaint from Crete (*MM*, VI, 96.13-14). For a compendious information on him, see *Actes Patmos*, I, 52-53).

Known are also several groups of seals bearing the name Εὐμάθιος Φιλοκάλης (1):

1. πρωτοσπαθάριος ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσोटρικλίνου καὶ κρητῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου, Πελοποννήσου καὶ Ἑλλάδος, but the homonym is not very certain. It is dated to the XIth c. (see *Mordtman*, *Greece*, p. 51, no 24; see *Bees*' emendation, *Peloponnes*, 229-231).

2. μάγιστρος, dated to 1070s (attested by six bullae, struck in the same pair of dies. See *Schlumberger*, *Sig.*, p. 692; *Панченко*, *Каталог*, № 346; *Konstantopoulos*, no 412; *Stavrakos*, no. 269; unpublished in the Shaw collection, 261, (nos. 1241-1242).

3. κουροπαλάτης, dated to 1090s (*Schlumberger*, *Sig.*, p. 190; *Laurent*, *Bulles metrique*, no. 147).

4. πρωτονωβελλίστιμος, dated to the XIth-XIIth c. (attested by five unpublished bullae in the collections of DO. 55.1.3868; 55.1.3869; 58.106.408; 58. 106. 4101; Fogg A. M. no. 584).

5. σεβαστὸς, dated to the early XIIth c. (according to unpublished seals in DO. 55. 1. 4059 and Fogg A. M. no 754).

6. μέγας δούξ καὶ πραίτωρ Ἑλλάδος καὶ Πελοποννήσου (according to the data of two bullae: *Mordtmann*, *Greece*, no 20; *Bees*, *Peloponnes*, 230-231 and *DOS*, 2, no. 22.15. It is dated to the first decade of the XIIth c.

Clearly, not all groups of seals could be associated with one person: with the first group, as pointed out, the homonym is uncertain; with the second one the iconographic subject is different; with the remaining nos. 3-6, it could be assumed that they apply to one person. Besides the identical iconographic subject, there is also a chronological continuity in his career.

Εὐμάθιος Φιλοκάλης (2): He lived a century later.

His name is reported in connection to the campaign of Frederick I Barbarossa to the Holy Sepulcher and his conflict with Byzantium. On 23rd January 1190, a certain pansevastos acholitho domno Eumathio Philocali arrived in the Frederick's headquarters as an envoy of Isaakios II Angelos (1185-1195). After mutual concessions and compromises, the peace treaty between Isaakios II and Frederick I was signed as pansevastos acolithon (according to *Seibt*, *Bleisiegel*, S. 316, this position covers the commander of the guards of Variangians). Eumathium Philocalim remained with Frederick as a hostage (for this episode and the relevant events, see *Friderici imperatoris, Historia*, 57.45; 60.24-25, 65.21-22).

At the end of 1196 or the beginning of 1197 the new Emperor Alexios III Angelos (1195-

1203) dispatched the eparchos of the City Εὐμάθιος Φιλοκάλης to conduct negotiations with the German Emperor Henry IV, then located in Italy, regarding the tribute, which he had to pay to Byzantium (**Choniates**, 478 3-15; **Skoutariotes**, *MB*, VII, 419.10-15).

A group of seals, whose owner is a sebastos, is associated with the person of Εὐμάθιος Φιλοκάλης (2) (**Seibt**, *Bleisiegel*, no. 173).

The purpose of the hitherto presented information is to determine with whom of the above persons we could identify the owner of the seal affixed on the correspondence to the Kazanluk region. Facing the same question, father Laurent assumed the existence of a third Εὐμάθιος Φιλοκάλης, who lived in the second half of the XIIth c. (see Laurent, *Corpus*, II, p. 667). The possibility of identifying him with Εὐμάθιος Φιλοκάλης (2) at an earlier stage of his career is in contradiction with the epithet σεβαστοπάππου=grandfather of the sebastos inscribed on the seal. Since Εὐμάθιος Φιλοκάλης (2) himself was a sebastos, he should have his title written out rather than made himself known as σεβαστοπάππου.

### 735. Ἰσαάκιος Φιλοκάλης (second half, XI c.)

Private collection (Dinko Tanchev from Stara Zagora). Find-spot: Southern Bulgaria. D. 18-19 (17) 3 mm. W. 6.10 g. On the whole, complete imprint in an excellent state of preservation.

*Unpublished.*

*Parallels* : unpublished from DO. 58. 106. 1074.

*Obv.* Bust of St. Basil blessing (r. hand), and holding a book (l. hand). Vertical inscription in two columns: Θ-R-A || C-I-ΛΕΙ-Ο' : 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Βασίλειος(ς).

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

+ | CΦΡΑΓΙC | ICAAKIΩ | ΤΩΦΝΛΟ | ΚΑΛΗ

+ Σφραγίς Ἰσαακίω τῷ Φυλοκάλη

### 735A. Ἰωάννης Φιλοκάλης ὑπατος (mid of the XI c.)

Private collection (E. Kosev from Shumen). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 21-22.5(17) 3 mm. On the whole, complete imprint in an excellent state of preservation.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with the medallion of Christ on her chest. Sigla: MP || ΘV : Μ(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ.

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

+ ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ἸΩΝΠΑΤ' | ΤΟΦΙΛΟ | ΚΑΛ'

+ Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) Ἰω(άννη) ὑπάτ(ω) το Φυλοκάλ(η)

The Dumbarton Oaks collection contains seals which probably belonged to the same individual:

a. in his capacity as πρωτοσπαθάριος-ὑπατος (after the mid-XIth c.), according to unpublished lead seals in DO. 58. 106. 1684.

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin holding a medallion of Christ before her. Sigla: MP|| ΘV

*Rev.* + ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ἸΩΑ'CΠΑΘ'ΡΙ'SVΠΑΤ' | ΤΟΦΙΛΟ | ΚΑΛΙ

b. in his capacity as βεστάρχης (third quarter of the XI c.), according to an unpublished

lead seal in Fogg A. M., no. 1462.

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin holding a medallion of Christ before her. Sigla: MP || ΘV

*Rev.* + |.ΚΕΡ'Θ' | .ΩΡΕCΤΑΡ | .ΗΤΟ.Υ | ΛΟ | ΚΑΛΙ | - - -

### 736. Νικηφόρος Φιλοκάλης στρατηγός (XI c.)

Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 14188. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 21-23 (over 23) 3 mm, 7.85 g. Incomplete imprint. The blank was smaller in diameter than the dies. A bulla in a poor state of preservation. The surface is punctured with corrosion.

*Ed.* Йорданов, Преслав, № 373.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin holding a medallion of Christ before her chest. Sigla: MP || ΘV: Μ(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ.

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

..ΕΡ. | .Ι.ΙΦ. | ..ΤΡΑ. | Γ'ΤΟΦΝΛ. | ΚΑΛΗ

[Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)[θ(ει) Ν]ι[κ]ιφ[όρω] στρα[τη]γ(ῶ) το Φυλ[ο]κάλη

Seals of four different representatives of this family were found in various settlements throughout Bulgaria, thus calling for a brief prosopographical survey:

Φιλοκάλης is among those names, whose etymology is connected with qualities, and means "loving the good". The first known Philokales is mentioned in Basil II's novel of 996 as an example of an ordinary peasant who rose to the title protovestiarios and acquired the lands of neighboring peasants (see **Zepos**, *JGR*, I, 265.6-20).

Known from the narratives sources and the seals are the following:

1. Ἀνδρόνικος Φιλοκάλης :

a. κατεπάνω Βουλγαρίας (1065-1066), see *Кекавмен*, 264.17-18, з. 1003;

b. βεστάρχης καὶ κατεπάνω (1060-1070), see here no. 733.

2. Εὐμάθιος Φιλοκάλης γραμματικός (second half, XII c.), see here no.734.

3. Ἰσαάκιος Φιλοκάλης as a private person (second half of the XI c.), see here no.735.

4. Ἰωάννης Φιλοκάλης, see here no.735A.

5. Μανουήλ Φιλοκάλης:

a. πρόεδρος (third quarter of the XI c.), according to unpublished lead seals in Shaw 331 (no. 1245) and DO. 55. 1. 3252).

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin holding Christ in l. arm. Sigla: MP || ΘV

*Rev.* + ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΜΑΝ8ΗΛ | ΠΡΟΕΔΡΟ | ΤΩΦΙΛΟ | ΚΑΛΗ

b. πρωτοπρόεδρος (1080s-1090s), according to unpublished lead seals in Shaw 344 (no. 1244).

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion. Sigla: MP || ΘV

*Rev.* + ΘΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΜΑΝ8ΗΛ | ΠΡΩΤΟΠΡΟ | ΕΔΡΟΤΩ | ΦΙΛΟΚΑ | ..

c. πρωτονωβελλίσιμος καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου (1094, see **Gautier**, *Blachernes*, p. 217.14, no. 10).

d. as a private person (XI-XII c.), according to unpublished lead seals from DO. 58. 106. 4619 and DO. 58. 106. 4440.

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin with a medallion. Sigla: MP || ΘV

*Rev.* CΦΡΑ | Γ'MAN8 | ΗΛΦΙΛΟ | ΚΑΛ'



6. Μιχαήλ Φιλοκάλης :

a. πρόεδρος καὶ μυστικός (1080s), according to three lead seals (see **Laurent**, *Orghidan*, no. 78; **Idem**, *Corpus*, II, no. 122;

b. πρόεδρος καὶ μυστικός (1080s), according to an unpublished lead seal from DO. 58. 106. 3094.

*Obv.* Bust of the St. Michael.

*Rev.* + ΚΕΡ'Θ' | .ΧΙΑ'ΕΔΡΟ | .....CTIK' | ΤΩΦΝΛΟ | ΚΑΛΗ

c. πρωτοπρόεδρος ἑπαρχος καὶ μυστικός (1080s-1090s), according to two lead seals (see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, no. 1033 and **Stavrakos**, no. 270).

d. πρωτονωβελλίστιμος μυστικός καὶ ἑπαρχος (1094, see **Gautier**, *Blachernes*, p. 217.15, no. 11).

e. as a private person (XI-XII c.), according to an unpublished seal from Fogg A.M., no. 191

*Obv.* St. George standing frontally, holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground. Vertical inscription: .... || Ω-Ρ-ΓΙ-Ο-Σ

*Rev.* -+ | ΣΦΡΑΓΙΣ | ΜΙΧΑΗΛ | ΤΟΦΙΛΟ | ο ΚΑΛΗ ο

7. Νικηφόρος Φιλοκάλης στρατηγὸς (XI c.), see here no. 736.

8. Θεόδωρος Φιλοκάλης - as a private person (XI-XII c.), according to an unpublished lead seal from DO. 58. 106. 2644.

*Obv.* Bust of St. Basil blessing (r. hand), and holding a book (l. hand). Vertical inscription in two columns: Θ-R-A || C-I-ΛΕΙ-ΟC

*Rev.* -+ | ΣΦΡΑΓΙΣ | ΘΕΟΔΩΡ8 | Τ8ΦΝΛΟ | ΚΑΛ8

### 737. Θεόδωρος Φραγγοπούλος πρόεδρος (second half, XI c.)

Private collection (S. Bilik, Sofia). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 17-24 (17) 2.5 mm, W. 4.056 g. Incomplete imprint.

*Ed.* Билик, Фамилни имена, № 18.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of St. Theodore holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription: ..... || O-ΔO-P': [Ο ἄγιος Θε]όδωρ(ος).

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟ | Α'ΕΔΡΩ | ΤΟΦΡΑ. | ..-

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Θεοδόρο (προ)έδρω το Φρα[γοπούλω]

The owner of the seal Θεόδωρος Φραγγοπούλος was connected by origin with the West. Among the numerous Phrangorouloi, who were not necessarily of one family, another Θεόδωρος Φραγγοπούλος is known by his seals (see **Regling**, *Bleisiegel*, III, no V; **Seibt-Zarnitz**, no. 3.3.4). Its dating however is different from that of our seal. It is dated to the period second-third quarter of the XIIIth c.

### 737A. N., Φραγγοπούλος (XII c.)

Private collection (V. Panteleev from Varna, no. 463). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 31-32 (28) 3 mm, W. 13.2 g. Complete but low-quality imprint. Cracked. Some letters are obliterated.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Inscription of three lines:

+ ΤΟV | ΦΡΑΓΟ | ΠΩΛ8

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

ΤΑC | ΓΡΑΦΑC | ΠΡΟΜΗ | ΝVΩ

+ Τοῦ Φραγγοπόλου τὰς γραφὰς προμηνύω.

### 738. Μιχαήλ Φυτιανός β' πρωτο/ σπαθάριος καὶ ταξιάρχης (X-XI c.)

Private collection (Zh. Biulbiulev from Harmanli). Find-spot: Silistra. D. 27-27(18)3.2 mm. Incomplete imprint, which renders the reading of the text difficult. The problems concern Michael's title and his homonym. The completion above is only one possible variant.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of St. Theodore Stratelates holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription in two columns: Θ-ΘΕ-ΟΔ-Ω-Ρ' || O-C-.....: 'Ο ἄγιος Θεόδωρ(ος) ὁ Σ[τρατηλάτης].

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΜΙΧΑΗΛ | .CΠΑΘΑΡ' | ..ΑΞΗΑΡΧ' | .ΩΦΥΤΗ | -ΑΝΟ -

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Μιχαήλ [ β' ] or [(πρωτο)]σπαθαρί(ω) [(καὶ) τ]αξιάρχ(η) [τ]ῷ Φυτιάνω

I am not familiar with such a patronym from the narrative sources.

1. The Thierry Collection 126 (2/4) contains a seal of Πανθήριος Φυτιανός πατρίκιος, which is dated to the second half of the XIth c. (see **Stavrakos**, *Famliennamen*, 188-189, no. 1). We could find a connection between the two seals. Besides the patronym, they also share the same iconographic subject.

2. The Dumbarton Oaks collection contains two unpublished seals of poorly-preserved patronyms, which could also be associated with the family Φυτιανός.

a. Λέων Φυτιανός ? πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς (second half of the XI c.), according to an unpublished seal in DO. 58. 106. 5217.

*Obv.* St. Theodore standing, holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground. Vertical inscription: Θ-ΘΕ-. || Δ-ΩΡ-Ο'

*Rev.* + ΚΕΡΟ | ΗΘΕΙΑΕ | ΟΝΤΑΠΡΠ | .ΑΙCΤΡΑΤ | .Γ'ΤΩΦV | ..ΝΩ

b. Λέων Φυτιανός ? μάγιστρος (last quarter of the XI c.), according to an unpublished seal in DO. 55. 1. 3445.

*Obv.* Crucifixion.

*Rev.* + ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΛΕΩΝΤΙ | ΜΑΓ.ϣΡ. | .ΩΦVΤΙ | Ν.

### 739. N., Φωκᾶς (mid-XIII c.)

Private collection. Presented to me for documentation by E. Kosev from Shumen. The information on its possible find-spot is unreliable. D. 31-35 (30) 4 mm. Good and complete imprint.

*Ed.* Several months after its documentation in Shumen, I was surprised to find the same seal among those participating in the Auction Münz Zentrum, 96, 11-12. 09. 1998, no. 652.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* St. George standing frontally, represented as a warrior. He wears a short military tunic or armour reaching above his knees. He props himself on a long spear (r. hand) and holds a shield (l. hand), resting on the ground. A fleur-de-lis appears on its umbro. The depiction and the fleur-de-lis definitely relate this monument in style with the Nicaean Empire and Magnesia. Vertical inscription in two columns: O-A-ΓΙ-..|| ΓΕ-ΩΡ-ΓΙ : 'Ο ἅγι[ος] Γεώργι(ος).

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

ΕΙΚΩΝ | ΑΘΛΗΤΟΝ | ΦΩΚΑΝΜΕ | ΦΡΟΥΡΕΙ | ΣΚΕΠΕ | ∴

Εἰκὼν ἀθλητοῦ Φωκᾶν με φρούρει σκέπε

This is one of the few seals ascribed to the mid-XIIIth c. Its dating is corroborated both by the characteristic "Nicaean" depiction (a similar fleur-de-lis on the umbro of the saint's shield appears on the seals of Theodore Doukas Laskaris, emperor and son of an emperor (1254-1258), on him, see **Oikonomides**, *Dated*, no. 135), and by the paleography of the || (see **Oikonomides**, *Dated*, p. 162).

The owner of the seal is represented by one name only Phokas. Who was he?

In the above-cited Auction there is an entry of Michael Phokas, who was in service to Emperor John III Doukas Batatzes and in 1234 was appointed stratopedarches.

In this case we can indeed be dealing with a seal of a military man, but still only the name Phokas is inscribed on it.

Many XIIIth-century representatives of the family Phokas are known, some of which also military commanders, but the proper name of each one of them is also mentioned.

Perhaps a more suitable owner of the seal is the allagator Phokas (commander of a detachment of the imperial guards, see **Guilland**, *Recherches*, I, 524-525), who along with his wife Eirene and the lady Athanasia Mangaphaina are noted as ktetors of a church in the monastery of the Virgin at Skoteine near Philadelphia. In the typikon of the monastery, a special attention is paid to the cult of St. George (see *BMFD*, 3, no.35, 1176-1189).

#### 740. Δαυὶδ Χαασανόπουλος (late XI c.)

Historical Museum, Pernik, no. 351. Found in the course of excavations in the fortress near the town, in the dwelling, on 23rd May 1968, sq. V/211, depth. 1.00, D. 20-20 (15) 4 mm. Well-centered but indistinct imprint. Bulla in a poor state of preservation, especially the obverse.

*Ed.* Юркова, Перник, II, 132-133р табл. III. 8.

*Parallels:* Another specimen struck with the same pair of dies is preserved in the Zacos unpublished collection, III, no. 1430, see **Stavrakos**, C. Sceaux inédits d'arabes au service de Byzance, no. 4, 515-516.

*Obv.* Inscription of three lines:

+ CΦΡΑ | ΓΙCMA | ΔΑΔ

*Rev.* Inscription of three lines:

T8XA| ACANO | Π8Λ8

+ Σφράγισμα Δα(υὶ)δ τοῦ Χαασανοπούλου

The owner of the seal, whose correspondence was received in the Krakra fortress, is Δαυὶδ Χαασανόπουλος as a private person.

In the original publication of this seal, its publisher has read the patronym as Χαρσιανόπουλος. The writing of Χαρσιανόπουλος instead of Χαρσιανίτης, according to the same, was due to the author's desire to harmonize the measure of the verses on both sides of the bulla.

The close scrutiny of the Pernik seal and its comparison with the Istanbul parallel leave no doubt that Χαασανόπουλος is meant.

Δαυὶδ Χαασανόπουλος is unknown from the other narrative sources. The first element of the name Χαασαν probably derives from Ar. *hasan* "good", "beautiful", etc., and represents a well-known Muslim Arabic name (for *hasan* in Byzantine sources see: **Moravcsik**, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, S. 341). It may well be that he was of Arabic or Turkish origin, the son of a certain Hasan, switched over to service in Byzantium. The dating of the seal is generally to the end of XIth c., when this type of seals of no title or office prevailed.

The Dumbarton Oaks Collection contains an unpublished bulla (DO. 58. 106. 1337) of a certain Θεοδόσιος Χαασανόπουλος μάγιστρος, dated to the last quarter of the XIth c.

*Obv.* St. Theodore Sratelates standing, holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground. Vertical inscription Θ- ΘΕ- ο-ΔΩ-Ρ' || O-CT-PA-TH- ΛΑ-Τ'

*Rev.* + KER'Θ' | ΘΕΟΔΟCΙΩ | ΜΑΓΙCΤΡΩ | ΤΩΧΑCΑ | ΝΟΠΩΛΩ

What is the connection between these two individuals? Were they brothers, the sons of a certain Hasan, who had switched over to service in the Empire, or were they generally of Arabic stock, where Hasan was a very common name. That is difficult to say with certainty. Another question also poses itself: What is the connection between these two Hasanopoules and the numerous Hasanides known in Byzantium?

If we accept that David and Theodosios established their identity through their father, couldn't that be the Hasan, patrikios, anthypatos and strategos of Thrace during 1050s-1060s, attested by his bulla found in Pliska ? (see here no. 745).

#### 741. Χαβδούνιος (XI-XII c.)

Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia, no. 139. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 20-20(18)? mm. Good imprint and a well-preserved bulla.

*Ed.* Мушмов, Печати, № 40.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription in two columns: Θ-Γ-Ε || Ω-Ρ-ΓΙ : 'Ο ἅ(γιος) Γεώργι(ος).

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

+ ΜΑΡ | TVCCKE | ΠΕ.OCΩ | ΗΚΕΤ'ΧΑ | ΡΔ8NI | Ω

+ Μάρτυς σκέπε [τ]ο σῶ ἡκέτ(η) Χαβδουνίω

In the original publication, the name Νικήτας Χαρδίνος has been deciphered. Emendation in the reading has been made by **Laurent**, *Bulles metriques*, no. 648.

The name Χαβδούνιος might well have been a variant of Χαμδουνίος, which probably derives from the dynastic name of Hamdânî (*hamdani*) or the Hamdanids, who ruled in Mosul and Aleppo (ca 868-1014). One of the Hamdanids, Abu al-Hayja (?) the son of Sa'd al-Dawla fled to Byzantium during the reign of Basil II, and probably was baptized and entered the Byzantine service (see **M. Canard** article in: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. New Edition, vol. 3, p. 126-131; **R.J. Bikhazi**, *The Hamdanid Dynasty of Mesopotamia and North Syria 254-404 / 868-1014*. Vols. 1-3. PhD. Diss., 1981). One may suggest that the seals of Χαμδουνίος and Χαβδούνιος in fact might well have belonged to the baptized Abu al-Hayja or more likely his successors who preserved the dynastic name of their ancestors (This commentary is made by Dr. Rustam Shukurov to whom I wish to express my warmest thanks).

It is attested on the following seals:

1. Athens Numismatic Museum (see **Konstantopoulos**, no. 982) as private person.

*Obv.* St. George standing, holding a long spear (r. hand), l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground.

*Rev.* ΑΘΛΟ | ΦΟΡ'ΦΥΛ | ΑΤΤ' ΧΑΜ | ΤΟΥΝ'C | ΟΙΚΕ | Τ'

2. Athens Numismatic Museum (see **Konstantopoulos**, no. 388) and unpublished Paris (BnF, no.1253) in his capacity as κουροπαλάτης:

*Obv.* St. Theodore standing, holding a long spear (r. hand), l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground.

*Rev.* ΤΑΙΚΙΚΕ|CΙΑΙΤ8ΜΑ|ΤΥΡΟCΩΛΟΓΕ|.ΑΜΔ8ΝΙΟΝ|ΦΥΛΑΤΤΕΚ8|ΡΟΠΑΛΑΤ'

3. Collection of W. Seibt, no. 44 and 108 (see **Wassiliou, Seibt**, no. 283) in his capacity as κουροπαλάτης και στρατηγέτης (XI-XII c.)

*Obv.* St. Theodore Stratelates standing, holding a long spear (r. hand), l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground.

*Rev.* + ΦΥΛΑΞ | ΑΘΛΗΤΑΚΑ | CΦΡΑΓ'ΧΑ. | ΔΟΥΝΙΩ .... | ΤΗΓΕΤΗΓΕΝ | ΝΟΙΟΚΟΝ | ΡΟΠΑ'

4. Auction Münzzentrum 76, 10.-12. 11. 1993, Lot 1390, no. 15 as a private person (XI-XII c.):

*Obv.* Λόγους σφραγίζω *Rev.* και γραφὰς Χαμδουνίω.

5. Auction Sternberg 19.-20. 11. 1990, no. 384, Pl. V.3 (see *SBS*, 3, p.203) and unpublished two specimens from Zacos, III, no. 1400 [Zacos, BnF, no. 82], belongs of some Χαμδούνιος ὁ Χαμδούνης βεστάρχης και στρατηγὸς (dated last quarter of the XI c.).

*Obv.* St. Theodore Sratelates standing, holding a long spear (r. hand), l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground.

*Rev.* +ΚΕΡ'Θ'|..CΩΔΟΝ'|ΧΑΜΔΟΥΝΙΩ|ΡΕϣ'ΑΡΧ'Κ'ϣ'Ρ'|ΤΗΓΩΤΧΑΜ|οΔΟΥΝΗο|—:—

Do all these seals apply to one or different individuals of Arab-Turkish origin in service in Byzantium? This is a question of no certain answer. First of all, we cannot be sure whether a patronym or a homonym is meant on our seal and on the other two Athens seals. If it is a patronym, then a connection could be made with another group of unpublished seals in the Shaw Collection, 1444 (no. 1049) with the following inscription on its both sides:

*Obv.* + ΚΕ | CΥΝΤΗ | ΑΛΥΠΩ | ΩΘΚΩ

*Rev.* CΚΕ | ΠΕΤ'ΙΩ | ΤΟΧΑΜΔ'

#### 742-743-743A. Βασίλειος Χαλκούτζης νοτάριος (XI c.)

a. Private collection (Ivan Yotov, Iambol). Find-spot: uncertain, either from the stronghold near the village of Zlati Voyvoda or the village of Melnitsa. Dim. 25-25 mm. The strike was well centered, but it is not raised and legible.

*Ed.* **Jordanov**, Melnitsa, no. 9.

b. Private collection (Ivan Yotov, Iambol). Find-spot: uncertain, as the preceding. Dim. 15-25 mm. One-half specimen.

*Ed.* **Jordanov**, Melnitsa, no. 10.

c. Private collection (N. Nikolov from Rzagrad). Find-spot: uncertain. Dim. 20-22 (21) 3.5 mm. Good and well preserved imprint

*Unpublished.*

*The three specimens were struck in the same boulloterion. The combined reading of the total text is via comparison of the three.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Poorly preserved bust of St. Nicholas or St. Pantaleimon.

*Rev.*

a) . . . R' . | RACIA' . | NOTAP. | ΤΩΧΑ . | K'T'

b) . . . R'Θ'| . . . ΙΛ'Ρ'| . . . ΑΡΙ | . . ΧΑΛ | .Τ'

c) + ΚΕΡ'Θ'| RACIA'Ρ'| NOTAP | ΤΩΧΑΛ | - K'T'-

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Βασιλ(είω) β' νοταρί(ω) τῷ Χαλκ(ού)τ(ζη)

The name of Βασίλειος Χαλκούτζης is also inscribed on two other groups of seals:

1. as πρωτοσπαθάριος ἐπὶ τοῦ Χρυσοτρικλίνου, κριτῆς τοῦ βήλου καὶ ἐξάκτωρ, according to the specimen from the collection of the museum of Manisa (no. 7235), dated to the mid-XI c., see **Cheyne**, Manisa, 262-263, no. 2.

2. as κένσωρος καὶ πρωτονοτάριος τῆς σακέλλης (last quarter of the XIth c.), according to the seal from Vienna MK 489, see **Wassiliou, Seibt**, no. 73.

The name of Βασίλειος Χαλκούτζης is also attested in a pittakion of Anna Dalassene for the monastery on the island of Patmos as :

a. μάγιστρος, βέστης, κριτῆς τοῦ βήλου καὶ γενικός, see *Actes Patmos*, I, no. 46, p. 330.B11, dated 1087;

b. μάγιστρος, βεστάρχης καὶ β'νοτάριος τοῦ σεκρέτου τοῦ γενικοῦ, see *Actes Patmos*, I, nos. 48, p. 338.B218; 49 p. 345.Γ307, dated 1088;

We cannot be absolutely sure that the same person is involved. The family Chalkoutzes was very widespread in the XIth c. and we cannot rule out the possibility here of a coincidence in names. If we assume that the owner of the seals presented here and the Basil Chalkoutzes known from the documents are identical, the seals reflects an earlier stage in his life.

His cursus honorum would have the following outline:

a. νοτάριος (XI c.);

b. πρωτοσπαθάριος ἐπὶ τοῦ Χρυσοτρικλίνου, κριτῆς τοῦ βήλου καὶ ἐξάκτωρ, (mid-XI c.);

c. κένσωρος καὶ πρωτονοτάριος τῆς σακέλλης (last quarter of the XIth c.);

d. μάγιστρος, βέστης, κριτῆς τοῦ βήλου καὶ γενικός (1087);

e. μάγιστρος, βεστάρχης καὶ β'νοτάριος τοῦ σεκρέτου τοῦ γενικοῦ (1088);

#### 744. Νικήτας Χαλκούτζης β'πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ ἐκ προσώπου τῶν ἀγγελῶν (XI c.)

Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia, no. 94. Find-spot: uncertain. D. 20-20 mm. A rather small part of the dies was printed on the obviously smaller blank.

*Unpublished.*

*Parallels:* Another specimen struck in the same boulloterion is preserved in the Shaw collection 503 (no. 1055, see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, no. 591). We follow it in the restoration of the missing lines and letters of our specimen.

*Obv.* Inscription of four lines:

..... | ...CΠ. | ΘΑΡ'Ε. | .....

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

.... | .. ΛΩΝ | .ΧΑΛΚ8 | THC

[ +Νικήτας β'(πρωτο)]σπ[α]θαρ(ιος) [(καὶ)] ἐ[κ προσ(ώ)που τῶν ἀγε]λῶν [ὁ] Χαλκούτζης

The name Niketas was favored by the family Chalkoutzes, as father Laurent correctly observed.

Known are several representatives of the family Chalkoutzes bearing this proper name:

1. Νικήτας Χαλκούτζης πατρίκιος was dispatched on a special mission to Chabdan in 956 and was imprisoned there (see **Skylitzes**, 242.33-46). He apparently regained his freedom and was mentioned as στρατηγός ca 965 (see **Skylitzes**, 270.47-48) and was responsible for expelling the Arabs from Cyprus from in 965-966 (see **Skylitzes**, 270.47-48).

2. Νικήτας Χαλκούτζης, whose name is known from a synodical resolution of 1038, according to which he contributed for the marriage of Leo, the son of Anthimos protospatharios, to Mitze, the daughter of Peter Bobylas (see **Grumel**, *Regestes*, no. 845).

3. Νικήτας Χαλκούτζης β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ ἐπισκεπτήτης Μειανδρου is attested in the XIth c. as a donator of grain to the Xerochoraphion monastery (see the document in **Willson, N.-J. Darrouzes**, *Restes du chartulaire de Hiera-Xerochoraphion*, *REB*, 26, 1968, 19.32-33; for his seal, see **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 3, no. 25.1 and **Cheyne**, *Zacos*, III, no. 266).

The owner of the above seal seems most likely to be identified with the last one. Its dating is generally down to the mid-XIth c.

For the Chalkoutzes family attested in Byzantium from the Xth-XIIIth centuries, see **Savvides, A. G.** *Ο Βυζαντινός Οίκος Χαλκούτζη (Χαλκούτση). - Μελετήματα*, Αθήνα, 1992, 165-193). For the XIth c., see **Wassiliou-Seibt**'s survey, 96-98.

Below is a brief survey of the representatives of this family attested by their seals:

1. Βασίλειος Χαλκούτζης, see here no. 742-743.

2. Γεώργιος Χαλκούτζης :

a. ἀσηκρήτης καὶ βασιλικὸς τῆς Ρόδου (mid-XI c., see *DOS*, 2, no. 54.1).

b. as a private person (second half of the XI c.), according to an unpublished seal from Fogg A.M., no. 2589.

*Obv.* Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

*Rev.* + | CΦΡΑΓ' | ΓΕΩΡΓΙ | 8Τ8ΧΑ. | K..Tz

3. Γρηγόριος Χαλκούτζης :

a. ἀσηκρήτης (second quarter of the XI c., see **Schlumberger**, *Sig.*, p. 444, no. 3; **Панченко**, *Каталогъ № 474*; **Шандровская**, *Поправки*, 114-115; **Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, no. 106, **Šandrovskaja-Seibt**, no. 57);

b. σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος καὶ χαρτουλᾶριος τοῦ γενικοῦ λογοθεσίου (mid-XI c., see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, no. 380.).

4. Θεόδωρος Χαλκούτζης πρωτονοτάριος τῆς σακέλλης (second half of the XIth c.), see **Wassiliou, Seibt**, no. 72.

5. Ἰωάννης υἱὸς τοῦ Βασίλειος Χαλκούτζης κένσωρος καὶ πρωτονοτάριος τῆς σακέλλης (last quarter of the XIth c.), see **Wassiliou, Seibt**, no. 73.

6. Ἰωάννης Χαλκούτζης ὕπατος καὶ μέγας χαρτουλᾶριος τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ λογοθεσίου (after mid-XIth c.), see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, no. 558.

7. Μιχαήλ Χαλκούτζης, a private person, first half of the XI c., according to a seal from Hermitage (M-9523), see **Šandrovskaja-Seibt**, no. 59.

7. Νικήτας Χαλκούτζης see here, no. 744.

8. Πέτρος Χαλκούτζης πρωτοσπαθάριος (XI c.), according to an unpublished lead seal from the Shaw collection 181 (no. 1054).

*Obv.* Bust of St. Peter with keys. Vertical inscription: ☉-ΠΕ || ...

*Rev.* KER'Θ' | ΕΤΡΩΑ' | ΠΑΘΑ'ΤΩ | ΧΑΛ'Κ8 | Τ'

9. Στέφανος Χαλκούτζης, a private person (XI c.), see **Konstantopoulos**, 696a; **Stavrakos**, no. 274.

#### 745. Χασάνης ἀνθύπατος, πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς Θράκης (the mid XI<sup>th</sup> century)

Archeological Institute and Museum, Sofia, no. 124. Found by the Russian archeological expedition in 1899-1900. D. 25-27 mm; field over 25 mm; thickness 3 mm. Good imprint but visibly the blank was too small for the die.

Ed. **Панченко**, *Абоба-Плиска 294-295, Табл. LVIII.2 а-б*; **Йорданов**, *Плиска, № 32*; **Jordanov**, *G. Names*, no. 35.11.

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* St. George standing holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand set on a shield resting on the ground. Vertical inscription: -Ε-Ω-Ρ || Γ-Ι-Ο' : [Ὁ ἅγιος Γεώργιος].

*Rev.* Inscription of six lines:

+ KER'Θ' | ΧΑCΑNH | ΠΡΙΑΝΘVΠ' | ΤΩCΤΡΑ | ΤΙΓ'ΘΡΑ | -ΚΗC-

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Χασάνη π(ατ)ρι(κίω) ἀνθυπ(ά)τω (καὶ) στρατιγ(ῶ)

Θράκης

The original publication dated the seal to the time of Basil II (976-1025) or a short time later. In our publication the proposed dating is to the 1050s-1060s.

The name Χασάνης is an exact transcription of Ar. *hasan* "good", "beautiful", etc., which represents a well-known Muslim Arabic name (for other references to this name in Byzantine sources see: **Moravcsik**, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, S. 341).

In current case it is a personal name but not patronym. Various collections in the world preserve seals of the Byzantine dignitaries bearing the same name:

1. In the collection of Zacos a specimen is preserved of Χασσάν β' πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μανγλαβίου, which is dated by its publisher to IX<sup>th</sup>-X<sup>th</sup> centuries (see **Zacos**, *Seals*, II, nos. 107 a-b).

2. G. Schlumberger has published a seal of his collection found in Threbizond, which belonged to Χασάνης στρατῶρ τοῦ λογοθέσιου. The author dated the seal to IX<sup>th</sup>-X<sup>th</sup> centuries (see **Schlumberger**, *MA*, 260-261, no. 114). The same seal was republished by father Laurent, who has determined that Hassan was a strator *epi tou* logothetes of the Genikon and dated the seal to the X<sup>th</sup> century (see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, no. 407). It is difficult to discuss this opinion because illustrations of the seal are absent except the facsimile from the original publication. The dating generally to IX<sup>th</sup>-X<sup>th</sup> centuries is acceptable.

3. In the collection of the Athena Numismatic Museum a specimen is preserved belonging to Χασάνης πρωτοσπαθάριος (see **Konstantopoulos**, no. 518b), which could be generally dated to XI<sup>th</sup> century.

*Obv.* Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

*Rev.* + KER'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ' | ΧΑCΑΝΩ | Α'CΠΑΘ'Ρ'.

4. In the collections of Dumbarton Oaks (DO. 58. 106. 1106) and Zacos, III, no. 1298, two unpublished specimens are preserved of Χασάνης ὕπατος, which could be generally dated to XI<sup>th</sup> century.

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin holding Christ in l. arm.

*Rev.* + KER'Θ' | ΤΩCΩΔ' | ΧΑCΑΝΩ | VΠΑΤΩ

5. Among the seals of unpublished collection Shaw no. 967 (1149) there is one belonging to Χασάνης στρατηγός with the following inscription:

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion.

*Rev.* .....|ΝΕ.....|ΓΟΝΤ..|ΧΑCΑΝ..|CΚΕΠΟΙC

Its metrical text and the office strategos refer the dating of the seal not later than the third quarter of the XI<sup>th</sup> century (because later on this position developed in katepano and doux. See **Cheyne**, *Du stratege au duc*, 181-183).

6. An unpublished specimen is preserved in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (DO. 58. 106. 4455) of one Ἀβιδέλας ἄνθρωπος τοῦ προέδρου Χασάνη, which could be dated to the third quarter of the XI<sup>th</sup> century.

*Obv.* Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

*Rev.* + ΚΕΡ'Θ'|ΑΡ'ΔΕΛΛΑ|ΤΩΑΝΩΠΡ|Τ8ΧΑ..|ΝΗ

It is obscure whether this one was the owner of the seal from Pliska or he was some other Hassan.

7. Some of the letters of the Michael Psellos are addressed to the judge of Macedonia, vestarches Hassan (see **Psellos**, *MB*, V, 38, 39, 172). The letters are not definitely dated but their contents suggest that this one Hassan was a disciple of Psellos and occupied the position of judge of Macedonia during the 1070s (see **Любарский**, *Михаил Псел*, 102-103, 109, 111). Another question arises: if the title in the address τῷ βεστάρχῃ καὶ κριτῇ Μακεδονίας τῷ Χασάνη (see **Psellos**, *MB*, V, 444-172) and also πρὸς τὸν βεστάρχην καὶ κριτὴν Μακεδονίας τὸν Χασάνην (see **Psellos**, *MB*, V, 272-40) is the homonym or patronym of the judge. We can assume that it applies to a personal name and hence this Hassan was actually an ancestor of the patronym, which legalized his heirs, for instance David Hassanopoulos, etc.

However, it is possible that the title of the letters of Psellos pointed only to the patronym of the recipient, who could be the owner of the seal from Pliska too. Therefore we have to present the dignitaries bearing the patronym Χασάνης during XI<sup>th</sup> century:

1. Βασίλειος ὁ τοῦ Φιλοσόφως ὁ Χασάνης, μάγιστρος, κριτῆς τοῦ βήλου καὶ πρωτονοτάριος known by two unpublished specimens from the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (DO 58. 106. 4091 and DO. 55. 6.38 2407), which are dated to the third quarter of the XI<sup>th</sup> century.

a) *Obv.* St. Basil standing frontally half-length facing to l. toward Manus dei in l. upper field.

*Rev.* -+-.|..CΙΑΕ..| ΜΑΓΙCΤΡΟ|ΚΡΙΤ'Τ8ΡΗΛ8|Α'ΝΟΤΑΡΙΩΤΟ|Τ8 ΦΙΛΟC | ΤΩΤΩΧ  
|ΑCΑΝΗ

b) *Obv.* St. Basil, as last.

*Rev.* RAC....|ΜΑΓΙCΤΡΩΚΡ|ΤΗΤΟΝΡΙΑΛΟΝ|ΤΩΧΑCΑΝΙ|ΤΩΝΤ8|ΛΟCΟΦΩ

It is unclear what the connection was between this Basil and our Hassan, but surely he was in connection with the recipient of Michael Psellos.

2. Θεόδωρος Χασάνης - without title and position. He is represented by his seal from the collection of the Athens Numismatic Museum (see **Konstantopoulos**, no. 699), which is dated to the third quarter of the XI<sup>th</sup> century.

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with medallion.

*Rev.* ΘΚΕΡ'Θ'|ΘΕΟΔΩΡ'|ΤΟΝΧΑ|ΑCΝΗΝ

3. Νικήτας ὁ τοῦ Χασάνης πρωτοσπαθάριος, who is represented by his unpublished seal from the Dumbarton Oaks Collection dated to the second half of the XI<sup>th</sup> century (DO. 58. 106. 2327)

*Obv.* St. Niketas standing holding spear (r. hand), l. hand resting on shield set on the ground.

*Rev.* +ΚΕΡ'Θ'|ΤΩCΩΔ8 |ΝΙΚΗΤΑΑ'|CΠΑΘΑΡ'Ω|ΤΟΤ8ΧΑ|CΑΝ

4. In the Corpus of father Laurent presenting the seal of Hassan, strator *epi tou* logothetes of the Genikon, the names Bardas and Leo Hassan are reported according to the data of their seals from the Dumbarton Oaks Collection. The two last mentioned, though, are associated with the family Kazan.

What were the relationships between these persons known by various data?

The first two persons (seals no. 1 and no. 2) have to be ignored. They are from the period IX<sup>th</sup>-X<sup>th</sup> centuries. The owner of the third seal could be associated with the seal from Pliska. Besides chronological continuity of the title, the iconography subject of these two seals is equal as well as the name. It reflects an earlier period in the career of Hassan. The same holds for no. 3. It is uncertain also if the seal no. 5 with metrical text belonged to the same dignitary. This seal is chronologically later than one from Pliska and the saint is different. The seal no. 6 also could be associated with the owner of the seal from Pliska, of the Abidela anthropos *epi tou* proedros Hassan, not only because he was anthropos of Hassan but also because the iconography subject of his seal is the same as this one of Hassan. This seal indirectly reflects a later stage of the career of Hassan, when he was proedros.

We could not define the recipient of the correspondence of Michael Psellos. The adduced data show that this Hassan was well-known to society. His nephew holding quite high dignity and having two seals did not miss to legalize himself by his relative, who also held the title or appellation 'philosopher.'

Undoubtedly the seal of Pliska caused too much discussion. For instance, why did Hassan introduce himself only with personal name? After occupying an office in the Empire, he was converted and a Christian name was given to him.

#### 746-748. Εὐγένιος Χαψέ (second half, XI c.)

a. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 20183. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 20-23 (16) 2 mm, W. 4.25 g. Incomplete imprint.

*Ed.* **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 416.

b. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 22189. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 20-25 (16) 2 mm, W. 4.25 g. Overstruck.

*Ed.* **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 417.

c. National Historical Museum, Sofia. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 20-23 (16) 3 mm. Incomplete imprint.

*Ed.* **Йорданов**, *Преслав*, № 418

*The three specimens were struck with the same pair of dies.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Rosace of acanthus occupying the whole field. Eight rays come out of it, a five-pointed star at each end. Border of dots.

*Rev.* Inscription of five lines:

+ ΚΕΡ | ΩΙΘΗΤΟ | ΔΟΝΑΛΟC | ΕΝΓΕΝΙ | ΧΑΨΙ

+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοίθη το δοῦλος Εὐγενί(ω τῷ) Χαψί

#### 749. Θεόδωρος Χλεβέρτος σεβαστός (XII c.)

Private collection (V. Panteleev from Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 21-42 (38 ?) 3 mm, W. 16.00 g. Half preserved. Holed in the upper end.

*Unpublished.*



No parallels known.

Obv. Standing figure of a military saint. Part of the inscription visible: O-A-ΓΙ-ΟC

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

...ΑΤ8 | .....ΑΦΑC | .....CΚΕΠΕ | | .....ΡΟΝΧΛ|.....ΤΟΝC | ...ΕΤΟΝ  
[Σεβ]αστοῦ [τὰς γρ]αφὰς [ἀθλητὰ] σκέπε [Θεοδῶ]ρου Χλ[ευερι]τος [οἰκ]έτου

### 750. Γεώργιος Χοιροσφάκτης πατρίκιος (second half, XI c.)

Private collection (V. Stankov from Batak). Find-spot: the stronghold near the village of Melnitsa, district of Elkhovo . D. 29-29 (4) ? mm. Complete imprint in a fairly good state of preservation. Cracked along the center.

Unpublished.

Parallels: **Mordtmann**, Grece, p 48 and two unpublished specimens from collections DO Shaw 1060 and Zacos, III (two copies).

Obv. Inscription in four lines:

+| ΓΕΩΡΓΙ | ΩCΦΡΑΓΙC | ΜΑΤ8ΧΟΙΡ' | CΦΑΚΤ8 | .

Rev. Inscription in four lines:

.| Τ8ΠΡΙ | ΚΙΩΑΞΙΩC | ΤΕΤΑΓΜΕ | -ΝΟV -  
+ Γεωργίου σφράγισμα τοῦ Χοιρ(ο)σφάκτου τοῦ π(ατ)ρικίου ἀξίως  
τεταγμένου

1. In the collection Zacos, III, were preserved other metrical seal of George Choirosphaktes as judge at Charsianon (**Cheyne**, Zacos, III, no.264).

2 In the collection Fogg A. M., no. 782 were preserved an unpublished seal of George Choirosphaktes as a private person.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with medallion. . Sigla:  $\overline{MP}$  ||  $\overline{\Theta V}$

Rev. +| CΚΕΠ'ΘΚΕ | ΓΕΩΡΓΙΩ | ΤΩΧΟΙΡ'C | ΦΑΚΤΗ

### 751. Κωνσταντῖος Χοιροσφάκτης πρωτοπρόεδρος (1070s-1090s)

Private collection (S. Bilik from Sofia). Find-spot: Southern Bulgaria, Plovdiv-Chirpan region. ? D. 18-19(16)3.5 mm. W. 8.055 g. Incomplete and poorly-preserved imprint, especially the obverse.

Ed. **Билик**, Фамилни имена, № 8.

No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of four lines:

..... | .ΩCΩΔ' | .  $\overline{\Omega N A}$ 'Α'Ε | ΔΡΩ

Rev. Inscription of three lines:

ΤΩΧΟΙ | ΡΟCΦΑ | ΚΤΗ  
[+Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δ(ούλῳ) [Κ]ων(σταντίνῳ) (πρωτο)(προ)έδρῳ τῷ  
Χοιροσφάκτῃ

The poor state of preservation, specifically on the obverse, renders the reading of the text difficult. The original publisher has read ΙΩΠΡΟΕ | ΔΡΩ of line 3. Closer scrutiny of the illustration reveals that after the first missing letter, a Ω and another obliterated letter are

visible, before the beginning of the title. The next two letters are Α'Α' and a rounded letter that could be Ε or Ξ.

After the emendations made by me, the following could be read: Κωνσταντῖνος Χοιροσφάκτης πρωτοπρόεδρος. The dating of the seal is generally to the last quarter of the XIth c.

An individual bearing these names is reported in a number of narrative sources from the late XIth and the early XIIth c. (see **Gautier**, Blachernes, no 28; **Skoulatos**, *Personnages*, no 34)

1) in April 1078, Κωνσταντῖνος Χοιροσφάκτης πρόεδρος was an envoy of the new Emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1078-1081) to the rebellious Nikephoros Bryennios (see **Bryennios**, p. 261.1-7).

2) In June 1081, Κωνσταντῖνος Χοιροσφάκτης πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ κατεπάνω τῶν ἀξιωματῶν was dispatched by the new-proclaimed Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118) on a special mission to the German Emperor Henry IV. In addition to the emperor's kind feelings, he delivered 144,000 pieces of gold and a hundred purple cloths of silk (see *Alexiade*, I, 133.13; 134.3.20).

3) Κωνσταντῖνος Χοιροσφάκτης πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ πρωτονοτάριος τοῦ δρόμου was also in assistance at a session of the synod on March 21, 1082 considering the case of John Italos' heresy (**Gouillard**, *Le proces*, p. 145.160).

4) Κωνσταντῖνος Χοιροσφάκτης πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων certified two documents of the Patmos monastery from April and May 1088 (see *Actes Patmos*, I, no. 48, p. 337.A188; no. 49, p. 343.A255).

5) Κωνσταντῖνος Χοιροσφάκτης κουροπαλάτης was also among the participants at the Blachernae synod from the late 1094 (see **Gautier**, Blachernes, no. 28). 6) The name of Κωνσταντῖνος Χοιροσφάκτης is mentioned as a provincial governor of an unknown town or region in Macedonia or of another region of the Empire in a letter of Theophylaktes of Ohrid to his friend (see **Theophylacte d'Achrida**, *Lettre*, no. 32, 39-40; 239.26.).

7) The name of the praitor Κωνσταντῖνος Χοιροσφάκτης is reported in the Life St. Meletios written in 1105 (see *Vita St. Meletios*, p. 34.17-22;).

8) The name of Κωνσταντῖνος Χοιροσφάκτης is reported regarding a donation in the Life of St. Cyril Phileotes, who died in 1110, (see *Vita St. Cyril Phileotes*, p. 143. 25-27).

Further two groups of seals bearing the name of Κωνσταντῖνος Χοιροσφάκτης are also known:

a. praitor of Hellas and Peloponnesos (see **Laurent**, *Bulles metriques*, no. 129; **Wassiliou**, **Seibt**, no. 216);

b. only a praitor without the administrative unit being noted down (see **Laurent**, *Bulles metriques*, no. 738; four unpublished specimens in DO. 58. 106. 1650; 58. 106. 2422; 58. 106. 4934; 55. 1. 4070 and six unpublished specimens in Zacos Collection, III, nos 1430/31-4,5,6,7; 1718/1a).

Two more groups of seals are associated with the person of Constantine Choirosphaktes: with the one, he is πατρίκιος καὶ κριτῆς Ὀψικίου, but without a homonym (see **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 3, no. 39.8), and with the other, he is πρωτοσπαθάριος ἐπὶ τοῦ Χρυσοτρικλίνου καὶ κατεπάνω τῶν β'ἀξιωματῶν καὶ κριτῆς Ὀψικίου, but without a patronym (see **Nesbitt-Oikonomides**, *DOS*, 3, nos. 39.8-9).

The above sources (regardless of the Dumbarton Oaks specimens) outline the following cursus honorum of Κωνσταντῖνος Χοιροσφάκτης:

1) πρόεδρος (April 1078);

- 2) πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ κατεπάνω τῶν ἀξιωματῶν (June 1081);
- 3) πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ πρωτονοτάριος τοῦ δρόμου (March 1082);
- 4) πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων (1088);
- 5) κουροπαλάτης (1094);
- 6) κουροπαλάτης καὶ πραιτωρ (?-1105)

It is hard to determine the exact dating of his seal in his capacity solely as πρωτοπρόεδρος and the recipient of his correspondence in the Plovdiv region. He certainly possessed this title between 1078 and 1088. His correspondence seems to be of private character, thus evoking the question: Wasn't there in Philipopolis a certain representative of the family Choïrosphaktes in service at that juncture?

## 752. Λέων Χοιροσφάκτης (second half, XI c.)

Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav, no. 17273. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 20-22 (17) 4 mm. W. 11.52 g. Good imprint, but there is dislocation of the dies. The last line on the *Rev.* is missing. Superb state of preservation.

*Ed.* Йорданов, Преслав, № 419.

*Parallels:* Another specimen struck in the same boulloterion is preserved in the Zacos unpublished collection, III, no 1436/37-6.

*Obv.* Inscription of four lines:

— + — | CΦPA | ΓICAE | ONTOC | EIMI | — + —

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

— ∙ ∙ — | TOV | KOIPO | CΦAK | TOV

+ Σφραγὶς Λέοντος εἰμὶ τοῦ Χοιροσφάκτου

My assumptions that the owner of the seal is a certain representative of the family Choïrosphaktes unknown from other sources, who lived in the late XIth c., remain valid.

For the earliest representatives of the family, see **Kolias**, *Choerosphaktes*, 16-18. The fact that at least three representatives of this family have written to Bulgaria calls for a survey of its representatives attested by their seals:

1. Βασίλειος Χοιροσφάκτης private person (last quarter of the XI c.), according to an unpublished lead seal from DO. 55. 1. 3945).

*Obv.* Patriarchal cross and remains of a circular inscription: ...ΗΓΟСНМНЗΦVΛΛΑΞΡΑCΙΑ

*Rev.* — + — | ΡΛΕΠΩΝ | ΤΗΝΓΡΑΦ' | ΓΝ'ΘΗΤΟΝ | ΧΟΙΡΟCΦΑ | .....

2. Γεώργιος Χοιροσφάκτης see here no.750.

3. Γρηγόριος Χοιροσφάκτης πρωτοσπαθάριος ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοτρικλίνου καὶ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ὀπιματῶν (second quarter of the XI c., see **Wassiliou, Seibt**, no. 328)

4. Θεόδωρος Χοιροσφάκτης (second half of the XI c.), according to an unpublished lead seal from the Shaw collection 1448 (no. 1062).

*Obv.* St. Theodore standing, holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand resting on shield set on the ground. Vertical inscription in two columns: ..... || Δ-Ω-ΡΟ'

*Rev.* + ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΘΕΟΔΩΡ' | Τ'ΧΟΙΡΟ | CΦΑΚΤΗ

5. Κωνσταντῖνος Χοιροσφάκτης see here no. 751.

6. Λέων Χοιροσφάκτης see here no. 752.

7. Μιχαήλ Χοιροσφάκτης :

- a. ἀσηκρῆτις (XI c., DO. 58. 106. 4671, see **Laurent, Corpus**, II, no. 114.

*Obv.* +ΚΕΡΟ | . ΘΕΙΤΩ | .ΩΔ8ΛΩ | ΜΙΧΑΗ

*Rev.* — + — | ACHKPI | TITΩXV | POCΦA | -KT-

b. κρητὴς Λογγοβαρδίας καὶ Καλαβρίας (XI c., see Auction Italo vecchi 5, London, 5<sup>th</sup> March 1997, no. 1009; **Wassiliou, Seibt**, p. 307, n.372. The proper name is poorly preserved allowing for variant readings, for example, Niketas!

8. Νικήτας Χοιροσφάκτης πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Ἑλλάδος (XI c., see *DOS*, 2, no. 8.51.

9. Νικόλαος Χοιροσφάκτης private person (second half of the XI c.), according to unpublished lead seal from the Shaw collection 1447 (no. 1061).

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion.

*Rev.* ΝΙΚΟΛ' | Τ8ΧΙΡ' | CΦΑΚΤ'

## 753. Θεόδωρος Χοῦμνος σεβαστὸς (XII c.)

Private collection (V. Panteleev from Varna, no. 377). Find-spot: uncertain (South Bulgaria). D. 20-33 mm. W. 8.50 g. Half preserved.

*Unpublished.*

*Parallels :* Unpublished from Fogg A. M. no. 12. Struck in the same boulloterion.

*Obv.* The two Sts Theodoroi standing in supplication before a segment of heaven showing the Hand of God.

*Rev.* Metrical inscription of seven lines:

+| ..... | ...ACT.. | ..ΟΔΩ... | ΤΟΝΧΟV... | CΕΙΠΤΗΖV..... | ΜΑΡΤV... | .. ΟΔ.... | ---  
[+ Σκέποις σεβ]αστ[ὸν Θε]όδω[ρον] τὸν Χοῦ[μνον] σεπτὴ ζυ[νωρίς  
μαρτύ[ρων Θε]οδ[ώρον]

The collections of the Ottoman Museum in Istanbul and Orghidan contain two lead seals with the name of same Theodore Choumnos but as a private person dated XI-XII c., see **Ebersolt**, Constantinople, no. 174; **Laurent**, *Orghidan*, no. 424.

The collections of the Athens Numismatic Museum (**Konstantopoulos**, 700g; **Laurent**, *Bulles metriques*, no. 83; **Stavrakos**, no. 280) and DO. 58. 106. 1689 contain two other lead seals having belonged to Theodore Choumnos, as a private person, dated second half of the XII c.

The name of Theodore Choumnos, who was honored with the rank of chartoularios, was reported in N. Choniates in connection with the enthronement of Andronikos I Komnenos (1183-1185) and the throwing of the body of the killed Alexios II into the sea (see **Choniates**, 274. 28-29; **Choniates** tr. **Magoulis**, p.152). Probably the name of the same Theodore Choumnos in his capacity as πανσέβαστος σεβαστὸς καὶ χαρτουλάριος was reported in a document preserved in the Lavra dated 1184 (*Actes Lavra*, 1, no. 66, p. 344.16).

In 1185, in connection with the Norman invasion, Theodore Choumnos was entrusted with the command over part of the Byzantine army (**Choniates**, 318.24-25). His name was last reported in 1193 regarding the appearance of the false-Alexios. Theodore Choumnos sebastos and chartoularios was sent against him in battle, and taking him captive, killed him (**Choniates**, 423.94-96; **Choniates**, tr. **Mangoulis**, 232-233).

The dating of the seal is to the late XIIth c., and it could be assumed that its owner is identical to the one attested in the sources. It is also assumed that he held the rank of sebastos throughout the whole period 1183-1193. The seal from Athens could be associated with the

same person, but the one from the Orghidan collection is earlier and perhaps belonged to another representative of the family by the same name.

For the etymology and the representatives of this family, see **Verpeaux, J.** Notes prosopographiques sur la famille Choumnos.- *Byzantinoslavica*, 20, 1959, 252-266, where more than forty of its members have been presented.

Below is a list of owners bearing this family name:

1. Βασίλειος Χοῦμνος :

a. πρωτοσπαθάριος ( XI c., see **Schlumberger, Sig.**, p. 637, no. 2;

b. as a private person, dated second half of the XI c., see **Konstantopoulos**, no. 700b; **Stavrakos**, no. 279.

2. Γεώργιος Χοῦμνος as a private person (second half of the XI c., see **Панченко**, Каталог, № 140).

3. Θεόδωρος Χοῦμνος σεβαστὸς see here no. 753.

4. Θωμᾶς Χοῦμνος as a private person, dated second half of the XIII c., see **Seibt, Zatnitz**, no. 3. 2. 10.

5. Κωνσταντῖνος Χοῦμνος as a private person (XII c.), according to an unpublished lead seal in DO. 58. 106. 2641.

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin holding a medallion of Christ before. Sigla  $\overline{MP}$  ||  $\overline{\Theta V}$ .

*Rev.* + |ΚΩΝ<sup>Η</sup>ΑΝ | TINONTON | ΧΟΥΜΝΟΝ| ΠΑΡΘΕΝΕ | ΣΚ..Ο..

6. Μανουήλ Χοῦμνος κουροπαλάτης XI-XII c., see **Панченко**, Каталог, № 59; **Шандровская**, Поправки, 117-118.

7. Χριστοφόρος Χοῦμνος as a private person, dated XI-XII c., see **Schlumberger, Sig.**, 636, no. 1; **Konstantopoulos**, no. 700a; **Stavrakos**, no. 281 and unpublished in DO. 58. 106. 4270.

#### 754. Ἰωάννης Χουσένης (XII c.)

National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 28683. Find-spot: Plovdiv region, in the direction of Mnt Rhodope. D. 21-25(?) 3 mm. Once a good imprint; parts broken now, which makes the reading difficult.

*Unpublished.*

*Parallels:* Further two specimens struck with the same pair of dies, which we follow for the restoration of the missing letters of our specimen, are preserved in the unpublished G. Zacos' collection of family names (see Zacos, III, no 1446).

*Obv.* St. George in full length, holding a spear (r. hand), l. hand resting on shield set the ground.

Vertical inscription in two columns: O-A-Γ-OI-C || .....: Ὁ ἅγιος [Γεώργιος].

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

TONXOV | ..NHNĪŌ | .APTVC | .. ΕΠΟΙC

Τὸν Χου[σέ]νην Ἰω(άννην) [Μ]άρτυς [σκ]έποις

The owner of the seal Ἰωάννης Χουσένης who sent his correspondence to an unknown addressee in the Plovdiv area and region is unknown from other sources.

The name Χουσένης most likely could be understood as Ar. *husayn* (demin. of *hasan*) "dear", "beautiful", a well-known Muslim name (on other variants of the name *hysayn* in Byzantine sources see: **Moravcsik, Byzantinoturcica**, II, S. 348)

The dating of the seal is generally to the XIIth c., to which period we should focus our investigation.

The Dumbarton Oaks Collection contains two seals whose proper names are close to our patronym.

1. Fogg A. M. no. 718.

*Obv.* St. Stephen standing, as a martyr.

*Rev.* + ΚΕΡ'Θ' | Χ8CΕNHON | ΠΡΠ|SCTPA | ΤΗΓΟΝ ΤΡΗ| ΧΙΛΩΠΟΔΙ | AC

2. DO. 58. 106. 4675.

*Obv.* Potent cross and part of the invocation.

*Rev.* + ΧΟV | ..ΝΙΩΡ' | .ΠΑΘ'ΚΑ | .Δ' ΣΕΠΙ | .8Μ'Γ

#### 755. Λέων Χρυσοβαλαντίτης νοτάριος (XI c.)

Private collection (Zh. Biulbiulev, Harmanli), offered for purchase at the Historical Museum, Iambol. Find-spot: Silistra, according to its owner. D. 20.5-24 (21) 3 mm. Incomplete imprint, which however does not cause the problems in the reading. On line 2, the position of this dignitary is written out rather unusually. The idea that strikes me is that the engraver has reversed the places of the first two letters in the negative die. Due to the incomplete imprint, the patronym also presents certain problem in the reading.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of a beardless saint facing, with nimbus and heavy curls, wearing a himation.

He blesses with his r. hand before his chest and holds (l. hand) unclear object resembling a scroll. Remains of the vertical inscription: .-.-.- || Λ-Ε-.-.- : [Ὁ ἅ(γιος) Παντε]λε[ήμων] ?

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

- ο - | ΛΕΟΝΤ. | ΟΝΤΑ... | ΤΧΡΑ.. | Ν'Τ.

Λέοντ[ι] (sic) νοτα[ρίω] τ(ῶ) Χ(ρυσο)βα[λα]ν(τί)τ[η]

After overcoming certain hesitations in the reading, the owner of the seal affixed to a correspondence to Silistra is Λέων Χρυσοβαλαντίτης in his capacity as Λέων Χρυσοβαλαντίτης νοτάριος.

The etymology of the family name Χρυσοβαλαντίτης is a derivative of the prefix Χρυσος= gold and the names Ἀβαλάτης or Βαλανίτης, which on their turn derive from the noun βαλάντινον=purse, i. e. a gold purse or a rich man (see **Moritz, Zunamen**, 2, S. 30; **Koukoules, Vie**, 6, p. 499).

It is an interesting fact that the number of representatives of this family known from written sources (certainly exclusive of those bearing the patronyms Ἀβαλάτης or Βαλανίτης) is not large compared to those known from seals.

Only the name of a certain Χρυσοβαλαντίτης (presumably reported solely by his patronym) is known from a letter of Michael Psellos. He served as prator of Hellas and Peloponnesos (**Psellos, MB**, 5, p. 296.12,20).

The following representatives of the family Χρυσοβαλαντίτης are known from seals:

1. Θεόδωρος Χρυσοβαλαντίτης πατρίκιος, known by his unpublished bulla in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (DO.55.1.2979), dated to the mid-XIth century:

*Obv.* Bust of St. Michael with ruler's regalia.

*Rev.* + ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΘΕΟΔΟΡΩ | ΠΡΠ| ΤΩΧ | ΡΑΛΑΝ | ΤΙ'

2. Ἰωάννης Χρυσοβαλαντίτης, attested by three groups of his seals dated generally to the XIth century in his capacity as :

a) spatharokandidatos, attested by two groups of unpublished bullae:

DO. 55. 1. 2977.

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans.

*Rev.* . + KER'Θ' | TΩCΩΔ8 | IΩR'CΠAΘ' | KANΔ'TΩX | RAAANT | T'

DO.58. 106. 4447.

*Obv.* Bust of a military saint.

*Rev.* + KER'Θ' | IΩCΠAΘ' | KANΔΔ'T' | XRAAA | NHT

b) notarios, attested by two bullae struck in the same boulloterion (see **Laurent**, *Orghidan*, no. 57 and unpublished in DO. 58. 106. 2453).

c) a private parson, attested by an unpublished bulla in the Fogg A. M. Collection no 1341

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans.

*Rev.* + KER'Θ' | IΩTΩX<sup>P</sup> | RAAAN | THTH |

3. Κωνσταντῖνος Χρυσοβαλαντίτης, attested by two groups of his seals:

a) πρωτοσπαθάριος, κριτής ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου and β'νοτάριος καὶ ἐξάκτωρ dated generally to the XIth c., attested by four bullae struck in different boulloteria: **Konstantopoulos**, no. 399b; Fogg A.M. nos. 571, 740 and Shaw 837 (1065), on them, see **Laurent**, *Corpus*, II, no. 910.

b) as a private person, dated to the second half of the XIth c., attested by an unpublished bulla in Zacos, III, no. 1474.

*Obv.* Bust of St. Theodore holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

*Rev.* CΦPAΓ | KΩNCTAN | TINOVT8 | XPVCORA | AANAIT'

4. Λέων Χρυσοβαλαντίτης, attested by two groups of his unpublished seals: a) ἀσηκρῆ της καὶ χαρτουλάριος dated generally to the XIth c., according to a specimen in the DO 58. 106. 1450.

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans. Sigla:  $\overline{MP}$  ||  $\overline{OV}$ .

*Rev.* .KER'Θ' | ..ON'ACH | ..HT'SXAP | ..A'TOX<sup>P</sup> | RAAAN

b) as a private person, dated to the second half of the XIth c., according to a copy in Zacos, III, no. 1600.

*Obv.* Bust of St. Theodore holding a spear (r. hand) and shield (l. hand). Along border of dots circular inscription: KER'Θ'TΩCΩΔ8'ΛEONTH

*Rev.* Bust of an indeterminate saint-martyr and continuation of the above inscription: TO XPVCΩRAAANTI

5. Μιχαήλ Χρυσοβαλαντίτης, known from four groups of his unpublished bullae in his capacity as:

a) νοτάριος, dated to the mid-XIth c., according to a specimen in Zacos, III, no. 1476.

*Obv.* Bust of St. Michael.

*Rev.* MIXAHA | NOTAPH | TΩX<sup>P</sup>CΩ | RAAANT'

b) πατρίκιος, dated to 1050s-1060s, according to a specimen in DO. 58. 106. 3021.

*Obv.* Bust of St. Michael, as above.

*Rev.* + KER'Θ' | MIX'ΠΠΙ | TΩXPVCO | RAA.. | TH

c) βεστιάριος καὶ πρωτονοτάριος, dated to 1060s-1070s, according to a specimen in DO. 55.1. 2978.

*Obv.* Bust of St. Michael with ruler's regalia.

*Rev.* MIXA' | .ECTAPX' | ..NOTAP' | X<sup>P</sup>RAA'N'T'

d) as a private person with a metrical text, dated to the end of the XIth c., according to a specimen in DO. 58. 106. 5144.

*Obv.* CΦPA | ΓICMI | XAHA

*Rev.* TOVXPV | CORAAN | TITOV

Of course, of particular interest to us are the seals of Λέων Χρυσοβαλαντίτης containing the same homonym as on our seal. Could it be that their owner is one and the same person?

There is certain continuity in their dating and offices. But one may wonder why the iconographic subject is different with the three groups of seals.

It strikes that the offices of the fifteen presented bullae of the family Χρυσοβαλαντίτης relate their owners with central civil administration of the Empire. It was perhaps a family which did not advance much in the hierarchy of the Empire, but nevertheless occupied a permanent place among the various officers of the central administration.

### 758. Σωτήριχος Χρυσός (late XI c.)

National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 30442. Formerly in the collection of D. Dimitrov from Pernik. Find-spot: Gradishteto locality near the town of Liubimets, Haskovo region. D. 14-14 mm. Good imprint.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known.*

*Obv.* Bust of the Virgin orans. No medallion on her chest. Sigla: . ||  $\overline{\Theta}$ : [M(ήτηρ)]  $\overline{\Theta}$ (εοῦ).

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines:

ΘKER'Θ' | CΩTHPI | XΩTON | XPVC

Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) Σωτηρίχῳ τὸν Χρυσ(όν)

The owner of the seal is clearly a representative of the Chrysos family. I am not familiar of him from the narrative sources. Its dating is generally to the late XIth c.

### 759. Θεόδωρος Χρυσοστομομίτης (last quarter, XI c.)

Private collection (V. Panteleev from Varna). Find-spot: uncertain. D. 19-31 (26) 5 mm. W. 12. 66 g. Good imprint, of which a fragment larger than a half cut with a sharp object has come down to us. All that renders the reading of the patronym difficult.

*Unpublished.*

*No parallels known*

*Obv.* St. Demetrios standing frontally, holding a spear (r. hand), his l. hand resting on a shield set on the ground. Vertical inscription: .... || Δ-H-M.-T. : [Ο ἄ(γιος)] Δημ[ή]τ[ρ](ιος)].

*Rev.* Inscription in six lines:

+ | ΚΕ.. | ΤΩCΩ.. | ΛΩΘΕΟ. | ΟΡΩΤ.. | CTOT. | M. T..

+ Κ(ύρι)ε [β(οή)θ(ει)] τῷ σῷ [δού]λῳ Θεο[δ]όρῳ τ[ῷ Χρ(υσο)]στ[ο]μ[ί]τ[η]

The restoration of the obliterated letters of the patronym renders its reading uncertain, which does not allow searching in the narrative sources.

### 760-766. Νικηφόρος Χρυσοτζεφούδης κουροπαλάτης (1080s-1090s)

*The seven specimens come from the same boulloterion.*

a. Archaeological Museum, Veliki Preslav. Find-spot: The Strategia of Preslav. D. 18-19 (over 20) 3.5 mm. W. 9.30 g. Unsuccessful imprint, besides, the letters of the text are worn and effaced.

Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 77; Йорданов, Куропалати, № 17.

b. Historical Museum, Iambol, no. II 4020. Find-spot: Pomorie. Half preserved. D. 12-23 (?) 3 mm.

Ed. Йорданов, Анхиало, № 13; Йорданов, Куропалати, № 18.

c. Historical Museum, Iambol, no. II 3648. Find-spot: Krumovo Gradishte locality, the town of Karnobat. D. 19-22 (18) 3 mm. Well-preserved and successful imprint, but nevertheless some letters did not print.

Ed. Йорданов, Куропалати, № 19.

d. National Historical Museum, Sofia, no. 23707. Offered for purchase by N. Georgiev from Shumen. Reported find-spot: Silistra. D. 19-20 (?) 3 mm. Incomplete imprint and a bulla in a poor state of preservation.

Ed. Йорданов, Куропалати, № 20.

e. Private collection (S. Bilik, Sofia). Find-spot: uncertain. Find-spot: the region between Stara and Nova Zagora. D. 20-23 (18) 3 mm. W. 8.348 g. Good imprint and a well-preserved bulla.

Ed. Йорданов, Куропалати, № 21.

f-g. Private collection (collectors from Sofia). Find-spot: uncertain. Various states of preservation.

Ed. Йорданов, Куропалати, № 22-23.

Parallels: A specimen struck in the same boulloterion and erroneously read in its publication is preserved in the Shaw collection no 1349, see Laurent, *Corpus*, 2, no. 683. Another specimen is preserved in Hermitage, see Šandrovskaja-Seibt, no. 68.

Obv. Bust of St. Theodore holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand). Vertical inscription in two columns: Θ-Θ-ΕΟ || Δ-Ω-Ρ: 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Θεόδωρ(ος).

Rev. Inscription of six lines:

+ ΚΕΡ'Θ' | ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡ' | Κ8ΡΟΠΑΛΑΤ' | ΤΟΧΡΥΣΟ | ΤΖΕΦΟΝ | ΔΗ

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Νίκηφόρ(ω) κουροπαλάτ(η) τῷ Χρυσοτζεφούδῃ

For further information on the rest of the representatives of this family, see the publication of the Preslav specimen (Йорданов, Преслав, № 77). To supplement the present research, I wish to add the data of another unpublished seal from the Fogg A. M. Collection, no. 2401.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion of Christ before her. Sigla:  $\bar{M}$  ||  $\bar{\Theta}$ .

Rev. + | ΚΕΡΟΗ | ΘΗΤΗCΗΔ' | ΛΗΚ'Λ'ΤΗ | ΧΥΖΕΦ8 | ΔΙΝΑ

The dating of the seal is to the last quarter of the XIth c., thus allowing for Kale Chrysotzephoudina to be the wife or relative of Nikephoros Chrysotzephoudes.

The discovery of bullae of Nikephoros Chrysotzephoudes in various settlements throughout the country attests to the active correspondence, which he maintained with various addressees in the territory of modern Bulgaria. A relevant question is whether he was not officially related to these lands at an earlier period of his career.

### 767. Κωνσταντῖνος Ὠπός πρωτοσπαθᾶριος καὶ στρατηγός (1030s-1040s)

Archaeological Institute and Museum, Shumen, field no. 22970. Find-spot: the Strategia of Preslav. D. 24-25 (18) 2.5 mm. W. 11.22 g. Incomplete but well-preserved imprint. The final letters of almost all lines did not print.

Ed. Йорданов, Преслав, № 361.

No parallels known.

Obv. Inscription of four lines:

+ ΚΕΡΟ | .Θ'ΤΩCΩ | .8Λ'ΚΩ. | CΤΑΝ.

Rev. Inscription of four lines:

-:·- | Α'CΠΑΘ' | CΤΡΑΤ | .ΩΤΩΟ | - ΠΩ -

+ Κ(ύρι)ε βο[ή]θ(ει) τῷ σῷ [δ]ού(λω) Κω[ν]σταν[τ(ίνω)] (πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίω)

(καὶ) στρατ[ηγ]ῷ τῷ Ὠπῷ

More than ten different groups of seals are known bearing the name of Constantine Opos:

1. πρωτοσπαθᾶριος καὶ κατεπάνω Ἰταλίας (1033-1038), according to a lead seal kept in Malbbot Collection, no. 201, see Oikonomides, *Dated*, no. 82.

2. βεστάρχης (third quarter of the XI c.), according to unpublished lead seals from DO. 58. 106. 5640 and Zacos, III.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion before her chest. Sigla:  $\bar{M}$  ||  $\bar{\Theta}$

Rev. --- | +ΘΚΕΡΟ | ΗΘΕΤΩC' | Δ8ΛΩΚΩΝ | ΡΕCΤΑΡΧ' | ΤΩΟΠΩ | ---

3. μάγιστρος - βεστάρχης (last quarter of the XI c.), according to unpublished lead seals from the collection of the Hermitage (M-6763) and DO. 58. 106. 2958:

Obv. Bust of the Virgin as above.

Rev. ΘΚΕΡΟ | ΗΘΕΙΚΩΝ | ΜΑΓΙCΤΡΩ | ΡΕCΤΑΡΧ | ΤΩΟΠ

4. κουροπαλάτης (after 1094) according to an unpublished lead seal in DO. 58. 106. 2883.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion before her chest. Sigla:  $\bar{M}$  ||  $\bar{\Theta}$

Rev. +ΘΚΕ | CΚΕΠΗCΜ' | ΤΩCΩΟΙΚΕ | Τ'Κ8ΡΟΠΑ' | ΚΩΝΤΟ | ΩΠΟ

5. πρωτονωβελίσσιμος (XI-XII c.), according to three lead seals: in the Athens Numismatic Museum (see Konstantopoulos, no. 418 and Stavrakos, no. 287); unpublished from Shaw 335 (no. 1222) and from the Museum of Antioch, no. 2358 (see Cheynet, Antioch, no. 20). The last is struck in a different boulloterion.

6. δούξ (XI-XII c.), according to three lead seals from: Orghidan (see Laurent, *Orghidan*, no. 287) and unpublished from DO. 58. 106. 4995 and Fogg A. M., no. 917.

Obv. Bust of the Virgin, as above. Sigla:  $\bar{M}$  ||  $\bar{\Theta}$ .

Rev. ΑΓΝΗ | ΦΥΛΑΤΕ | Δ8ΚΙΚΩΝ | ΤΩΩΠΟ

7. πρωτονωβελίσσιμος καὶ δούξ (beginning of the XII c.), according to an unpublished seal from the Hermitage (M-6763):

Obv. Bust of the Virgin, as above.

Rev. .ΚΕΡ. | .ΩΝΑ'ΝΩ | .ΕΛΙCΙ | ΜΟΝCΔΟV | ΚΑΝΤΟΝ | ΩΠΟΝ

8. as a private person according to an unpublished lead seal (XI c.) from Fogg A.M., no. 854:

Obv. Decoration with dots forming a rosace.

Rev. --- | + ΚΕΡ'Η | Θ'ΤΩC' Δ8 | Λ'ΚΩΝCΤ | Τ'ΤΩΩΠ | -:-

9. as a private person according to unpublished lead seals (second half of the XI c.) from Fogg A.M., no. 2271 and the Hermitage (M-3835):

Obv. Bust of the Virgin, as above. Sigla:  $\bar{M}$  ||  $\bar{\Theta}$ .

Rev. + | .ΚΕΡ' | ΚΩΝ. | ΟΩΠΩ

10. as a private person according to an unpublished lead seal (last quarter of the XI c.) from Fogg A.M., no. 2307:

Obv. St. Nicholas standing blessing (r. hand) and holding a book (l. hand). Vertical inscription:

Θ-NI-K-O || Λ-A-O-C

Rev. CΚΕ.ΟΙC | ΩΠΟΝ..ΟΝ | ΑΑΤΡΙΝ | ΚΩΝ

Two individuals bearing such names were attested in the XIth-XIIth-century narrative sources, the period to which the seals are generally dated:

Constantine Opos (1) patrikios and katepano of Italy 1033/1034, see *Lupus protospatharios*, p. 67 and *Anonymos Barensis*, p. 154; Falkenhausen, *La dominazione*, 92-93, no. 44.

Constantine Opos (2). A military commander from the Alexiad (*Skoulatos*, *Personnages*, no. 42).



His name was first attested in the battle at Dyrrachion against Robert Guiscard on 18<sup>th</sup> October 1081, when he commanded τάγμα τῶν ἐξκουβιτῶν (*Alexiade*, I, p. 151.19-20). In 1085-1086, by order of the emperor, he retrieved Kyzikos, Poemanenum and Apollonias from the Turks (*Alexiade*, II, 80-81). In 1090, he unsuccessfully fought the fleet of Tzachas near Chios under the command of Constantine Dalassenos (see *Alexiade*, II, 112). During the First Crusade in 1097 he had to resort to force and make a certain Raoul cont cross the Bosphorus along with the other crusaders (*Alexiade*, II, 226-227).

He assisted at a session of the Blachernai synod in 1094 in his capacity as πρωτοπρόεδρος (**Gautier**, Blachernes, 218.10; 256-257, no. 34). In a marginal note to the the XII<sup>th</sup>-century manuscript, he was reported as μέγας δούξ (see **Laurent**, *EO*, 31, 1932, p. 337, n.1).

How could the presented seals be identified? Our seal is close in dating to no. 1 and could refer to one and the same person identified with the katepano of Italy mentioned in the sources. Certain difference is observed in the title of Constsntine Opos: he is patrikios in the annals. It is possible that he held this title when he left his office, while the seal from Malbbot Collection reflects the title at his appointment. Therefore, our seal must have been from the period before 1033.

All the rest (with the exception perhaps of no. 8) could be identified with Constantine Opos no.

2. Along with the information from the sources, they determine the following cursus honorum:

- a. βεστάρχης (third quarter of the XI c.);
- b. μάγιστρος - βεστάρχης (last quarter of the XI c.);
- c. δομέστικος τῶν ἐξκουβιτῶν (1081);
- d. πρωτοπρόεδρος (1094);
- e. πρωτονωβελίσσιμος (XI-XII c.);
- f. δούξ (XI-XII c.);
- g. πρωτονωβελίσσιμος καὶ δούξ (beginning of the XII c.);
- h. μέγας δούξ (XII c.).

Seals of other representatives of the family Opos:

1. Ἀνδρόνικος Ὠπός ἀνθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ βέστης (third quarter of the XI c., see **Konstantopoulos**, 297g; **Stavrakos**, no. 287.

2. Βασίλειος Ὠπός as a private person (last quarter of the XI c.), according to an unpublished seal from Shaw 1456 (no. 282).

*Obv.* The Virgin standing holding Christ on her l. arm. Sigla:  $\overline{MP} \parallel \overline{\Theta V}$ .

*Rev.* +ΓΡΑΦ' | CΦΡΑΓΙCΜ' | ΡΑCΙΑΕ. | Τ8Ω.8

3. Βασίλειος Ὠπός υἱός τοῦ Μιχαήλ (end of the XI c.), according to an unpublished seal from Shaw 790 (no. 2100).

*Obv.* +ΓΡΑΦ' | ΚΥΡΩC. | ΡΑΓΙCΜ' | ΜΙΧΑΗΛ | ΓΟΝ8

*Rev.* ΩΠΟΝ | .ΙΚΑΟ | .Λ8ΤΕ | Τ8ΡΑCΙ | ΛΕΙ8

4. Μιχαήλ Ὠπός ὑπατος καὶ στρατηγός (mid-XI c.), according to an unpublished seal from DO. 58. 106. 4970.

*Obv.* Bust of St. Michael holding a scepter (r. hand) and a globus (l. hand). Circular inscription around: + ΚΕΡΟΗΘ....

*Rev.* - + - | ΜΙΧΑΗΛ | ΒΠΑΤΩC | CΤΡΑΤΗΓ' | ΤΩΩΠΩ | - - -

5. Νικήτας Ὠπός as a private person (second half of the XI c.), according to an unpublished seal from DO. 55. 1. 3208.

*Obv.* Bust of St. George holding a spear (r. hand) and a shield (l. hand).

*Rev.* + | ΚΕΡΟΗΘ' | ΝΙΚΗΤΑ | ΤΩΩΠΟ | Ν

Certain assumptions could be made about relationships between the individuals represented by their seals, but that would exceed the scope of the present research.

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Νικηφόρος Κομνηνὸς  
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Νικηφόρος Βατάτζης  
Νικηφόρος Δεκανὸς

Νικητῆς Σέλευκος  
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Νέστωρ  
Νέστωρ  
Νικητῆς Ἰαβᾶς  
Νικητῆς ὁ Νικηφόρος Ἰατίνης

Μισέως Εὐλόγιος  
Μουχουμῆτ  
Μουσελῆς Πακουριάνης

Μιχαήλ Τουρκοποῦλος  
Μιχαήλ Φυτιανὸς  
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Μιχαήλ Σολομῶν  
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Νικηφόρος Κωντοστεφάνος ?  
Νικηφόρος Εὐφίας

Νικηφόρος Σαραντηνὸς  
Νικηφόρος Τζουπάκης/Τζουπάκης  
Νικηφόρος Τορνίκιος  
Νικηφόρος Φιλοκάλης  
Νικηφόρος Χρυσοτρίφευβος  
Νικόλαος Ἀγιοβρύνης

Νικόλαος Τυμὸς  
Νικόλαος Ζουναρᾶς  
Νικόλαος Μαυροκατακκάλων  
Νικόλαος Μεσαρίτης  
Νικόλαος Πεντακτείνης  
Νικόλαος Σινέσιος  
Νικόλαος Τορνίκης  
Νικόλαος Φαρακοποῦλος  
Ξένη Δοκειαῖη

Ουρσέβιος Βήκενης  
Παγκράτιος Βήκενης  
Πανθήριος Κομνηνοδούκας  
Πατρικία Δοῦκαινα  
Πάναος Ἀρμενοποῦλος  
Πάναος Μονομάχος  
Πάναος Μονομάχος

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Ροῦσος  
Ρωμανὸς Ἀπλουχεΐρας  
Ρωμανὸς Βλατοπόδης  
Ρωμανὸς Διογένης  
Ρωμανὸς Μοναστηριώτης  
Ρωμανὸς Τριαδριζιώτης

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**2. Family Names: In addition to the family names inscribed on the seals, it also contains names mentioned in the commentaries**

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Ἀγγελος Ἀνδρόνικος	- 3 text
Ἀγγελος Θεόδωρος	- 3 text
Ἀγγελος Ἰσαάκιος	- 3 text
Ἀγγελος Ἰωάννης	- σεβαστὸς καὶ μέγας πριμικήριος – 3.
Ἀγγελος Κωνσταντῖνος	- 3 text
Ἀγγελος Μιχαὴλ	- 3A; 3 text.
Ἀγγελος Νικόλαος	- 3 text
Ἀγγούρης Βαάνης	- 4 text
Ἀγγούρης Βάρδας	- 4 text
Ἀγγούρης Εὐθύμιος	- 4 text
Ἀγγούρης Ἰωάννης	- 4 text
Ἀγγούρης Κοσμᾶς	- 4 text
Ἀγγούρης Μεθόδιος	- 4 text
Ἀγγούρης Μιχαὴλ	- 4 text
Ἀγγούρης Νικόλαος	- β' πρωτοσπαθάριος ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοτρικλίνου καὶ β' σακελλάριος - 4.
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Ἀγιοαντονίτης Ἰωάννης	- πατρίκιος καὶ βεστιαρίτης – 6.
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Ἀγιοζαχαρίτης Θεόδωρος	- 9-11 text
Ἀγιοζαχαρίτης Θεοφύλακτος	- 7-8 text
Ἀγιοζαχαρίτης Θεόφιλος	- πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς Σάμου – 7-8.
Ἀγιοζαχαρίτης Κωνσταντῖνος	- 9-11 text
Ἀγιοζαχαρίτης Μανουὴλ	- 9-11 text
Ἀγιοζαχαρίτης Νικήτας	- 9-11 text
Ἀγιοζαχαρίτης Στυλιανὸς	- 9-11.
Ἀγιοζαχαρίτης Ν.	- 9-11 text
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Ἀγιοθεοδωρίτης Ἰωάννης	- 12 text
Ἀγιοθεοδωρίτης Κωνσταντῖνος	- 12 text
Ἀγιοθεοδωρίτης Μιχαὴλ	- 12.
Ἀγιοθεοδωρίτης Νικόλαος	- 12 text
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Ἀγιοστεφανίτης	- 13-14 text
Ἀγιοστεφανίτης Θεόδωρος	- 13-14.
Ἀγιοστεφανίτης Κατακαλὼν	- 15-18.
Ἀγιοστεφανίτης Κωνσταντῖνος	- 13-14 text
Ἀγιοστεφανίτης Μιχαὴλ	- 13-14 text
Ἀγιοστεφανίτης Στέφανος	- 13-14 text
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Ἀλακασεὺς Ἰωάννης	- 19 text
Ἀλακασεὺς Κωνσταντῖνος	- 19 text

Ἀλακασεύς Λέων	- 19 text
Ἀλακασεύς Νικήτας	- 19 text
Ἀλακασεύς Ν.	- 19 text
Ἀλακασεύς Ν.	- 19 text
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Ἀλυάτης Λέων	- 27 text
Ἀλυάτης Μιχαήλ	- πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ ταξιάρχης – 28.
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Ἀλυάτης Συμεὼν	- 27 text
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Ἀμασειάνος Ἰωάννης	- 34.
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Ἀριστηνὸς Νικόλαος	- 56 text
Ἀριστηνὸς Ν.	- 56 text
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Ἀτουέμης Κωνσταντῖνος	- 68 text
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Βρανᾶς Μιχαὴλ Κομνηνὸς	- 121-122 text
Βραχάμιος Βασίλειος	- 125-126.
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Γαβαλᾶς Εὐστάθιος	- 128 text
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Γαβαλᾶς Κωνσταντῖνος	- 128 text
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Δαλασηνὸς Ἀδριανὸς	- 156.
Δαλασηνὸς Κωνσταντῖνος	- πατρίκιος – 157.
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Δεκανὸς Γεώργιος	- κουροπαλάτης – 161.
Δεκανὸς Νικηφόρος	- κουροπαλάτης καὶ ἀναγραφεὺς Νίσου – 163-164.
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[illegible][illegible]



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Καματηρὸς Θεόδωρος	- 256 text
Καματηρὸς Ἰωάννης	- 256 text
Καματηρὸς Λέων	- 256 text
Καματηρὸς Κωνσταντῖνος	- 256 text
Καματηρὸς Νικηφόρος	- 256 text
Καματηρὸς Σταυράκιος	- 256 text
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Καματηρὸς Μιχαήλ	- νοβελίσσιμος – 256.
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Καναβούτζης Βασίλειος	- 260 text
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Κανάβης or Κανάκης Μιχαήλ	- 260 text
Καννάβης Λέων	- 260 text
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Καρανηνὸς Βασίλειος	- 267-272 text
Καρανηνὸς Γεώργιος	- 267-272 text
Καρανηνὸς Θεόδωρος	- 267-272 text
Καρανηνὸς Ἰωάννης	- 267-272 text
Καρανηνὸς Κωνσταντῖνος	- στρατηγὸς Περδσλάβας – 273-278.
Καρανηνὸς Λέων	- 267-272 text
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Καρατζᾶς Ἀργυρὸς	- κουροπαλάτης – 283-284.
Καρατζᾶς Ἀργυρὸς	- δοῦξ Φιλιππουπόλεως – 285-286.
Καριανίτης Ἰωάννης	- 287.
Καρίκης Λέων	- 288 text
Καρίκης Νικήτας	- πρωτοπρόεδρος καὶ δοῦξ Βουλγαρίας 288.
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Κατακαλὼν Δημήτριος	- βέστης, ἀνθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ κατεπάνω – 304.
Κατακαλὼν Δημήτριος	- πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς – 300-301.
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Κατακαλὼν Ἰωάννης	- 304 text
Κατακαλὼν Κωνσταντῖνος	- 304 text
Κατακαλὼν Νικηφόρος	- 717 text
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Κατακυνὸς (?) Εὐστάθιος	- πρωτοπρόεδρος – 306.
Κεγένης Ἰωάννης	- μάγιστρος καὶ ἄρχων Πατζινακίας – 307.
Κεδρηνὸς Γεώργιος	- βεστάρχης – 308.
Κεδρηνὸς Λέων	- 308 text
Κεκαυμένος Κατακαλὼν	- 257-258 text
Κελατζήνιος Βασίλειος	- ἀνθύπατος 308A.
Κιναδυνὸς Νικήτας	- 309.
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Κίνναμος Ἰωάννης	- 310.
Κίνναμος Ἰωάννης	- 311.
Κίνναμος Κωνσταντῖνος	- 311 text
Κίνναμος Νικήτας	- βέστης – 312.
Κίνναμος Συμεὼν	- 311 text
Κλάδων Γρηγόριος	- πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς – 313.
Κλάδων Θεόδωρος	- πρωτοσπαθᾶριος – 314-317.
Κλάδων Κωνσταντῖνος	- σεβαστὸς – 318, 196A text.
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Κομνηνὴ Ἄννα	- 348 text, 353-354 text, 360-361 text
Κομνηνὴ Εἰρήνη	- 320A.
Κομνηνὴ Εἰρήνη	- σεβαστοκρατόρισσα – 320.
Κομνηνὴ Θεοδώρα	- 321.
Κομνηνὴ Θεοδώρα	- 356 text, 397A text
Κομνηνὴ Μαρία	- πανυπερσέβαστη – 322.
Κομνηνὴ Μαρία	- 121-122 text
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Κομνηνοδοῦκας Ν., Πανθήριος	- σεβαστὸς – 352.

His name was first attested in the battle of 1081, when he commanded a regiment by order of the emperor, he was (Alexandros II, 80-81). In 1081 he had to reorganize the army.

πρόεδρος = 542.

-722 text

πρωτοσέβαστος - 324.

πρωτοσέβαστος καὶ μέγας δομέστικος πάσης Δύσεως - 325-326

- 338.

- σεβαστὸς καὶ μέγας δομέστικος 327-336.

- σεβαστὸς - 337.

- 339.

- κουροπαλάτης καὶ δουξ Παφλαγονίας - 340.

- δεσπότης - 340A.

- υἱὸς τοῦ σεβαστοκράτορος - 341.

- πρωτοσέβαστος καὶ πρωτοβεστιάριος 342.

- σεβαστὸς - 343.

- 344.

- 348.

- 349.

- σεβαστὸς - 345-346.

- σεβαστὸς - 347.

- πανυπερσέβαστος - 121-122.

- 350.

- 351.

- 353-354.

- δεσπότης καὶ γαμβρὸς - 541.

- 401 text

- σεβαστὸς - 355.

- 356 text

- 358.

- 357.

- νοβελλίσιμος καὶ δουξ - 359.

- δεσπότης - 360-361.

- σεβαστὸς(?) - 356.

- 389.

- πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ τοποτηρητὴς τῶν σχολῶν - 362.

- 363.

- 363 text

- κουροπαλάτης - 364-365.

- 366-367 text

- 366-367 text.

- 366-367.

- 366-367 text.

- 366-367 text.

- 366-367 text.

Κοστομύρης Μιχαήλ  
Κοστομύρης Νικήτας  
Κοστομύρης Νικόλαος  
Κουρκουασήνα Ἑλένη  
Κουρκούας Γρηγόριος  
Κουρκούας Γρηγόριος  
Κουρκούας [Γρηγόριος]  
Κουρκούας Ἰωάννης  
Κουρκούας Κωνσταντῖνος  
Κουρκούας Νικηφόρος  
Κουρκούας Ῥωμανὸς  
Κουρτίκινα Ἄννα  
Κουρτίκιος  
Κουρτίκιος Ἀέτιος  
Κουρτίκιος Βασίλειος  
Κουρτίκιος Ἰωάννης  
Κουρτίκιος Κωνσταντῖνος  
Κουρτίκιος Κωνσταντῖνος  
Κουρτίκιος Μανουήλ  
Κουρτίκιος Μχитар  
Κουρτίκιος Μιχαήλ  
Κουρτίκιος Νικόλαος  
Κρατερὸς Βάρδας  
Κρατερὸς Κωνσταντῖνος  
Κρατερὸς Λέων

Κυρίτζης  
Κυρίτζης Ἀναστάσιος  
Κυρίτζης Ἰωάννης  
Κυρίτζης Ν. [Γεώργιος]  
Κυρίτζης Ν.  
Κυριώτης Γρηγόριος  
Κυριώτης Μιχαήλ  
Κυριώτης Ν.

Λαγωδιάτης ? Θεόδωρος  
Λαμπιταιώτης ? Ἰωάννης  
Λανδούλφος  
Λαπαρδᾶς Ἀνδρόνικος

Λαπαρδᾶς? Ἰωάννης  
Λαχανᾶς Βασίλειος  
Λαχανᾶς Γεώργιος  
Λαχανᾶς Ἰωάννης  
Λαχανᾶς Μανουήλ  
Λαχανᾶς Νικηφόρος  
Λαχανᾶς Στέφανος  
Λαχανᾶς Ν.

- 366-367 text.  
- 366-367 text.  
- 366-367 text.  
- 372-378 text  
- 370-371.  
- πρόεδρος - 368-369.  
- δουξ - 372-378.  
- 372-378 text  
- 372-378 text  
- 372-378 text  
- 372-378 text  
- 372-378 text  
- 379-382 text  
- 379-382 text  
- 379-382 text  
- 379-382 text  
- 383.  
- 379-382 text  
- 379-382 text  
- τοποτηρητὴς τῆς Θράκης - 383A.  
- 379-382 text  
- τοποτηρητὴς - 384.  
- ἀνθύπατος-πατρίκιος - 385-386.  
- σπαθαροκανδιδάτος καὶ στρατηγὸς - 387-388.  
- 390-393 text  
- 390-393.  
- 390-393 text  
- 390-393 text  
- 390-393 text  
- 394 text  
- 394 text  
- πρωτοσπαθάριος (?) - 394.

- 395.  
- 396.  
- σεβαστὸς καὶ δουξ - 398, 359 text  
- σεβαστὸς καὶ χαρτουλάριος - 397A, 121-122 text.  
- 397.  
- 399 text  
- 399 text  
- 399.  
- 400.  
- πρωτονοβελίσσιμος - 399 text  
- 399 text  
- 399 text

Λιπαρίτης Βάρδας	- 401 text
Λιπαρίτης Βασίλειος	- 401 text
Λιπαρίτης Ἰωάννης	- 401 text
Λιπαρίτης Κωνσταντῖνος	- 401 text
Λιπαρίτης Μανουήλ	- 401 text
Λιπαρίτης Μιχαήλ	- πρόεδρος – 401.
Λιπαρίτης Ὁράτιος	- 401 text
Λιπαρίτης Bagvashi	- 401 text
Λιπαρίτης Niania	- 401 text
Λογαριαστής Βασίλειος	- 401A.
Λογαριαστής Συμεών	- 401B.
Λοῦλε Νικηφόρος	- 403 text
Λοῦλος Γεώργιος	- 403 text
Λοῦλος Ἰωάννης	- πατρίκιος – 403.
Λοῦλος ? Λέων	- 403 text
Λωβακᾶς Νικήτας	- 402.
Μαγγάνης Γεώργιος	- 405.
Μαγγάνης Θεόδωρος	- 405 text
Μαγγάνης Ἰωάννης	- 405 text
Μαγγάνης Κωνσταντῖνος	- 405 text
Μαγγάνης Μιχαήλ	- 405 text
Μαγγάνης Χριστοφόρος	- 405 text
Μαγεντίνος Ὑπάτιος	- βεστάρχης - 404.
Μαγνὴς Λέων	- βεστιάριος – 406.
Μαδαρίτης Δαλασηνὸς Χριστοφόρος	- 407.
Μακρῆς Ἰωάννης	- 424 text
Μακρῆς Κωνσταντῖνος	- 424 text
Μακρῆς Μιχαήλ	- 424 text
Μακρῆς or Μαῦριξ Ν.	- σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοτρικλίνου – 424.
Μαλέας Ἰωάννης	- πρωτοσπαθᾶριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Περσθλάβας or Περσθλαβίτζας – 410-411.
Μαλεῖνος ? Γεώργιος	- ἀσηκρῆτις – 409, 408 text
Μαλεῖνος Εὐστάθιος	- 408 text
Μαλεῖνος Κωνσταντῖνος	- 408 text
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Σκέποις με χρυσόπαστε παστὰς Κυρίου  
σεβαστὸν Ἀνδρόνικον ἐκ Ῥωγερίων

753.  
Σκέποις σεβαστὸν Θεόδωρον τὸν Χοῦμνον  
σεπτὴ ξυνωρὶς μαρτύρων Θεοδώρων.

69.  
Σὸν Ἀττικὸν Λέοντα, Χεῖρ Θεοῦ, σκέποις.

199.  
Σὸν Γρηγόριον οἰκέτην σῶσον, Λόγε,  
τὸν Δοῦκα λιταῖς μάρτυρος Θεοδώρου.

222-223.  
Σὸν, Εὐστράτιε, Μιχαήλ, δοῦλον σκέποις.

400.  
Σὸν Μανουὴλ με Λαχανᾶν, μάρτυς, σκέποις.

463.  
Σὸν συνώνυμον σκέποις τὸν Μελησσοπετριώτην.

397.  
Σφραγὶς, ἀθλητά, Ἰωάννη Λαπαρδᾶ.

677.  
Σφραγὶς βεβαιοῖ τὰς γραφὰς τὰς ἐνθάδε  
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308.  
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260.  
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13-14.  
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395.  
Σφραγὶς Θεοδώρου τοῦ Λαγωδιάτη.

735.  
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59.  
Σφραγὶς Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἀρβαντηνοῦ

287.  
Σφραγὶς Ἰωάννη τοῦ Καριανίτου.

430.  
Σφραγὶς Κάλου κομήτος τοῦ Μαύρου.

342.  
Σφραγὶς μαρτυρῶ πρωτοπανσεβασθυπερτάτου  
Κομνηνωφυοῦς πρωτοβεστιαρίου  
Ἰωάννου ἔλκοντος ἐξ Ἀνδρονίκου  
σεβαστοκρατορὸς καὶ θείου γένους

321.  
+ Σφραγὶς Κομνηνῆς εὐκλεοῦς Θεοδώρας.

752.  
+ Σφραγὶς Λέοντος εἰμὶ τοῦ Χοιροσφάκτου.

53.  
Σφραγὶς Λέοντος κουροπαλάτου τοῦ Ἀρειανίτου.

389.  
Σφραγὶς Λέοντος τοῦ Κοιτωνίτου.

246.  
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462.  
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423.  
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131.  
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552.  
Σφραγὶς Μιχαήλ Παλαιολόγου πέλω.

603.  
Σφραγὶς Μιχαήλ Σαμουήλ ἐξ ὀσφύος.

12.  
Σφραγὶς Μιχαήλ τοῦ Ἀγιοθεοδωρίτου

130.  
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466-467.  
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255.  
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312.  
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145.  
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454.  
Σφραγὶς ὁ Μαυβροκατακαλός.

550.  
Σφραγὶς ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ φυλακτὴρ καὶ σκέπη  
ἀνακτόπαιδος δεσπότη Κωνσταντίνου  
καὶ πορφυρανθοῦς Δούκα Παλαιολόγου.

224-225.  
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401.  
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601-602.  
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190.  
Σφραγὶς σεβαστῆς Μαρίας τῆς Δουκαίνης.

318.  
Σφραγὶς σεβαστοῦ Κλάδονος Κωνσταντίνου.

343.  
Σφραγὶς σεβαστοῦ Κομνηνοῦ Ἰωάννου

347.  
Σφραγὶς σεβαστοῦ Κομνηνοῦ Νικηφόρου  
ὃν σαῖς λιταῖς σκέποις, μάρτυς καλλίνικε.

198.  
Σφραγὶς σεβαστοῦ τοῦ Δούκα Γεωργίου  
δι' εὐλάβειαν οὐ φέρει θεῖους τύπους.

204-206.  
Σφραγὶς σεβαστοῦ Νικηφόρου τοῦ Δούκα  
ρίζαν γένους ἔχοντος ἐκ βασιλέων.

352.  
Σφραγὶς σεβαστοῦ πορφύρας τοῦ ἐκ γόνου  
Κομνηνοδοῦκα θηριωνυμουμένου.

542.  
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100-102.  
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3B.  
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237.  
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740.  
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220-221-221A.  
Σφράγισμα δὴ Μωσέως τοῦ Εὐλογίου.

201.  
Σφράγισμα Δούκα σεβαστοῦ Κωνσταντίνου  
νπερ, ἀθλητὰ, ἐκ πάσης βλάβης ρύου.

405.  
Σφράγισμα καὶ γνώρισμα τῶν τοῦ Μαγγάνη  
Γεωργίου πέφυκεν ἐν γραφαῖς λόγων.

596.  
Σφράγισμα καὶ κύρωσις ἀσφαλεστάτη  
Ῥαοῦλ σεβαστοῦ Δούκα τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου

227.  
Σώζοις Ἄμωμε Ζωναρᾶν Χριστοφόρον.

165.  
Σώζοις, Πάναγνε, Δελφινᾶν Κωνσταντῖνον.

322-323.  
Τὴν πανυπερσέβαστον, Ἀγνή, μοι σκέποις.

63-64.  
Τικρανίου σφράγισμα τοῦ Ἀρσακίδους.

563.  
Τί σφραγὶς ἐν γράμμασι δείκνυσι, λέγε,  
κριτὴν Πεκούλην κοιαίστωρα προγράφει.

3.  
Τὸν Ἀγγελον με σεβαστὸν Ἰωάννην  
μέγαν πριμικίριον, ἀθλητὰ, σκέποις.

3A.  
+Τὸν Ἀγγελον σκέπης με Μιχαὴλ, Λόγε



57.  
Τὸν Ἀριστηνὸν νῦν λογοθέτην δρόμου  
τὸν Μιχαήλ δείκνυσι σφραγίδος τύπος.

84-85.  
Τὸν Βαρδαλῆν Στέφανον ἢ σφραγὶς γράφει  
τραπέζης ἐπιστατοῦντα τοῖς ἀνακτόροις.

283-284.  
Τὸν σὸν οἰκέτην θύτα Θεοῦ φυλάττοις  
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754.  
Τὸν Χουσένην Ἰωάννην, Μάρτυς, σκέποις.

737A.  
Τοῦ Φραγγοπούλου τὰς γραφὰς προμηνύω.

652A.  
Τοῦ Σινωπείτου μυστικοῦ Εὐσταθίου

187.  
Τῷ Δοξαπάτρι τῷ φύλακι τῶν νόμων  
σύγκρινε, θύτα Κυρίου, Χρυσοῦν στόμα.

422A.  
Τῶν γραφῶν Κωνσταντίνου ὑπερτάτου  
δὲ πρωτονωβελλισίμου σιδηρῶν ἐκ  
τύπων κλεῖς μολυβδίνη τοῦ Μανιάκου.

219.  
Φερόνυμος σὴν φυλακὴν Θεῖαν, μάκαρ,  
Εὐγενιώτη, προσνεμοῖς χρυσορρό.

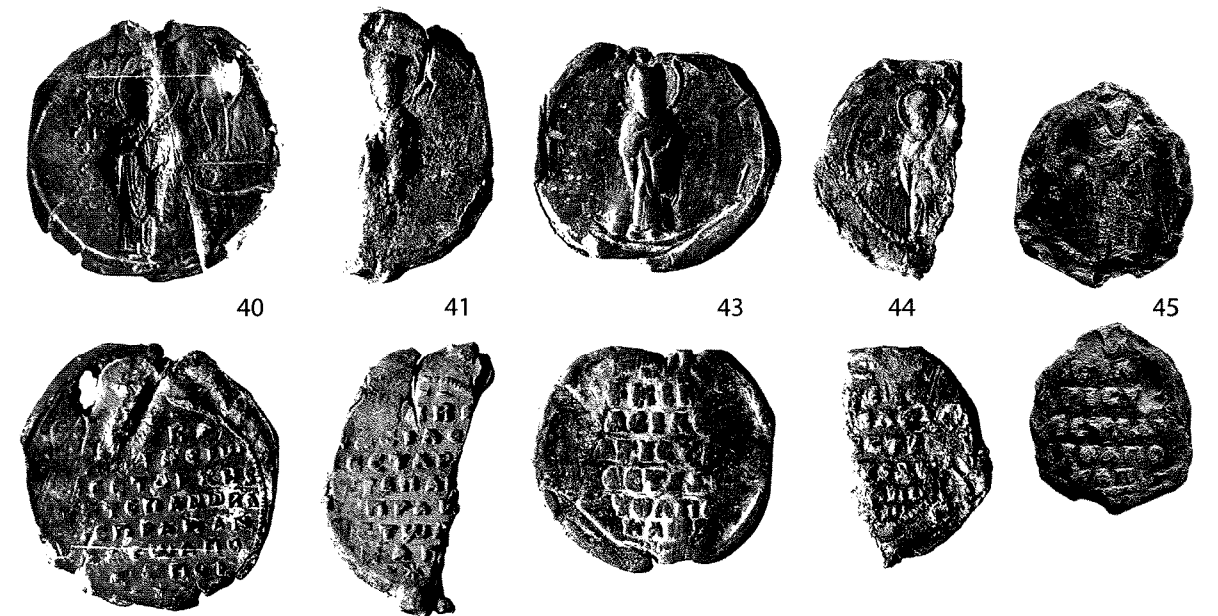
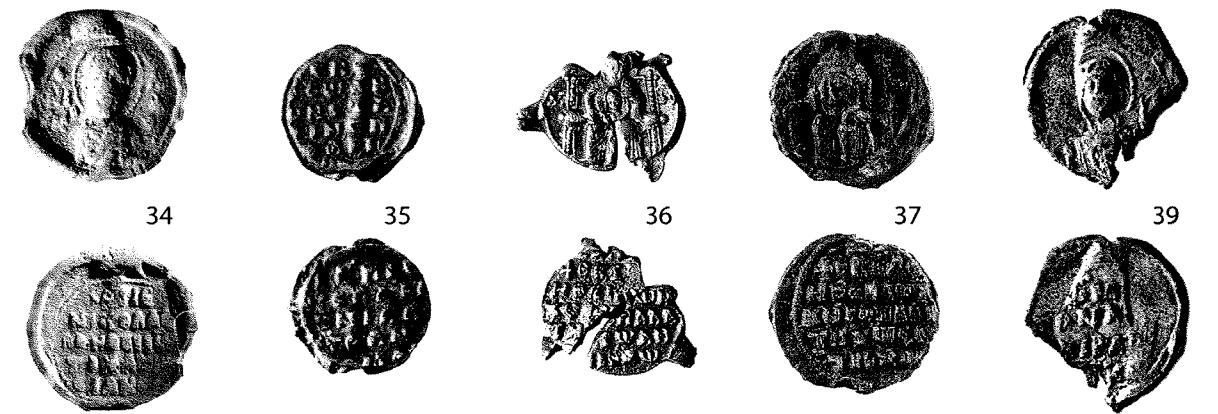
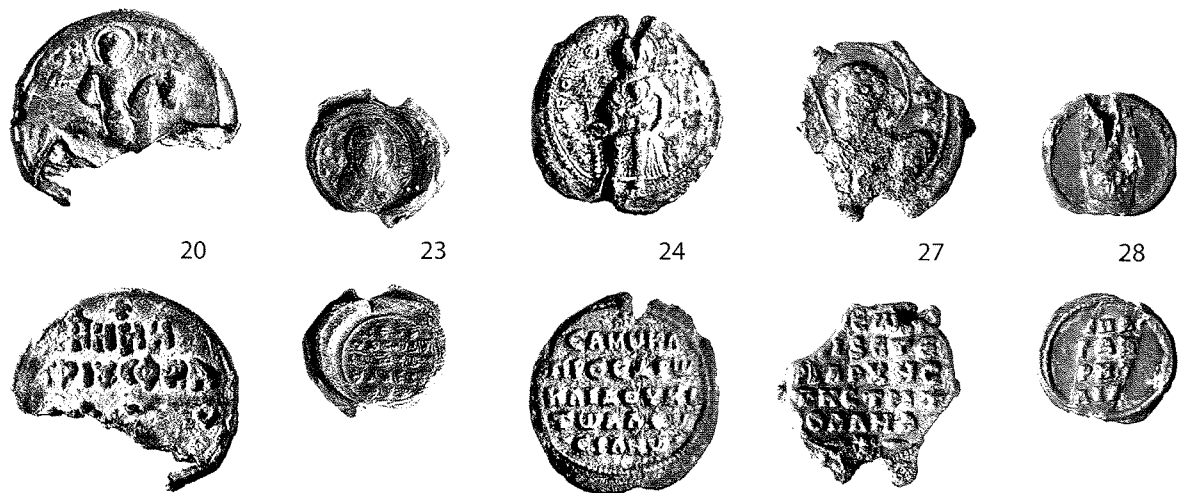
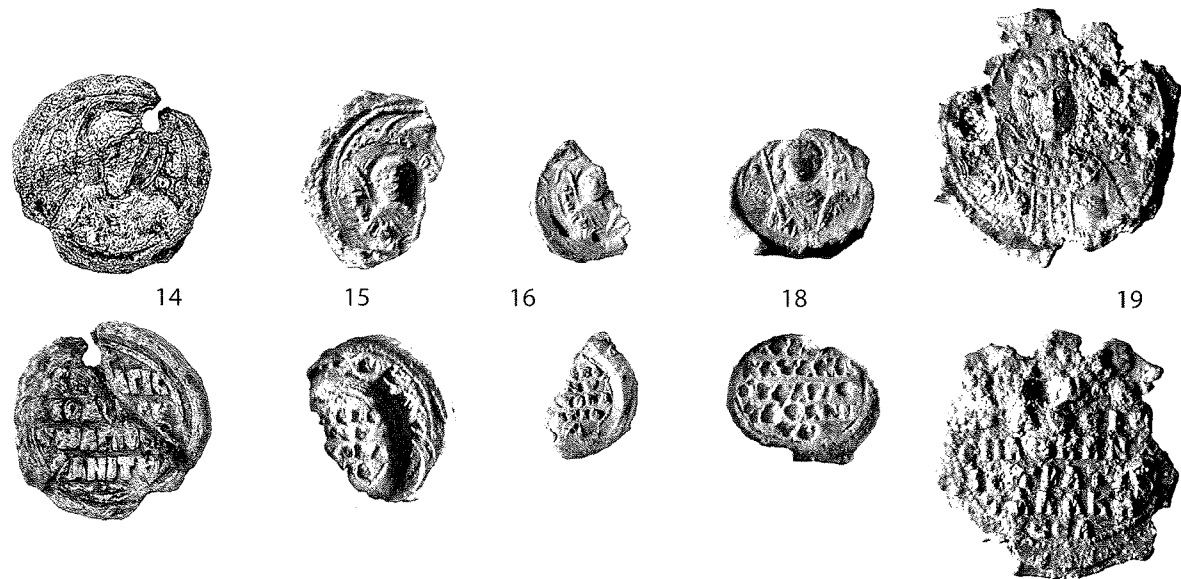
309.  
Φύλαττε μάρτυς Κιναδυνὸν σὸν Νικήταν.

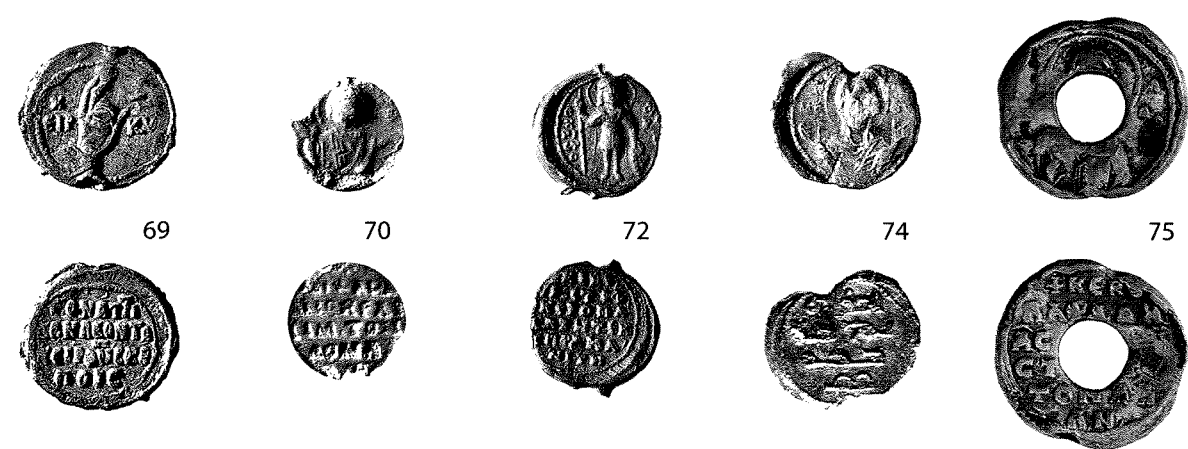
700.  
Φωνὴν κηρύττων τῷ τροχῷ τῆς σφραγίδος  
Ἰωάννην σκέποις με Ταρχανιώτην.

554.  
Ὡς ἐν ψυχῇ φέρω σε, φωνὴ τοῦ Λόγου,  
τῇ σφραγίδι Θεόδωρος Πανηγύρης.

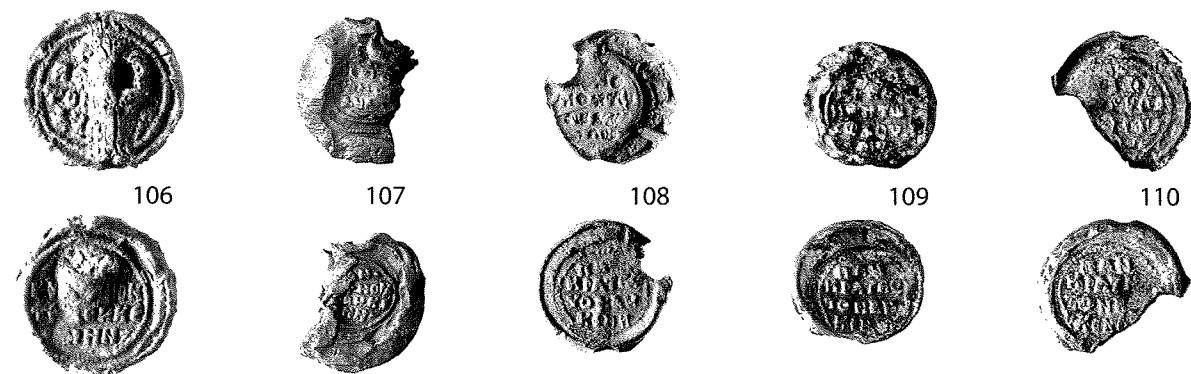
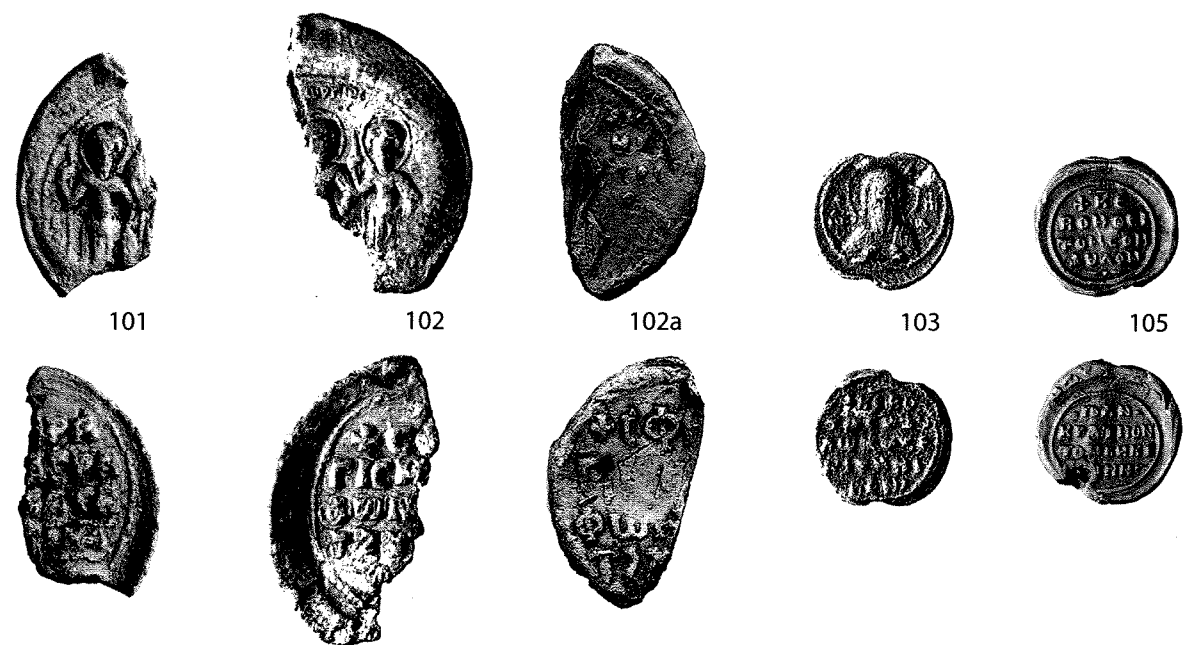
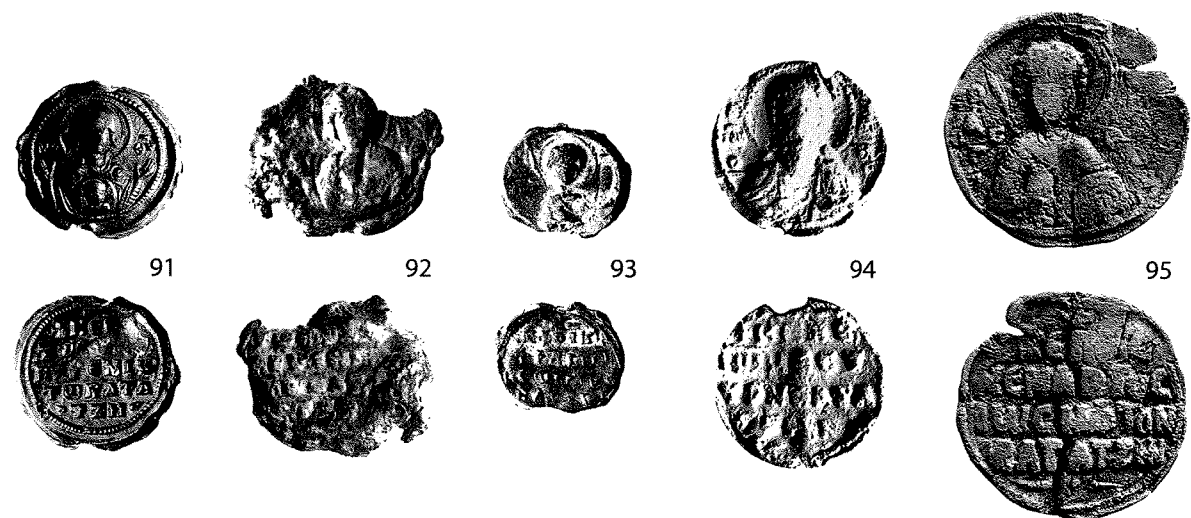
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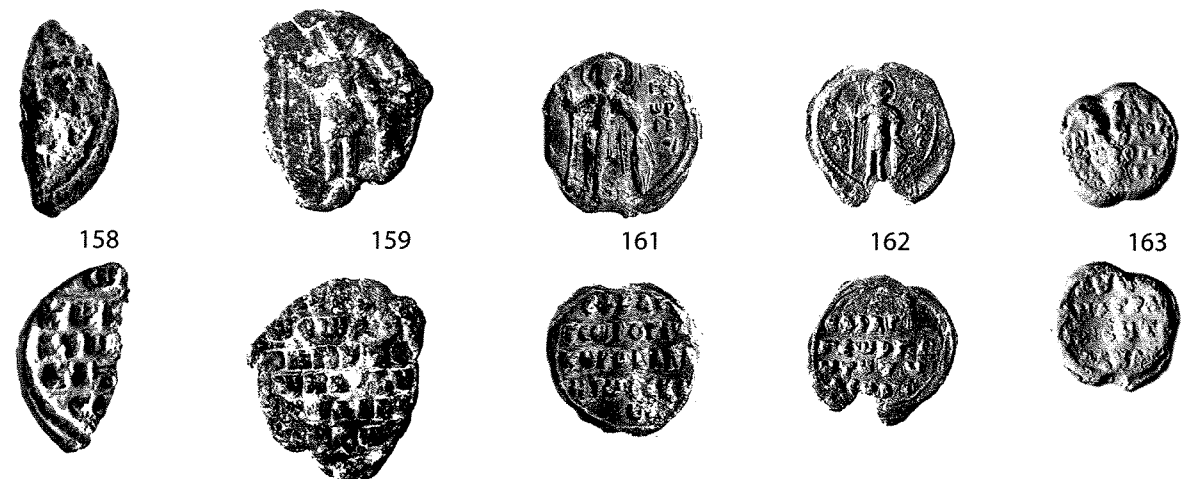
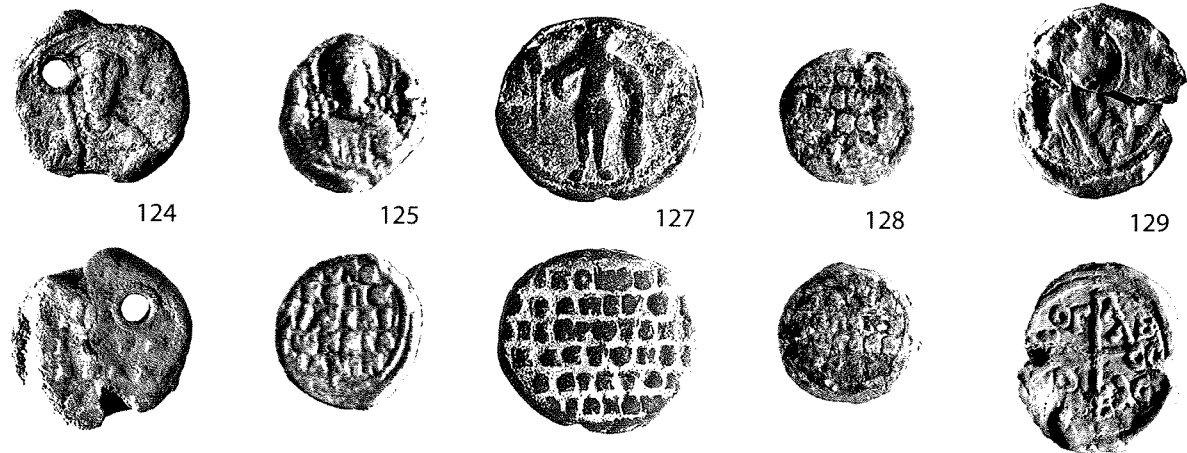


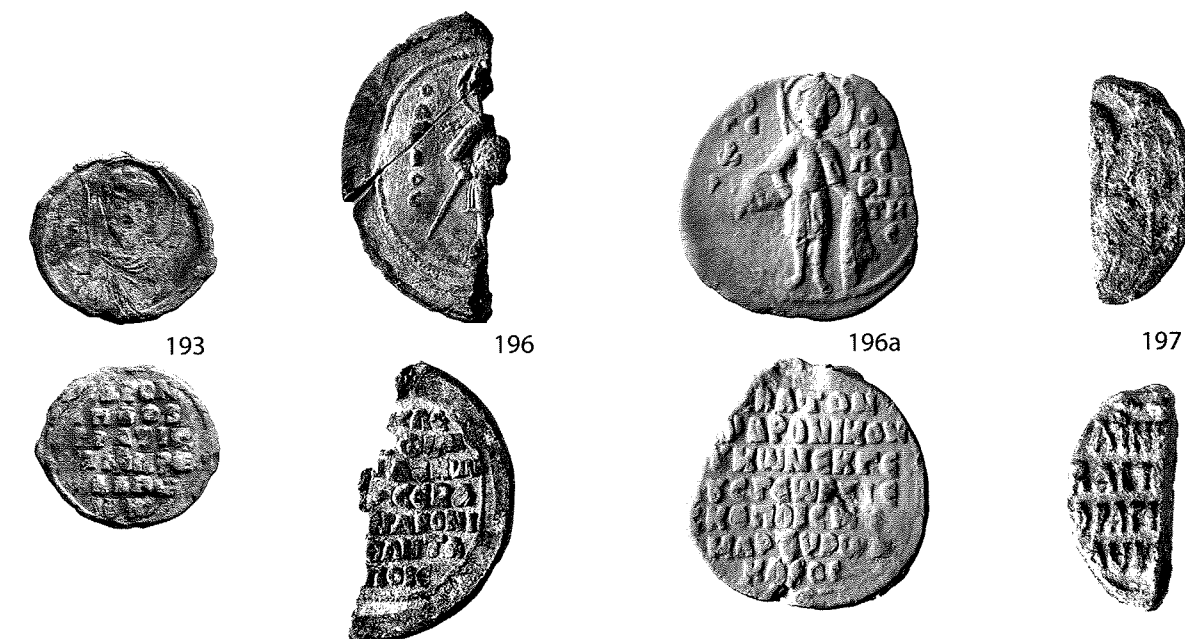
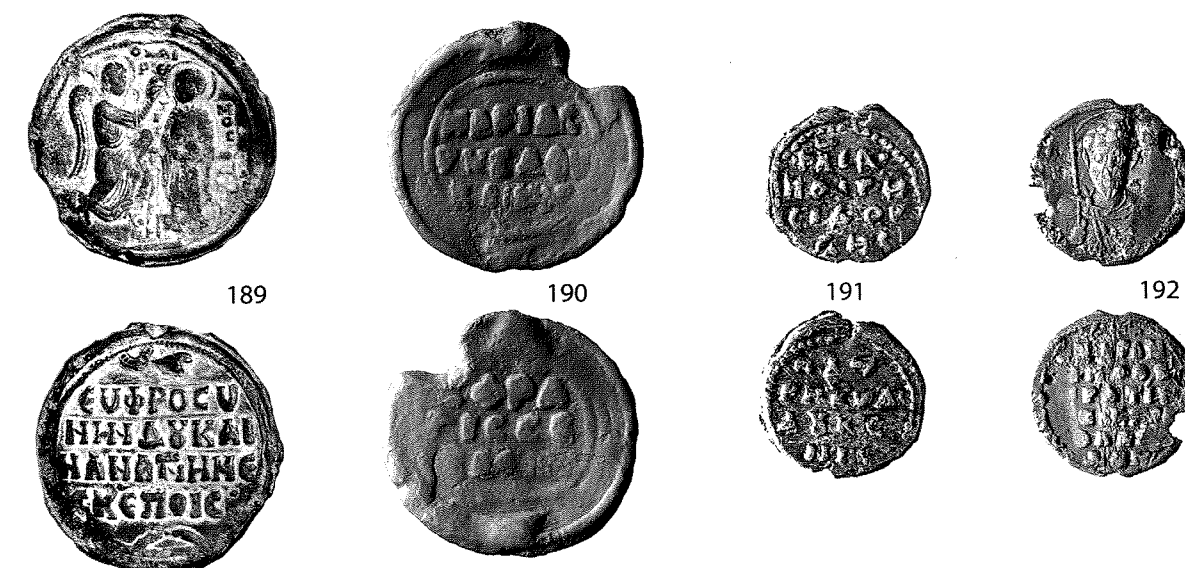
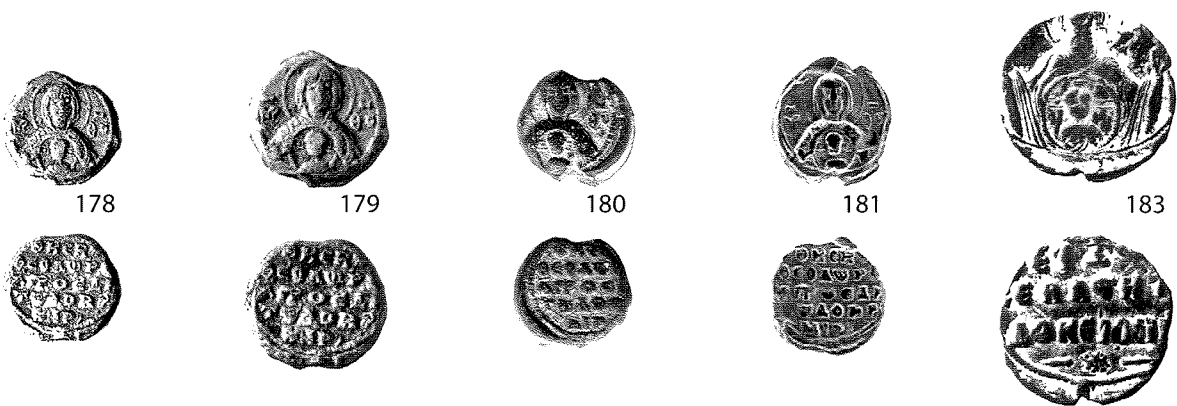
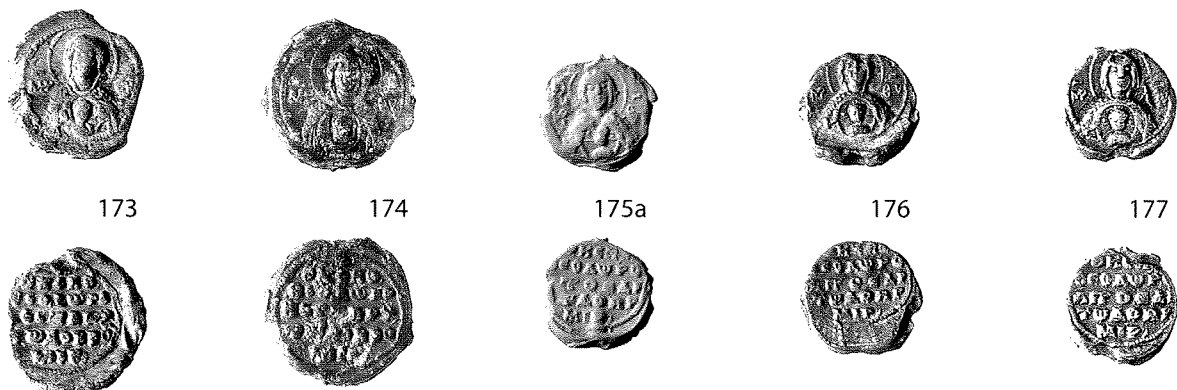
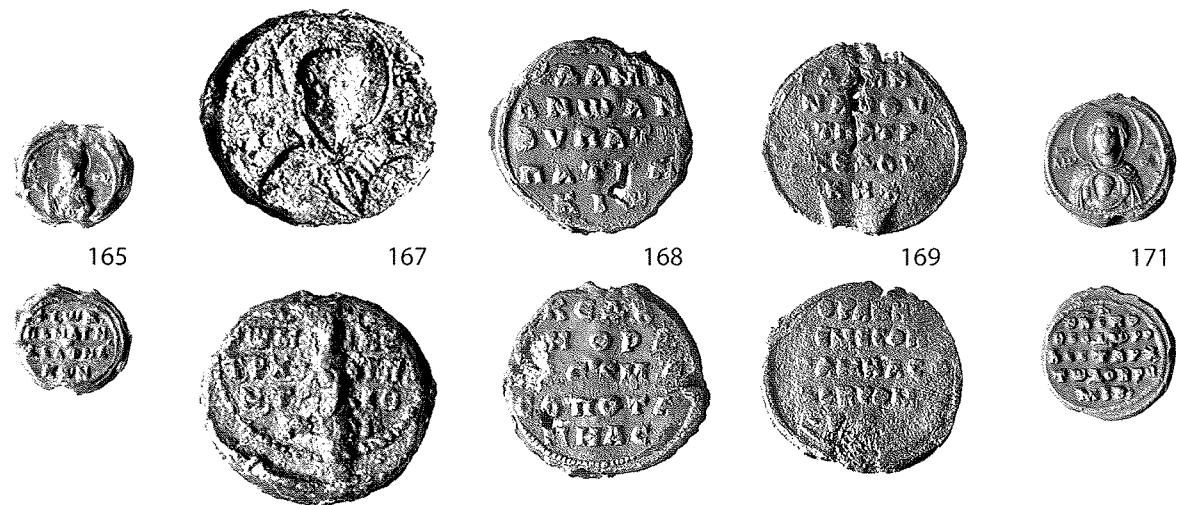
















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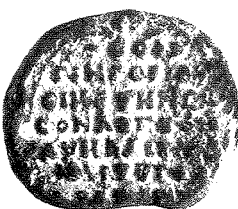
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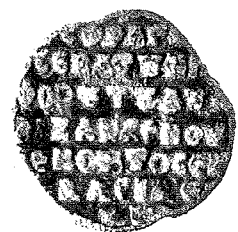
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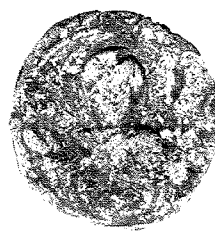
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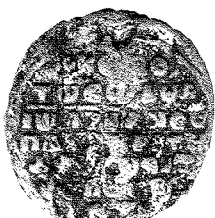
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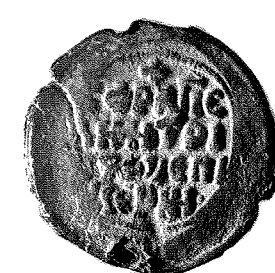
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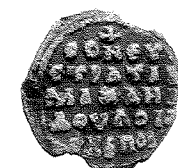
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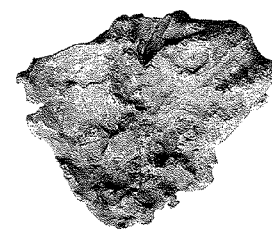
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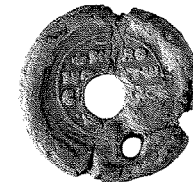
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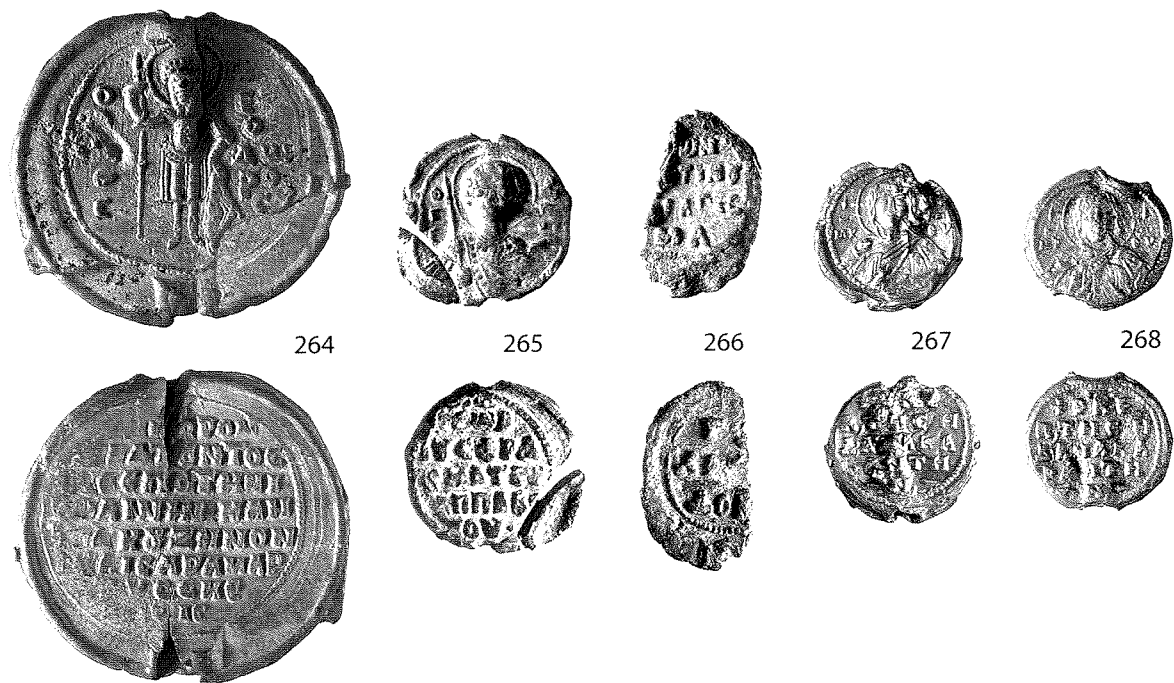


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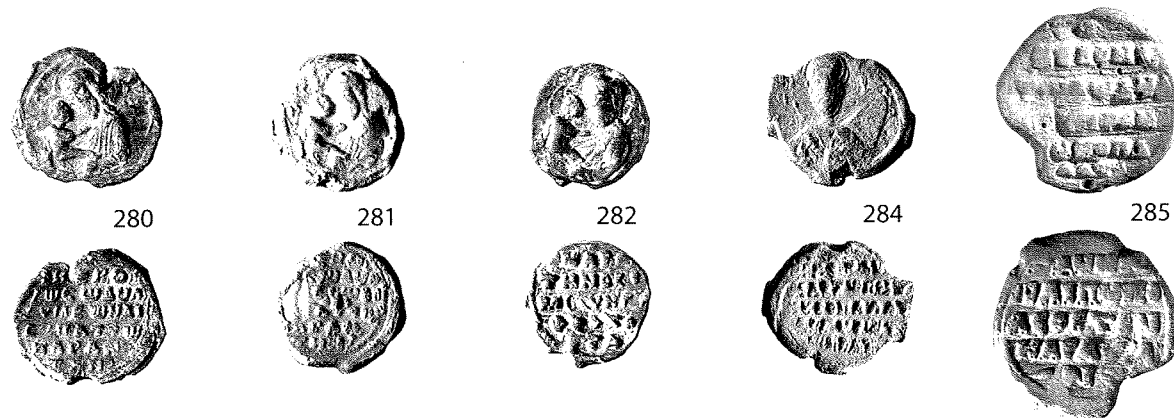
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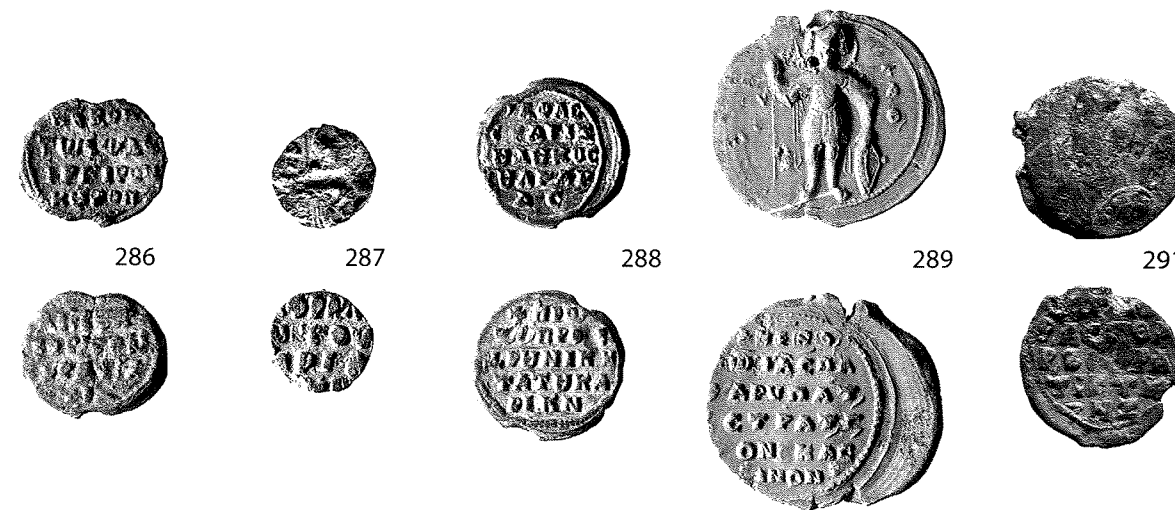
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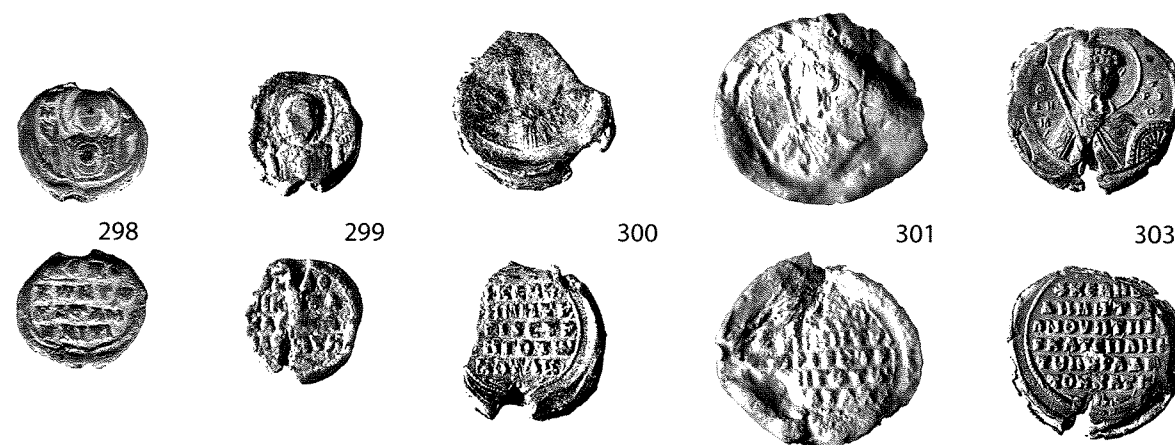
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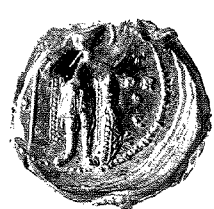
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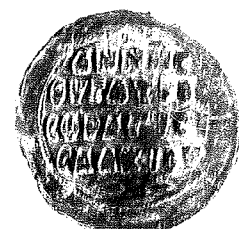
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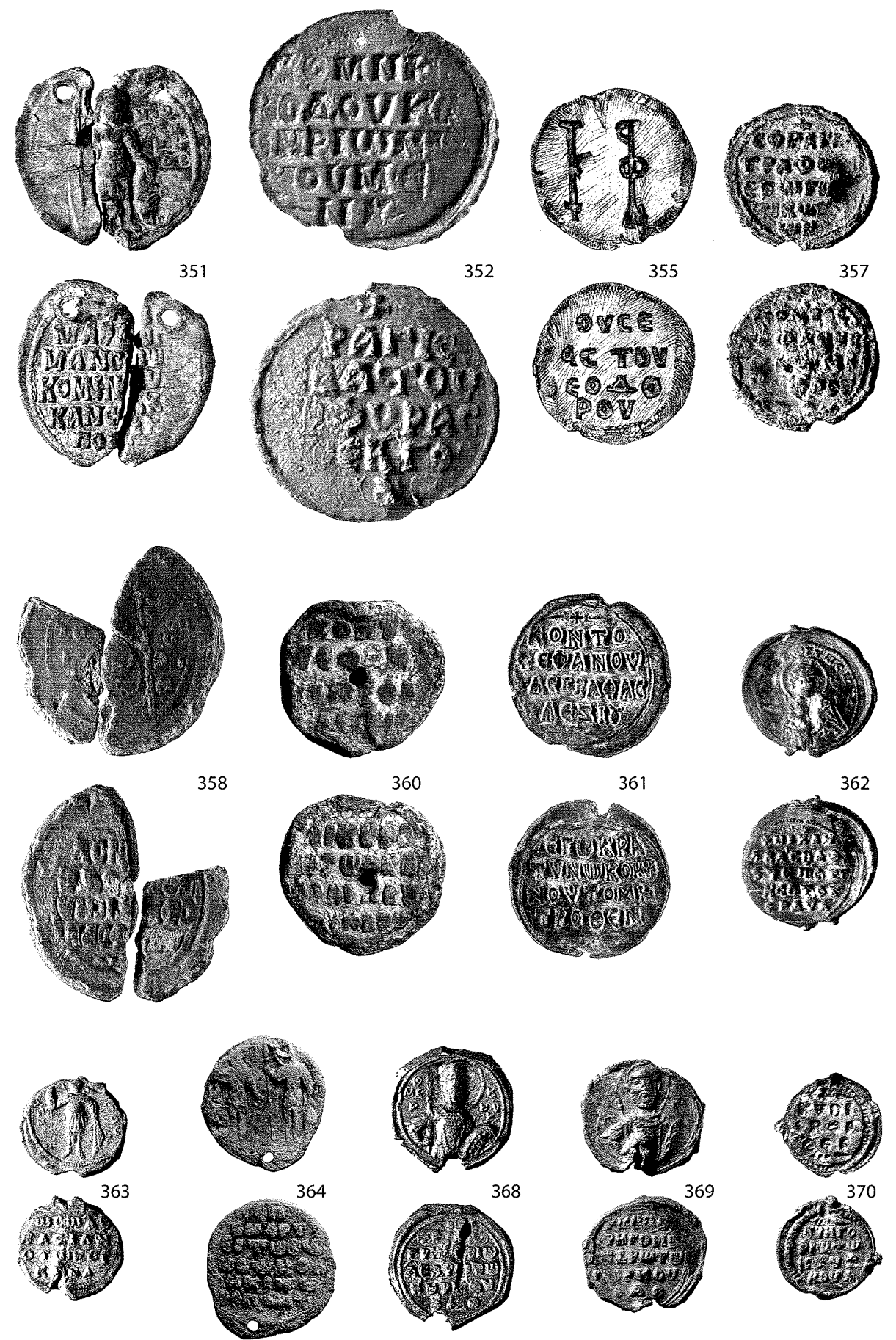


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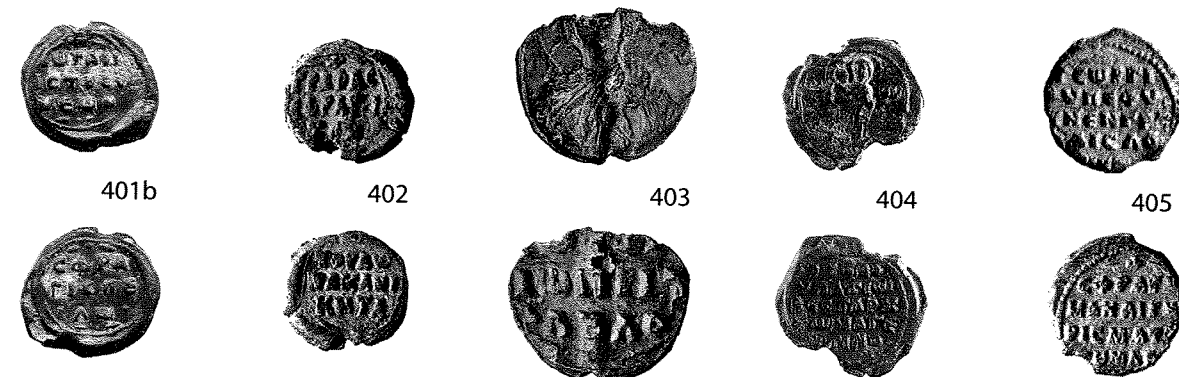
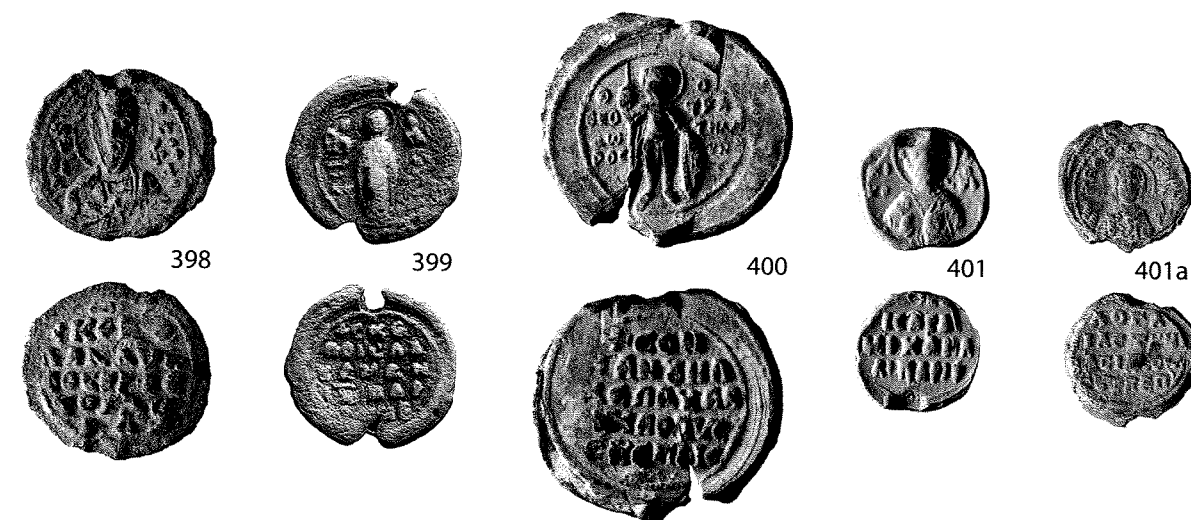
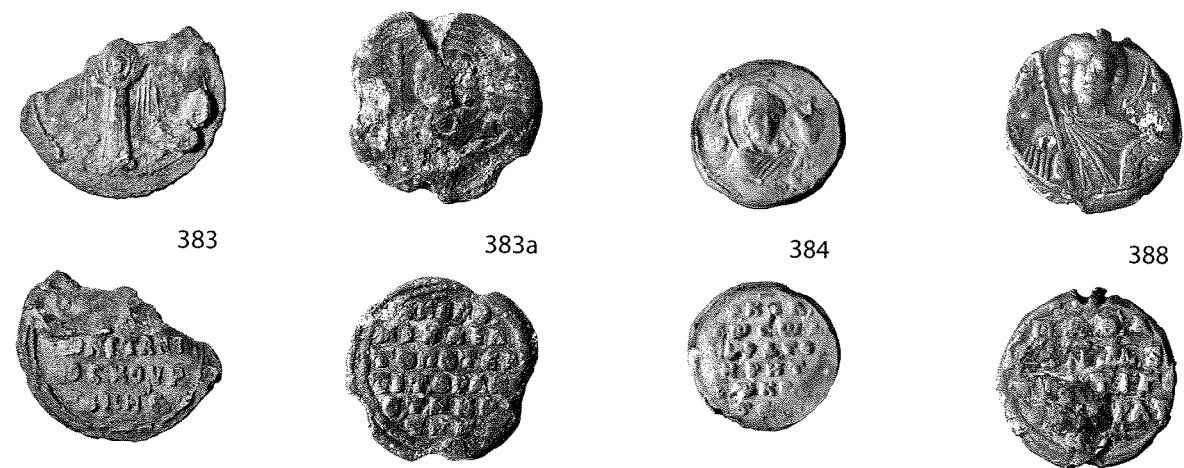
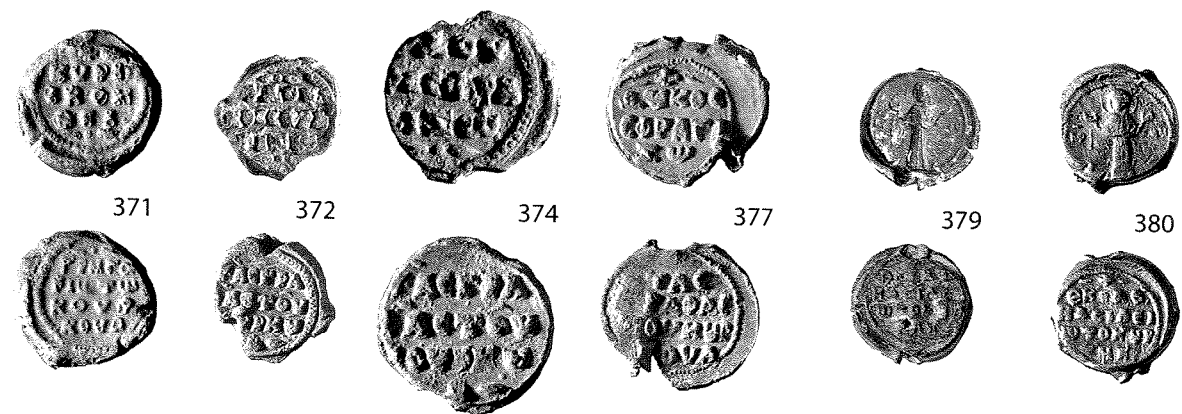


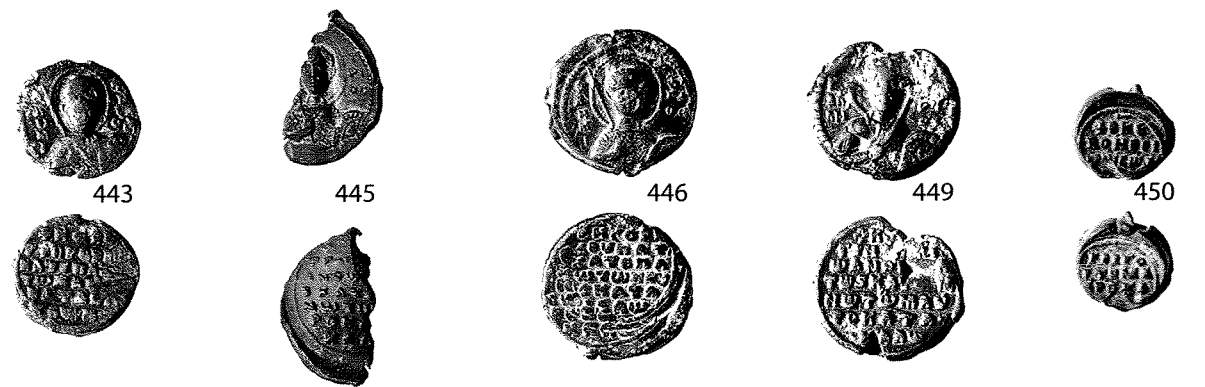
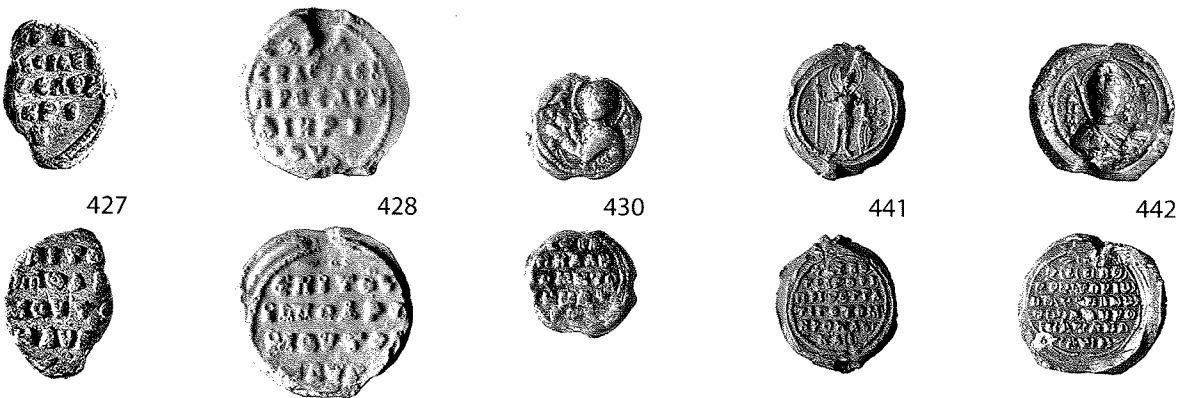
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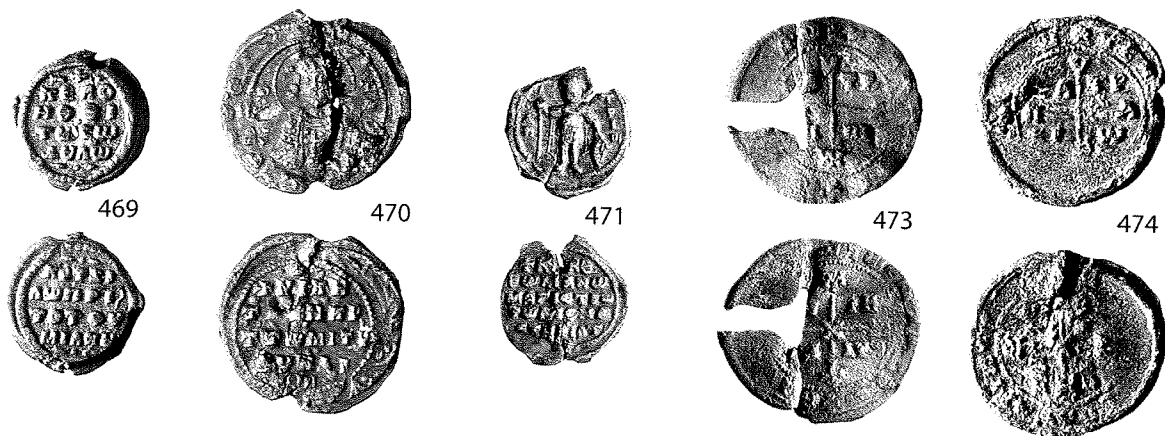
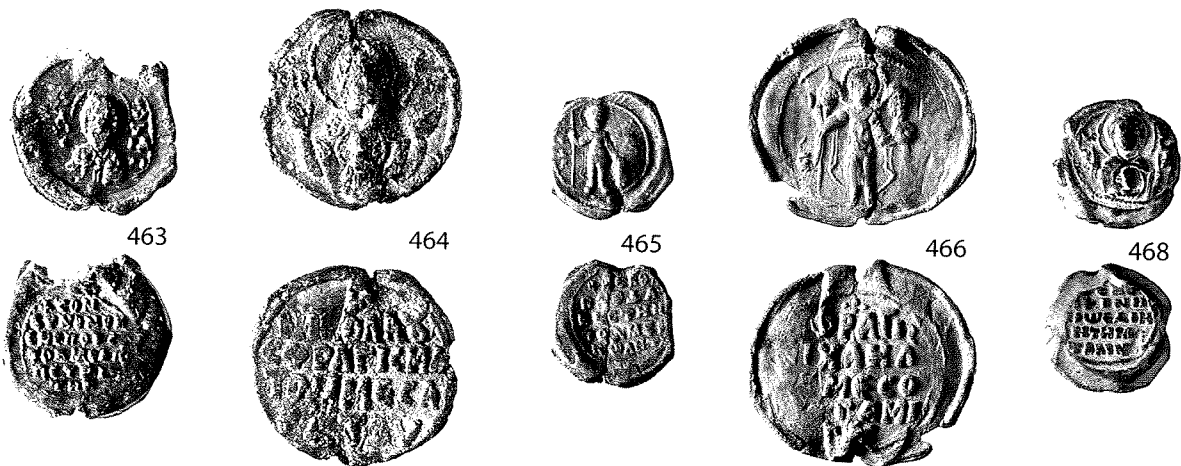














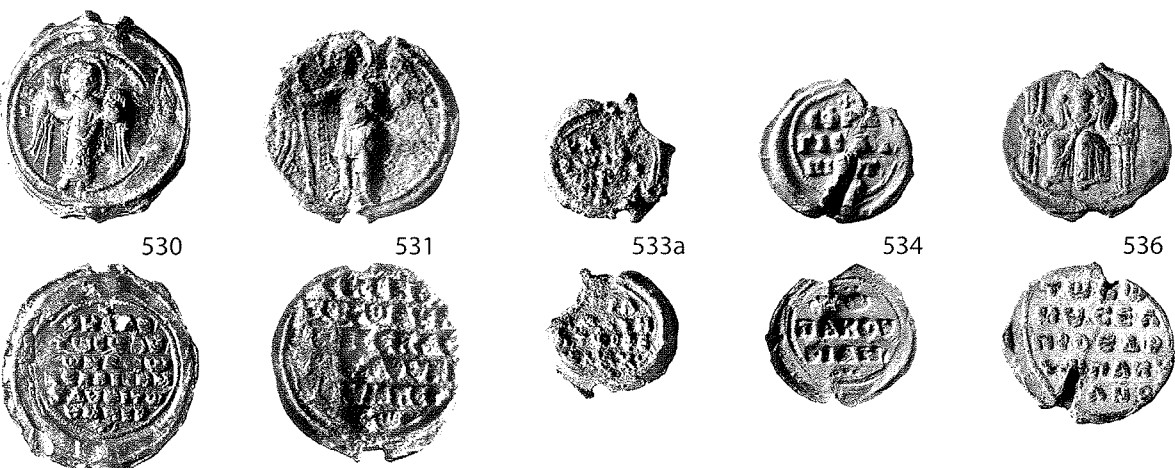


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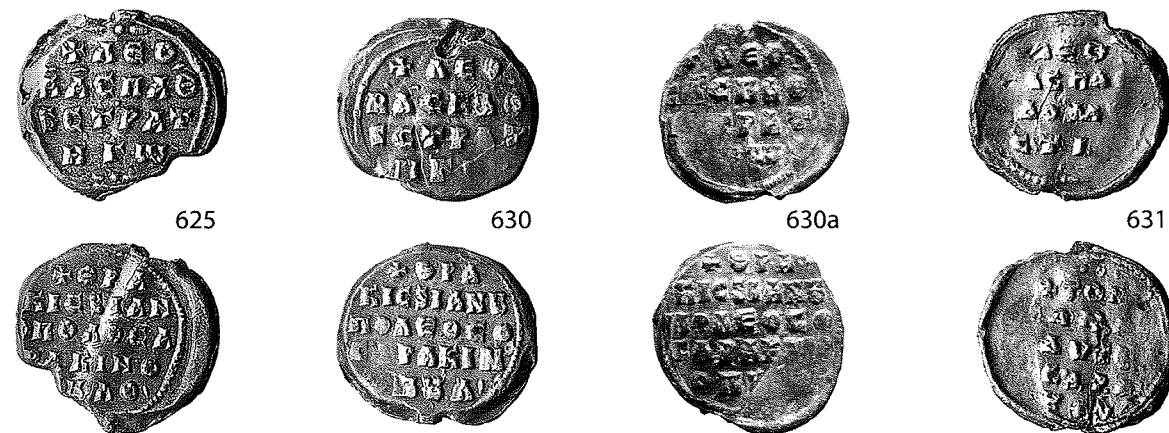


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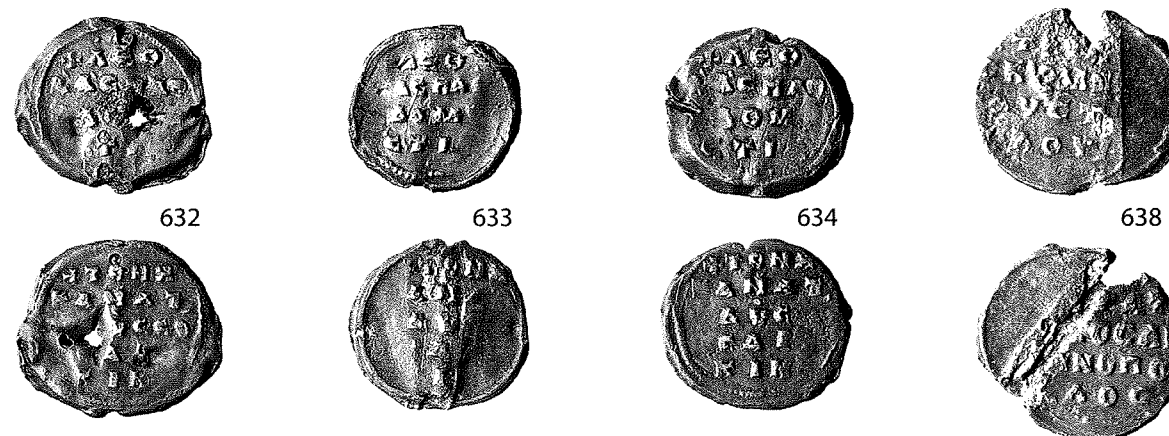


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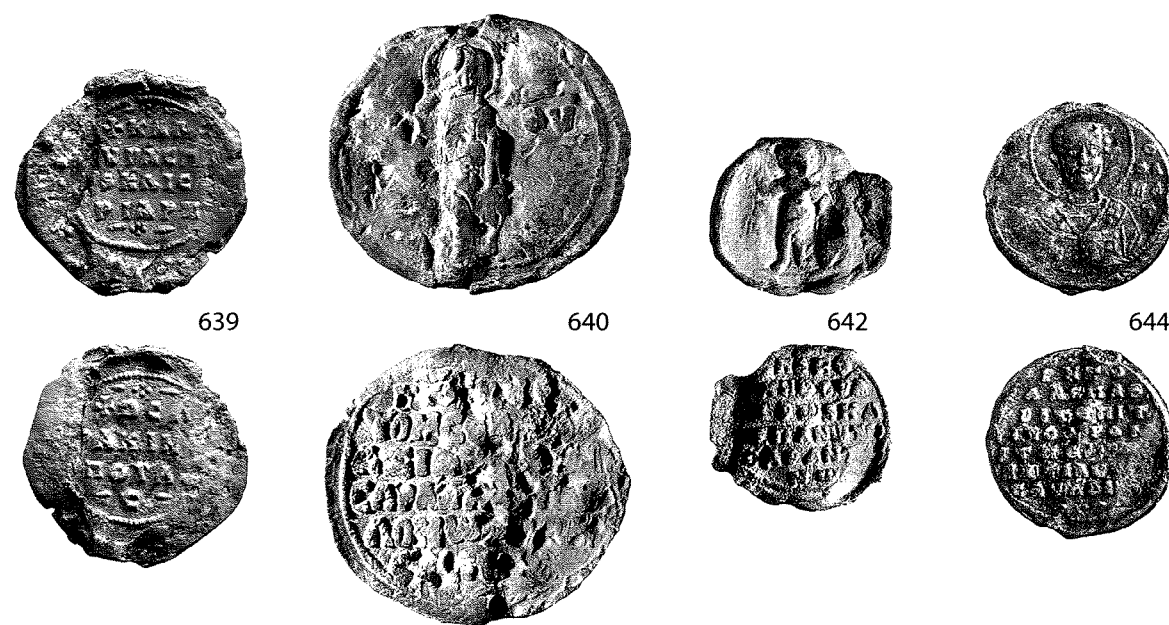


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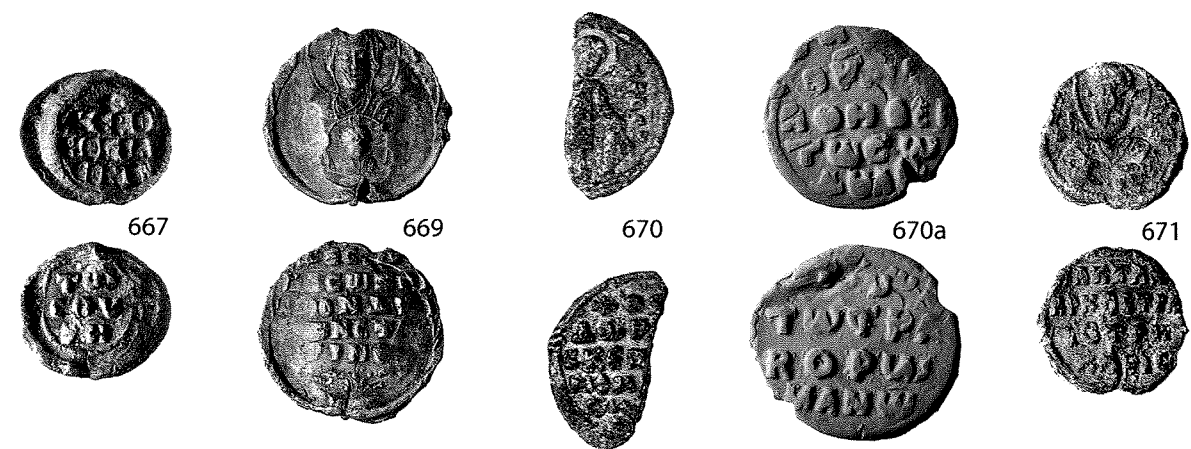
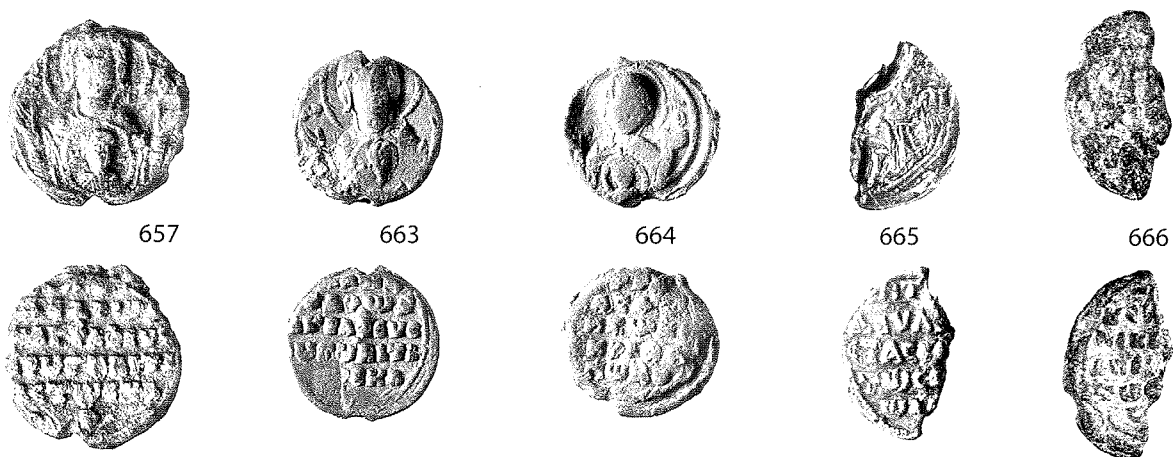
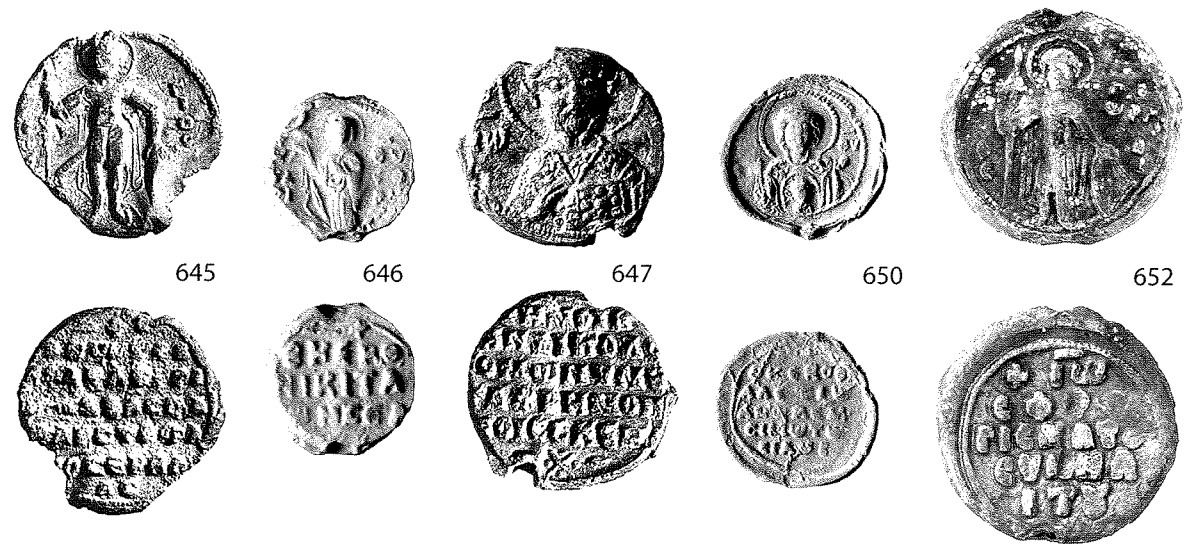
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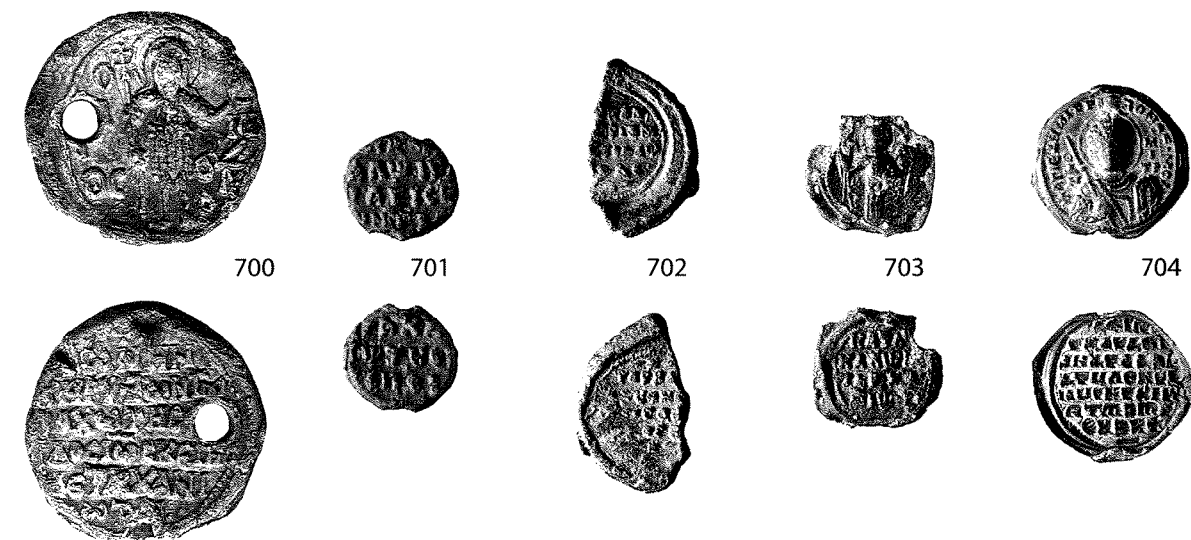
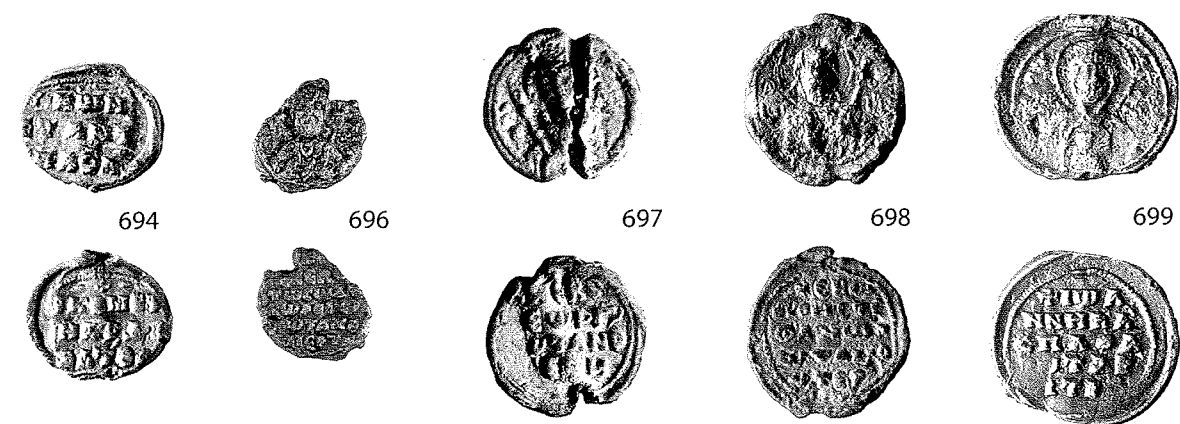
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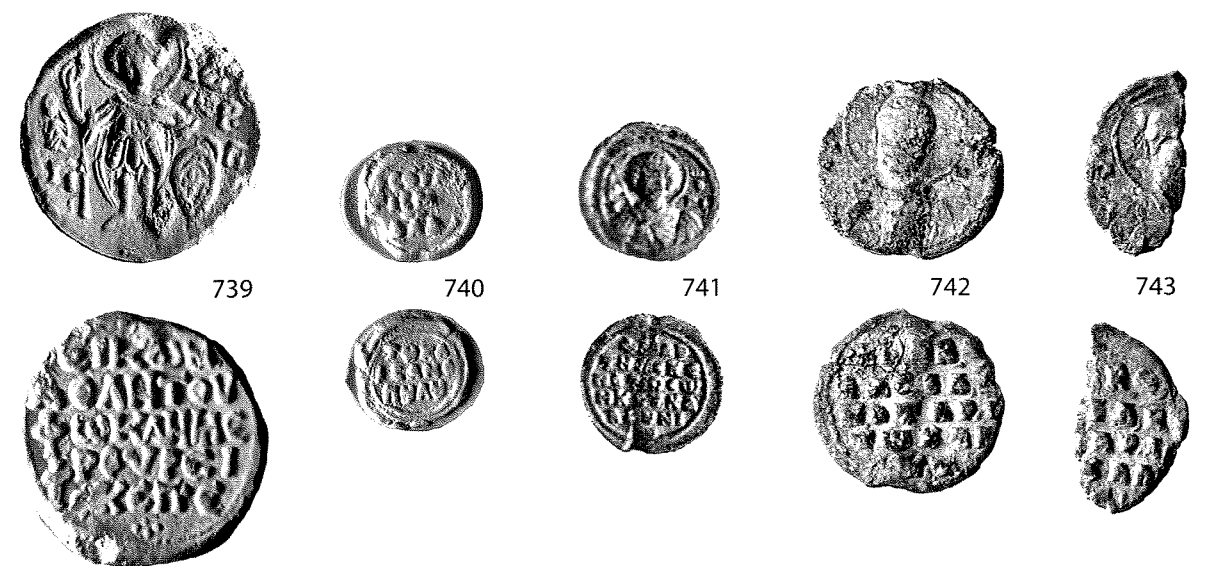
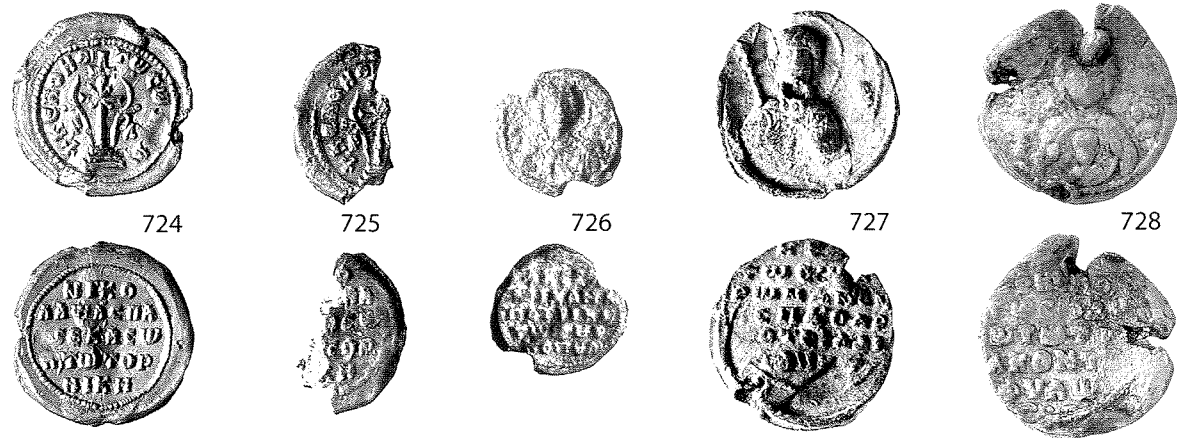
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NOTES:



CORPUS  
OF  
BYZANTINE SEALS  
FROM BULGARIA

Volume 2

Byzantine Seals with Family Names

Edited by  
Ivan Jordanov

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